

## **TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TAREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY**

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### **Abstract**

*The life of tarekat community which is rarely explored is their social activity like their inclusivism towards other religious communities. This paper explores the inclusivism of community of Tarekat Syattariyyah in the nagari of Sungai Buluah Padang Pariaman Regency. The inclusivism of community of Tarekat Syattariyyah based on the orthodoxy of Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah that they have, namely Shafi'i Fiqh, Ash'ariyah Theology and Al-Gazali Sufism. This orthodoxy is also called the Wasathiyah Islamic Orthodoxy. This orthodoxy is used to reject the salafi preaching, because the salafi preachers claim the religious patterns of the nagari community as heresy and liberallism. While their acceptance of Nias-Christian based on the inclusivism of the values of Tarekat Syattariyyah, namely: first, basically, the diversity of religion is the will of God. Second, all of the descendants of Adam are glorified by the God. Third, all humans are created from the one Nur, it is the Nur of Muhammad. Based on the above doctrine, hate each other caused of religion, contraradict with the tarekat values.*

**Keywords:** *Syattariyyah; Tarekat; Wasathiyah; inclusivism; Nias; Christian*

### **Abstrak**

*Kehidupan komunitas tarekat yang jarang tereksplorasi adalah aktivitas sosial mereka seperti inklusivisme mereka terhadap komunitas beragama lain. Tulisan ini mengeksplorasi inklusivisme komunitas Tarekat Syattariyyah di Nagari Sungai Buluah Kabupaten Padang Pariaman. Inklusivisme komunitas Tarekat Syattariyyah didasarkan pada ortodoksi Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah yang mereka pegang, yakni Fiqih Syafi'i, Teologi Asariyah, dan Tawauf Al-Ghazali. Ortodoksi ini basis Islam Wasathiyah. Ortodoksi ini digunakan untuk menolak dakwah salafi, karena da'i salafi mengkalim pola-pola beragama masyarakat nagari sebagai bid'ah dan liberal. Sementara penerimaan mereka terhadap Nias-Kristen didasarkan pada inklusivisme nilai-nilai tarekat yang mereka pegang, yakni: Pertama, perbedaan agama pada hakikatnya kehendak Tuhan. Kedua, semua keturunan Adam di muliakan oleh Allah. Ketiga, semua manusia diciptakan dari Nur yang satu, yakni Nur Muhammad. Berdasarkan doktrin di atas, saling membenci karena agama pada dasarnya bertentangan dengan nilai-nilai tarekat.*

**Kata kunci:** *Syattariyyah; Wasathiyah; inklusif; Nias; Kristen*

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## مستخلص

ان من أنشطة الحياة الاجتماعية لجماعة الطريقة الشتارية بنغازي سونغاي بولوه يحي بادنج باريامن التي لا تتم ظهورها أثناء المجتمع هي ما تسمى بشمولية أو معاملة اجتماعية مع الطوائف الدينية الأخرى. وهذا البحث تسعى الى توضيح هذه الشمولية التي تبنى على معايير دينية لمذهب أهل السنة والجماعة منها الفقه الشافعي و عقيدة الأشعرية والتصوف للامام الغزالي و كل من هذا المعيار يتأسس على الوساطية الا سلامية .وتستخدم هذه الجماعة المعايير لرفض دعوى السلفيين الذين يعتبرون أن نظم الاجتماعي الديني بنغازي سونغاي بولوه يتضمن فيه المعالم البدعية و المفاهيم الليبرالية . و من ناحية آخرتتمسك بها هذه الجماعة لقبول الذين يتدينون بدين النصاري من قبيلة "نياس". واما قبولهم للنصاري يبني علي أسس هذه الشمولية عندهم :منها الأول أن حقيقة اختلاف الأديان من مشيئة الله و الثاني أن الله قد كرم كل بني آدم و الثالث وأن الناس مخلوقون من نور واحد هو نور محمد ص م. وبناءا علي هذه الأسس, هم يعتبرون علي أن التباغض بين مختلف المتدينين بالأديان تخالف لمعالم الجماعة.

الكلمات الرئيسية: الطريقة الشتارية; والوساطية; والشمولية; و نياس, و النصاري

## A. INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of islamicity in Minangkabau cannot be separated from the significant role of Tarekat Syattariyyah. After completing his education in Singkel, Aceh, Syekh Burhanuddin, returned to his village and built surau as a center of Islamic studies, especially for the development of Tarekat Syattariyyah. Previously, surau is the religious institution of Budha which is still maintained by Syekh and his followers as a means of developing of Islamic preaching. That is a form of the inclusivism of Tarekat Syattariyyah which can be understood through their ability to dialogue Islam and locality. The dialogue that results the contacts both of them which are not mutually exclusive, but reinforcing each other.<sup>1</sup> It's different from the contacts of Islamic puritanical with locality which is full of conflict which can be seen from the Wahabi-Padri movement in Minangkabau. Surau is used to strengthen the Islamic relations with custom in Minangkabau. It's can be seen from the function of surau. Surau is not only used as a medium of acculturation of religious values but also cultural values. Surau is built to complete the traditional house (rumah gadang).<sup>2</sup> Syekh Burhanuddin uses surau as the network of Islamic preaching. Surau is used as a center of the Tarekat Syattariyyah. After completing their education in surau, the tarekat students returned to their

<sup>1</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, ed. Azyumardi Azra (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Ferdian Ondira Asa, N Sahrul, and Ferdian Ondira Asa, "Kehidupan Surau Di Minangkabau Sebagai Inspirasi Dalam Karya Seni Lukis," *Gorga Jurnal Seni Rupa* 07, no. September (2018): 2.

## TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY

villages, establishing the surau and developing the same teaching. This teacher and student network support the development of Tarekat Syattariyyah in Minangkabau.<sup>3</sup>

The significance of presence of Tarekat Syattariyyah is the strengthening of Islamic inclusivism. The presence of Tarekat Syattariyyah is not to eliminate the Minangkabau custom, but to strengthen it. This relation is eternalized in the aphorism of Minangkabau custom, namely *ibarat aur dengan tebing sanda manyanda kaduonyo* (custom and Islam are like the bamboo and cliffs). The flexibility of Tarekat Syattariyyah when dealing with the custom is the way to prevent the institutionalization of religious radicalism. The literal understanding of Islam which has radical groups motivated them to be anti-locality. Anti-locality has various meaning. Anti-local can be interpreted widely—all things which contradict with the Islamic understanding which the radical groups have, including custom, state and democracy. Using *surau* as a means of Islamic preaching is a form of inclusivism of the community of Tarekat Tyattariyyah. Surau is a small building or it can be called as a small mosque, but *surau* is not used for the Friday prayer. The name of surau was taken from a pagan holy place to a holy place to with a new belief, namely Islam.<sup>4</sup> In the of Minangkabau before the arrival of Islam in this region, surau has Buddhist culture. The first surau is founded by Adityawarman, the King of Pagaruyung-Minangkabau in 13 AD in Bukit Gombak, Batu Sangkar as a center of kingdom. In the Buddhist tradition, surau was not only used as the place of worship, but also as place of transmission of science and skills for young people. After the arrival of Islam in Minangkabau, surau is not eliminated. The function of it remains inherited although in the different context.<sup>5</sup> The dialogical contact between custom and Islam as the cultural modal for inclusivism is reflected in the social life of the community of nagari of Sungai Buluah, Padang Pariaman Regency which is different in religion and ethnicity. The Padang Pariaman regency is a center of Tarekat Syattariyyah and the first center of islamization in Minangkabau.

The nagari community of Sungai Buluah is a nagari (the custom village of Minangkabau) declared themselves as the followers of the custom leadership of Minangkabau of Bodhi Caniago. The leadership of Bodhi Caniago adherents the democratic leadership patterns. The democratic values which are held by the Budhi Caniago can be seen from the aphorism of custom, namely *bulek aia kapambuluh, bulek kato kamufakaik* (the water can be rounded by the reed of bamboo/the words can be rounded by the agreement). *Duduak samo*

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<sup>3</sup> Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> R.A. Kern, "The Origin of the Malay Surau," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29, no. 1 (1956): 179–81.

<sup>5</sup> Gusti Asnan, *Kamus Sejarah Minangkabau* (Padang: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Minangkabau, 2003).

*randah dan tagak samo tinggi* (a group of people when sitting down equally low, a group of people when standing up equally tall). Both of these custom aphorism raise the values of equality these values are the one of the pillar of democracy.<sup>6</sup> Besides declaring themselves to be the followers of the leadership of Bodhi Caniago, they also declare themselves to be the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah. The community of Tarekat Syattariyyah makes the *tuanku* as a religious authority holder. *Tuanku* is the religious and custom title as well. This title is inaugurated when someone completed their study at the Salafiyah Boarding School in Padang Pariaman. There are fourty of the Salafiyah Boding School in this regency. These boarding school are managed by the *ulama* of Tarekat Syattariyyah. The democratic custom and inclusivism of tarekat are the cultural modal for the community of nagari of Sungai Buluah to live harmony in the diversity of religion and ethnicity. The inclusivism of the Tarekat Syattariyyah can be understood from the orthodoxy that they held, those are having the *tasawuf* of Al-Ghazali with the patterns of Tarekat Syattariyyah, the *fiqh* of Imam Syafi'i and the theologi of Al-Asy'ary. The orthodoxy is also called the orthodoxy of Islamic wasathiyah. This orthodoxy is the cultural capital for this community to reject the presence of the salafi preaching and acceptance of the request of the community of Nias to be recognized by the community of Minangkabau of nagari of Sungai Buluah customarily. The Nias cummunity is a minority group in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. They adherent the Catholicism and Christianity. The existence of the community of Nias in the nagari of Sungai Buluah is not only recognized by the custom figure but also by the religious figure such as *imam*, *khatib*, *labai* (the social position in religious issues such as prayer, preaching and death).<sup>7</sup> This article tries to explore the inclusivism of the cummunity of Tarekat Syattariyyah in two forms: the rejection of the salafi preaching and the acceptance of Nias community.

## B. THEORY AND RESEARCH METHODS

### 1. Religious Inclusivism

The study of religious attitudes of the Tarekat Syattariyyah towards the adherents of other religions are related with the understanding of religious inclusivism. The religious Inclusivism can be understood through the effort of finding the common ground in the differences of religious beliefs by identifying the similarities and minimizing the differences which is owned by each religion. The inclusivism has been practiced by the prophet of Muhammad in his political leadership where He did not legitimize the certain religion as the

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<sup>6</sup> Dt. Tampang Ulu, *Interviewed*, May 05, 2014

<sup>7</sup> Dt. Rajo Lembang, *Interviewed*, August 03, 2015

## **TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY**

state's official religion. Although a Muslim, the prophet of Muhammad is also never forced the adherents of other religion convert to Islam. Caused of the importance of inclusivism, Nurcholish Madjid said, because the pluralism is a sunnatullah, the inclusivism is a necessity<sup>8</sup>. The inclusivism is the cultural capital for recognizing in the difference in belief as the basis to live harmony in the deferences of religion and ethnicity<sup>9</sup>. The inclusivism can be understood from the orthodoxy of tarekat, including the Tarekat Syattariyyah. The inclusivism of the Sufis can be understood from their preaching patterns in the archipelago. Interested of the local people towards the sufis preaching caused of the ways of their preaching which are wise and friendliness. In these ways, Islam is not considered foreign and endanger the local religion. The sufi preachers are able to adapt and use the elements of pre-Islamic culture in their preaching. The sufi preachers preach Islam without violence and threat. In their preaching they convey the message of Islam which is peaceful, nurturing and protecting the human being. In the sufi stories are narrated the patterns of preaching like this. Once upon a time Dzun Nun al-Misri met a monk and asked him, *what is the meaning of love in your opinion?* The monk answered, *the true love is not divided. If you have fallen in love with God, there is no love besides Him. If you fallen in love with someone other than Allah, that love cannot be united with His love. Therefore, reflect upon yourself to whom you love.* The interesting thing in this story is there are two dialogues of two different religious traditions which relativize the boundaries of sectarianism through the love<sup>10</sup>.

The inclusivism of Tarekat Syattariyyah is motivated by their Islamic understanding which they have, this Islamic understanding is called by the Islamic-Wasyathiyah. The Islamic-Wasathiyah has three orthodoxy: the theology of Asy'ariyah, the fiqh of Syafi'iyah and the sufism of al-Ghazali. The orthodoxy has been formed by the authoritative cleric such as Syekh 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili, Syekh Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari, Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Seyekh Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani and in Padang Pariaman, there is Syekh Burhanuddin, the founder of Tarekat Syattariyyah. The last cleric is a student of the great sufi, Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkily. This Islamic-Orthodoxy has influenced the islamization of the archipelago which is carried out peacefully with the inclusive, accommodative, and acculturative approach. This islamization eventually forms the Indonesian Islamic Orthodoxy or also called the Islamic orthodoxy of the archipelago.

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<sup>8</sup> Dadang Kahmad, *Sosiologi Agama* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosda Karya, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Agus Sunaryo, "Teologi Inklusif Nurcholis Madjid Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Fikih Lintas Agama Di Indonesia," *Al-Manhaj* VI (2012): 1.

<sup>10</sup> Ahmad Nurcholis, "Jejak Damai Sufi Nusantara Bagian 1," home, 2015.

Through this orthodoxy, Indonesian Muslims are prevented from the dangers of religious, ethnic and political sectarianism. Through this orthodoxy, Indonesian Muslims have accepted the four pillars of nationality: NKRI, UUD 1945, Pancasila, and Bhineka Tunggal Ika<sup>11</sup>. Based on this, tarekat is a religious community which is easily able to dialogue their Islam with local culture. However, it can not necessarily be claimed that Islam which is acculturated with the archipelago culture as syncretic, its can be interpreted with the contribution of local community in the efforts to enrich the mosaic of the Islamic culture.<sup>12</sup> The ability of tarekat community to dialogue the Islamic values with locality is the basis of the inclusivism of tarekat community. It is differences with radical groups which are anti-locality. In the Minangkabau context, the presence of tarekat does not damage the Minangkabau custom, but it strengthens the custom itself.<sup>13</sup> The dialogical relationship between Islam and the Minangkabau custom can be understood from the following aphorism: *adaik jo syarak bak aua jo tabiang, sanda manyanda kaduonya* (custom and Islam like the bambo and cliffs, both of them support each other).<sup>14</sup> The inclusivism of Tarekat Syattariyyah not only is shown to custom, but also to the follower of other religion. For adherent of tarekat, even though the humans being are borned with the difference in religion and ethnicity. But in essence, both of them, the creation of God. In principle, the diversity of religions such as Christian, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism Catholicism is the natural law (sunnatullah) that must be recognized and cannot be denied.<sup>15</sup>

The inclusivism of the adherents of tarekat can not only be understood from the orthodoxy that they have. But also from the charisma of their leaders which support the development of the cultural peace. In 2001, when the conflict between Madurese and Malay ethnic group almost occurred in Pontianak city, which worries the Madurese, Kyai Jalaluddin Abdusyukur Badri, the Banjar people, the leader of the group of Salawat Delail Hairat and the leader of Tarekat Naqsabandiyyah in Pontianak, ordered the Madurese and Malay people to guard the security of village, houses, shops along the main road near their village together. The majority of Madurese who live in Sungai Jawi, Pontianak are the practitioners of the salawat Delail Hairat and the adherents of Tarekat Naqsabandiyyah. For them, Kyai

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<sup>11</sup> Azyumardi Azra, "Islam Indonesia Inklusif vs Eksklusif: Dinamika Keberagamaan Umat Muslim," 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyyah Di Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Hamdan Izmy and Syahrudin Arrasuli, *Pertalian Adat Syarak* (Ciputat: Ciputat Press, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Tk. Azhari, *Interviewed*, July 07, 2019

# TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY

Jalaluddin said, the adherents of tarekat will not carry out the acts of anarchy, whoever, and from any tribe. Respect for the tarekat teachers, barriers to the conflict in Pontianak. <sup>16</sup>

## 2. Research Methods

Qualitative with the case study approach is the method in this research. In the case study, Cornerville is a very important thing. This concept emphasizes its analysis on the values of the community in a particular social environment that they used to solve the issues that they have.<sup>17</sup> The values that are explored in this research are the values of Tarekat Syattariyyah that encourage the maintenance of peace culture in the community of Nagari of Sungai Buluah. The techniques of data collection that used in this research are interview, observation and documentation. <sup>18</sup>. The technique of the data analysis that used in this research is the interactive analysis of Miles and Huberman <sup>19</sup>.

## C. DISCUSSION

### 1. The Social Structure and Culture of the Nagari Community of Sungai Buluah

The nagari community of Sungai Buluah has the unique culture if compared to the other community in Minangkabau. In the social structure of Minangkabau, the nagari is the unity of social and politics based on the custom. Minangkabau is one of the various ethnic in Indonesia that integrated its custom with Islam. The nagari can be called the customs villages, although both of them have the significant differences. Nagari is an autonomous republic with its custom. Custom distinguishes one nagari to others. This is that mentioned in the aphorism of Minangkabau custom with *Adat Salingka Nagari* (the custom is limited by the territory of nagari) <sup>20</sup>. Based on this, the custom in one nagari does not apply to others, only for the nagari community its self. The uniqueness of the nagari of Sungai Buluah can be understood from the modification of nagari that they have done. The real nagari in Minangkabau is

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<sup>16</sup> Sefriyono, *Kearifan Lokal Bagi Pencegahan Radikalisme Agama Di Luhak Dan Rantau Minangkabau* (Ciputat: Sakata Cendikia, 2019).

<sup>17</sup> Rober K. Yin, *Studi Kasus Desain Dan Metode* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> Sanafiah Faisal, "Pengumpulan Dan Analisis Data Dalam Penelitian Kualitatif," in *Analisis Data Penelitian Kualitatif: Pemahaman Filosofis Dan Metodeologis Ke Arah Penguasaan Model Aplikasi*, ed. Burhan Bungin (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2012), 64.

<sup>19</sup> Sugiono, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2008).

<sup>20</sup> Imran Manan, *Birokrasi Moderen Dan Otoritas Tradisional Di Minangkabau: Nagari Dan Desa Di Minangkabau* (Padang: Yayasan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Minangkabau, 1993).

characterized by the single custom and religion, those are the Minangkabau and the Islam. While the nagari of Sungai Buluah was characterized by the difference in custom and religion, those are Islam which is followed by Minangkabau and Catholic and Christian are followed by Nias. The acceptance of the Nias ethnic carried out when the Nias community made the custom agreement with the Minangkabau community of Sungai Buluah on December 10, 1927.<sup>21</sup> Based on this agreement, legally, the Nias community is part of the community of the nagari of Sungai Buluah. They are accepted with all differences that they have, including the differences in custom and religion. After the acceptance of the Nias ethnic in the nagari of Sungai Buluah, their children become the children of nagari of Sungai Buluah, their church become the resources of nagari. If other nagari in Minangkabau is only characterized by the mosque, the nagari of Sungai Buluah is characterized by mosque and church.<sup>22</sup> Because the nagari community of Sungai Buluah declared their self as the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, this religious authority has the significant role in acceptance of the Nias community. The adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah bases its religious understanding on the teaching of founder of Tarekat Syattariyyah namely Syekh Burhanuddin. This figure has the significant role in the early islamization of Minangkabau. If someone asks what is the religion of nagari community of Sungai Buluah? they will answer that their religion is Tarekat Syattariyyah.<sup>23</sup> The further exploration of this article is custom and religion of the nagari community of Sungai Buluah.

*First*, the Minangkabau. The community of nagari of Sungai Buluah followed the custom leadership of Bodi Caniago. Bodi Caniago is one of the leadership of Minangkabau, other leadership is Koto Piliang. The origin of the word Bodi is Bhodi which means a kind of tree that gives the inspiration to Shidarta Gautama (a founder of Bhudism). The bodhi tree is the synonymous of the word of deliberation or consensus to produce the good and noble think. While the origin of word Caniago is Catniargo, which consists of two syllables, catni and arga. Catni means good and beautiful. Arga means the peak of the mountain or identified with the highest values. So Caniago means the thoughts or virtues that are good. In the system of nagari government, the leadership of Bodi Caniago has several characteristics: 1) the democratic system of nagari government—appreciate the result of deliberation. 2) the shared system of government—the result of deliberations in each clan discussed again at the tribal level, to get the better decision for the community management. 3) the power is rooted in

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<sup>21</sup> Naskah Perjanjian 10 Desember 1927

<sup>22</sup> Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah (RPJM) Nagari Sungai Buluah, 2018

<sup>23</sup> Dt. Rajo Lembang, *Interviewed*, July 03, 2015



## TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY

society. This is termed by *mambusek dari bumi* (blew up from the earth). 4) there is no level in the position of *penghulu* (the leader of tribe). The function of each *penghulu* are based on the result of deliberation. A *penghulu* leads the nagari together. The high and greatness of *penghulu* is given by his voters for his achievement.<sup>24</sup>

The decision making is done through deliberations that is starting from the clan to nagari. The deliberation led by the *ninik mamak* (leaders of clan or tribe). The deliberation can be understood by the following of Minangkabau aphorism, *duduak sorang basampik-sampik, duduak basamo-samo balapang-lapang* (the sitting alone feels cramped, the sitting together feels roomy). This aphorism can be interpreted with if the problem is solved by someone alone, it will have difficulties. But if the problem is solved together, it will have easiness. The right decision sourced from the deliberation will realize the aphorism of Minangkabau, *bulek aie dek pambuluah, bulek kato dek mufakaek* (the water rounding using the bamboo stems and the rounding of words get from the deliberations). The existence of the leadership of Budi Caniago can be understood from the custom leadership of Minangkabau of the nagari of Sungai Buluah. There is no monopoly of the position of *penghulu*, it's position rotated in the extended family in one tribe. There is no the position level in the custom leadership of Budi Caniago like the custom leadership of Koto Piliang. In the leadership of Koto Piliang, there are some level of the position of *penghulu* such as *penghulu pucuk* (*penghulu* who occupies the highest position). *Penghulu pucuak* is the heads of all *penghulu* in the nagari. The position of *penghulu* under the *penghulu pucuak* is the *penghulu* of tribe. This *penghulu* is a head of the members of extended family in one tribe. The last position of *penghulu* is the *penghulu andiko*. The *penghulu* who related directly to the people.<sup>25</sup>

*Second*, the Nias Custom. There is no the exact data related to the first arrival of Nias people in West Sumatera. The history of Nias in this region is related to the history of workers, cheap labor. Because, the majority of Nias people who mobilize to this region are the lower class or slave people. The social communities are associated with the mobilization of Nias people in Padang and Padang pariaman are Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) or the Netherlands, Portuguese, Chinese, and Aceh. Based on the VOC records, Nias People are brought by VOC to mainland of Sumatera in the 17th century. Until the middle of

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<sup>24</sup> Sefriyono, "Malakok: Model Rembug Keragaman Nias-Kristen Dan Minangkabau-Islam Di Kabupaten Padang Pariaman," in *Model Rembug Keragaman Dalam Membangun Toleransi Umat Beragama*, ed. Ahsanul Khalikin (Jakarta: Puslitbng Kehidupan Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2015), 166.

<sup>25</sup> Dt. Tampang Ulu, *Interviewed*, Juni 18, 2019

## SEFRIYONO

the 19th century, Nias people who are unable to pay their debts, continued to be brought to Sumatera as debt slaves. This debt slaves is employed by their employer to redeem the debt within a certain time. After their work period ended, many of them remained in Padang. The first Nias-settlement in Padang is in the Kampung Nias (Nias Village). But most of them settled in the mountain of Padang.

The Portuguese role also cannot be ignored in relation to the presence of Nias people in Padang. Because the Nias people who migrated to Padang worked as a docker of Portuguese traders. The arrival of Nis people in Padang also cannot be ignored from the significant role of the Chinese. In the 16th century, the Chinese traders brought the Nias people from the Nias islands to West Sumatera. They are placed in some regions in West Sumatera such as Muaro Padang, Muaro Sakai, and Sungai Buluah, Padang Pariaman. But most of them settled in Padang.<sup>26</sup>

The contact of Minangkabau people with Nias have been going on since the 17th century. This relationship is pioneered by Acehnese traders who visited this region to get the slave. The Nias slaves remained listed as the merchandise on the West Coast of Sumatera until the 3rd decade of the 19th century. Trade relation between Nias people and the west coast community increased since the VOC and reached it's peak after the government took power in West Sumatera. During the Dutch reign, the Nias region was part of the residency of West Coast of Sumatera. A variety of agricultural products, forest and marine of Nias marketed in the cities of the West Coast of Sumatera. At that time, the large number of Nias people migrated to the coastal area of Minangkabau. Based on this, the Nias tribe is a tribe outside of Minangkabau which mostly live in coastal areas. They do a variety of jobs such as laborers in the Dutch trading company and Minangkabau, the land clearing so that they obtain the land rights. Besides that, Nias people also work as trader. Since 1907, Nias people who live in this region were subjected to Christianization. Because of this, most of them are Christian and Catholic.<sup>27</sup>

Another source mentioned, Nias people had been in Padang before the arrival of Denninger. Ludwing Ernst Deninger is a German missionary who arrived in Padang on November 21, 1861. *Ono Niha* is a term is used for the Nias People who come to Padang as migrant. They not only live in the city of Padang, but also in some regions in West Sumatera such as Sawah Lunto, Solok, and Padang Pariaman. In Padang Pariaman, they settled in the

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<sup>26</sup> Rois Leonard Arios and Yondri, "Masyarakat Nias Di Nagari Sungai Buluah Kecamatan Batang Anai Kabupaten Padang Pariaman: Eksistensi Dan Hubungan Sosial Dengan Masyarakat Setempat" (Padang Pariaman, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Gusti Asnan, *Kamus Sejarah Minangkabau* (Padang: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Minangkabau, 2003).

## TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY

region such as Marantih, Sikabu, Pauh, Kali Air, Batang Sarik dan Tanjung Basung. They prefer settle in Padang Pariaman, because in this region they are free to open the farmingland, raising livestock, these activities are in accordance with their habits on the Nias island <sup>28</sup>.

The history of Nias in the nagari of Sungai Buluah cannot be separated from their cleverness in clearing forest into farmingland. In this way, Nias people are trusted by the leaders of Minangkabau as a forest clearing for farmingland. From the forest clearing services, they are given the land for the place of residence and farmingland. The land grants for settlements are also a consequence of the request of Nias people to the Minangkabau people to be recognized as part of the nagari community through the custom process. In the aphorism of Minangkabau custom, this process is termed as *Adat Diisi Limbago Dituang* (the fulfillment of requirements of custom when a person or groups wants to do something related to the Minangkabau custom like they want to be a Minangkabau people by the Non-Minangkabau people). There is no certainty of time related to the arrival of Nias People in the nagari of Sungai Buluah, as well as the arrival of Nias people in West Sumatera. The uncontested data is their position and role in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. The first arrival of Nias people in the nagari of Sungai Buluah was as a janitor and clearing forest for farmingland. Minangkabau people use the term of forest clearing with *parambah hutan*. *Parambah hutan* can be interpreted as forest logging for farmingland. <sup>29</sup>.

Initially, the acceptance of Minangkabau people to the Nias people in the nagari of Sungai Buluah based on some moral considerations. The considerations related to their good moral for being a worker in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. Based on this considerations, Nias people are advised to carry out the procession of *mangisi adat Minangkabau* (a request to be recognized as a resident of the nagari of Sungai Buluah by fulfilling the requirements of the Minangkabau Custom). The advice was accepted by Nias people. The procession of *mangisi adat* was carried out on December 10, 1927. Because they have done the procession of *mangisi adat*, they are accepted by the Minangkabau people totally, including differences in customs and religion. They are given the custom land of the Minangkabau people located in the Tanjung Basung II to settle and fulfill their daily needs. To fulfill their religious need, they are given the license to build a church on the custom land that has been granted. There are two churches as a place of worship for Nias people in Tanjung Basung II, those are Banua Niha

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<sup>28</sup> Sudiario Laiya, *Sejarah Gereja Ono Niha* (Padang: Sukabina Press, 2016).

<sup>29</sup> Sefriyono, "Malakok: Model Rembug Keragaman Nias-Kristen Dan Minangkabau-Islam Di Kabupaten Padang Pariaman," in *Model Rembug Keragaman Dalam Menmbangun Toleransi Umat Beragama* (Jakarta: Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2015), 165.

## SEFRIYONO

Keriso Protestan (BNKP) and Kristus Bangkit. The BNKP has Christianity while the Kristus Bangkit has Catholicism. Until now, Tanjung Basung II is the residential of the minority of Catholic and Christian. When the nagari of Sungai Buluah was divided, Tanjung Basung II was included in the administrative area of the nagari of Sungai Buluah Barat. The procession of *mangisi* adat can be seen in the text of custom agreement between Minangkabau and Nias.

We are all 16 the *ninik mamak* (clan leader), custom and *pusako* (the clan of nagari heritage) and *imam, khatib, labai* in the nagari of Sungai Buluah (Lubuk Alung) have received 40 rial of Padang of the custom money of Nias of Tanjung Basung. We have tested (*gatok*) their areca nut, we have drunk their blood, and we have eaten their meat. This means, we have received all the congregations, and we have lent them for the nagari loans. They have held a banquet of Nias people according to the aphorism of Minangkabau custom, *adat diisi dan lembaga dituang* (everything which is done must be based on the Minangkabau custom). The loan related to land status, that the tribe leader of Minangkabau has given to the Nias people. Based on this, according to the custom law of Minangkabau, the Nias people have the same rights as Minangkabau people.<sup>30</sup>

Other considerations for acceptance of Nias people in the nagari of Sungai Buluah are Nias has formed as a social group. As a social group, the Nias has difference in custom and religion from the Minangkabau people. The difference of religious and custom shape difference in behavior. Because the culture and religion as a system of cultural value are the patterns of behavior. As a social group, that is different from the Minangkabau people, the potential for conflict is certainly inevitable, hence, Nias people need a figure who take care of all their interests in the Minangkabau people. Because of difference in religion and custom with Minangkabau, it is not appropriate, if the children and nephew of Nias are organized by Minangkabau people. From the considerations of the *ninik mamak* (clan leaders) of Minangkabau people, Yakin or Gapuak are the right leader to occupy the position of leader in the Nias community. The procession of the *mengisi adat* that was carried out by Nias people is also motivated by the compromise attitude of Nias people in the midst of the majority of Minangkabau. Nias people understand the aphorism of Minangkabau custom, *dima bumi dipijak disinan langik dijunjuang, dima rantiang dipatah disinan aia disauk* (Newcomer in an region must be able to adapt their attitude to local cultural values).<sup>31</sup>

The procession of the *mangisi adat* that is carried out by Nias people are also strengthened by the custom values of Minangkabau which is understood through the aphorism of Minangkabau custom, *satuiok lasuang ba ayam gadang* (each *lesung* has a rooster). *Lesung* is a traditional tool which is made from stone or wood which is used to process the grain into

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<sup>30</sup> Naskah Perjanjian Adat antara Nias dan Minangkabau, 10 Desember 2010

<sup>31</sup> Usmi Zebua, *Interviewd*, October 06, 2014

## TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY

rice. While *ayam gadang* is interpreted as a rooster. The grain is processed in *lesung* using *halu* (the round wood with a length of about 2 meters with a diameter of 30 inches that is used to pound the grain). When the grain processing is being carried out, usually a lot of chickens are around the *lesung* to find a meal from the scattered grain. Among the chickens that are around the *lesung*, there is usually a rooster that acts as a leader of the existing chickens in the around of *lesung*. In the context of relation between Minangkabau and Nias, *lesung* can be interpreted by the existence of the two ethnict groups, while the *ayam gadang* can be interpreted by the leaders of them.<sup>32</sup>

Besides they have not fanatical to their custom, the assimilation of Nias people is also driven by their moderate of the custom values of Nias. In the patterns of their assimilation, the Nias people, especially those who settled in Padang and Pariaman, often obscured their identities, even leaving their indigeneus belief. When they married Minangkabau women, they will convert to Islam and leave their indigenous religion, *Adu-Adu*. Most of the beautiful women of Nias are married by Chinese people. While Nias men will look for the Minangkabau women as their wife. The Nias children from their marriage to the Chinese will inherit the lineage of their father. While those who are married to Minangkabau will inherit the lineage of their mother. Consequently, the Nias men and women will trip away their ethnic identity and enter into the member of new tribe.<sup>33</sup>

Related to the culture of harmony, the Nias custom advocates the organizing speak. This is what they call the mouth keeping. Mouth keeping can be interpreted by thinking before saying. The aphorism of Nias custom said, *tofu-tufoi mbeweu bulu lato. Awena owau niwaou*. The aphorism can be interpreted by keep your mouth from the bad words. *Bulu lato* in this aphorism can be interpreted by the *jilatang*. The *jilatang* is a palant when it's touched, it will bring cause itching, especially when it's touched to the lips. Therefore, never attach it to other people's lips. Touching the *jilatang* to other people's lips is as painful as touching it to our lips. Another custom aphorism said, *kete guleme ua*. The meaning of this aphorism is if you pinch yourself is sick, don't pinch other people. But when the patience of the Nias people runs out due to the unfair treatment that they recieve, they will be very violent. This is supported by the custom aphorism, *nalatoko mbwa bagamboli holeo ba dakera, nalatoko mbawa bagabera, nalatoko baweda fona lolo lala sa'aem usu*. This aphorism means, if

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<sup>32</sup> Dt. Tampang Ulu, *Interviewed*, July 09 2019

<sup>33</sup> Freek Colombijn, *Poco-Poco (Kota) Padang: Sejarah Sebuah Kota Di Indonesia Pada Abad Ke-20 Dam Pembinaan Ruang Kota* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2006).

## SEFRIYONO

someone hits your right cheek, tilt to the left. If someone hits your left cheek, tilt to the right. If someone hits you from the front, ask him what they want<sup>34</sup>.

*Third*, religion. The people of nagari of Sungai Buluah adheres three religions as the nagari identity. Making three religions as the nagari identity is a form of uniqueness and flexibility of identity that is owned by the nagari community of Sungai Buluah if compared to other nagari in Minangkabau. As a village custom, the nagari should have one identity, the mosque. Making the mosque as a nagari identity is based on the philosophy of Minangkabau custom, *Adat Basandi Syarak Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (Custom is strengthened by syarak/Islam. Syarak is strengthened by the book of God/Al-Qur'an). In the nagari development plan (RPJM), church is a nagari resource. Besides having a mosque, nagari also has a church. The three religions are adhered by the nagari community of Sungai Buluah are Christianity, Islam, and Catholicism. Islam is adhered by Minangkabau, while Christianity and Catholicism are adhered by Nias. The Islamicity that is adhered by the community of Minangkabau of nagari of Sungai Buluah is Tarekat Syattariyah. The Islamicity of tarekat is different from the Islamicity of other Islamic community such as Muhammadiyah. Tarekat community is more accommodating to local culture, even to the adherents of other religions such as Christianity and Catholicism which is adhered by Nias people. Through the accommodative attitude which the community of Tarekat Syattariyyah has, they have an unharmonious relationship with the puritan Islamic community such as salafi and Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah and salafi have similarities in the patterns of preaching, the purification of *tauhid* (monotheism) with the preaching jargon, namely the eradication of TBC (superstition, heresy and myth). Allegation of heresy towards the tarekat worship by salafi and Muhammadiyah have triggered a conflict between them.

The nagari community of Sungai Buluah very respectful to the religious authority of Tarekat Syattariyyah which is held by tuanku. Tuanku is not only the religious title, but the custom title as well. This title was obtained by tuanku after they had graduated their education at the Islamic Boarding School of Salafiyah which is organized by the figures of Tarekat Syattariyyah. In these boarding school, the education process is carried out for seven years before the inauguration of the tuanku title which involves the element of Minangkabau custom is performed. The involvement of custom in the inauguration of the tuanku title can be seen from the custom title which is placed behind the tuanku title that they have. If the tuanku candidate has name Andi and come from the Jambak clan with a leader of clan, datuak Rajo

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<sup>34</sup> Sefriyono, *Membangun Harmoni Dalam Keragaman Agama: Dari Politik Rekognisi Ke Politik Redistribusi* (Padang: Imam Bonjol Press, 2014).

## **TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY**

Ameh, the tuanku is given the title, namely Andi Tuanku Rajo Ameh. Rajo Ameh is a custom title which is held by the Jambak clan. This custom title is given by the clan leader before the inauguration of the tuanku title through the agreement of clan members. In this title is seen the integration of custom and religion. This treatment is a form of the accommodation of tarekat towards custom which in the puritan religious authority is mentioned the heresy. The relation between custom and tarekat is not only on the granting of the custom title to tuanku, but also the preparation of consumption during the procession of inauguration of the tuanku title. The consumption is prepared by the tuanku relatives who in Minangkabau custom are termed by bako. In the Minangkabau custom, the inauguration of the tuanku title cannot be separated from the babako procession (having bako). *Bako* is a custom call for father's relatives, especially father's sister. *Bako* calls her brother's children as *anak pisang*. The relationship between bako and their anak pisang cannot be exhausted, even though their father has died. In the inauguration of the tuanku title, bako prepared the hantaran (the custom gifts) which is called by the Juadah or *Nasi Samba* for the teachers of the tuanku candidate. Juadah is a custom dish in the form of culinary which is determined by the Minangkabau custom which is given by the bako of the candidate of tuanku of men to their teachers. While *Nasi Samba* is a custom dish consisting of rice and side dishes are given by the bako of the candidate of tuanku of women who usually called by ustazah<sup>35</sup>.

The islamization of Minangkabau to Islam which is carried out by the tarekat community took into consideration the socio-cultural background of Minangkabau which is influenced by syncretism of local culture with Hindu and Buddhist traditions. Sufis in many cases are very tolerant to the tradition and ideas that are contrary to the strict practice of the Islamic utilitarianism. Based on this, there is a logical assumption that the early character of Islam in Minangkabau was syncretic and mystical. The absorption of Islam into the belief system and the social structure of Minangkabau did not replace the Minangkabau custom, but enriched it<sup>36</sup>.

Tarekat communities is not only maintain the harmony of Islam with local culture, but also maintain the harmony of Islam with the adherents of other religions such as Christianity and Catholicism who become the residents of nagari of Sungai Buluah. The acceptance of Nias-Christians and Catholics was carried out on December 10, 1927 through the custom

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<sup>35</sup> Sefriyono, *Kearifan Lokal Bagi Pencegahan Radikalisme Agama Di Luhak Dan Rantau Minangkabau* (Ciputat: Sakata Cendikia, 2018).

<sup>36</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003).

agreement. The custom agreement was signed by the custom leaders and clerics of the Tarekat Syattariyyah as the holders of religious authority in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. The clerics of tarekat is held by tuanku. In the nagari of Sungai Buluah, tuanku served as a religious guide for the religious official of nagari such as imam (priests), khatib (preacher), labai (prayers and death officers). The people of nagari of Sungai Buluah declare themselves as the adherents of tarekat of Syattariyyah with tuanku as the holder of religious authority. The Tarekat Syattariyyah is always taught by tuanku in the mosques and surau in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. The Tarekat Syattariyyah is taught at the mosque of Nurul Ikslas which is located in the Korong of Tanjung Basung II (the lowest government under the nagari government), where the minority of Nias resides. This mosque is side by side with the churches, namely the BNKP and the Kristus Bangkit. The religious themes which are studied in the teaching of Tarekat Syattariyyah are *shari'a*, *tarekat*, *hakikat*, and *ma'rifat*.<sup>37</sup> For the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, the teaching of hakikat motivates them to live in harmony—basically, everything on the earth, including the diversity of religion is on the will of God. Become Muslims, Catholics, Christians and Buddhists are not the will of the adherents of it, but the will of God. Because the diversity of religions is the willing of God, humans do not have to deny or damage it, but maintain it. This teaching is a cultural capital for living in harmony between Minangkabau and Nias people in the nagari of Sungai Buluah, even though both of them have differences in religious beliefs.<sup>38</sup>

There are 600 Christians in the nagari of Sungai Buluah with their church, BNKP. While Catholics are 450 with their church, Kristus Bangkit. Based on this, the government of the nagari of West Sungai Buluah not only makes the mosques and *surau* as the nagari resources, but also the two of churches of Nias. The nagari people of Sungai Buluah, especially the West of Sungai Buluah makes the diversity of ethnic and religion as a social capital of harmony. The commitment of nagari of West Sungai Buluah to realize the religious harmony can be understood from the two of nagari vision: *First*, the unity of nagari. The nagari government has to empower all the potentials of nagari to realize the development of nagari. In the efforts to realize the nagari development, the nagari government and the community have to minimize the social conflict and optimize the natural resources. Some of the aphorism of Minangkabau custom which is used to support this vision are, *Dek Berek samo dipikua, dek ringan samo dijinjang, nan elok baimbauan, nan buruak bahambauan. Elok dek awak, katuju dek urang. Nan bungkuak katangkai bajak, nan luruih katangan sapu*

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<sup>37</sup> Ramli, *interviewed*, June 30, 2019.

<sup>38</sup> Tk. Azhari, *interviewed*, Juni 07, 2019



## **TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY**

(if it is heavy, it can be carried together, if it is light, it can be carried together. Getting the good news is notified, getting the bad news, come show the sympathy. Good for us also good for others. Crooked wood used for the stalk of plow. The straight wood used for the stalk of broom). The nagari government has to embraces all elements of people; yuth, old, men, women, Muslim, Christian, Nias and Minangkabau to build the nagari. *Second*, religious. The nagari government plays the significant role to make efforts the compliance of religious need of it's people in accordance with their religion, tolerant to the adherents of other religion, able to live peace in the diversity of religions and ethnicts.<sup>39</sup>

### **2. The Tarekat Syattariyyah: From Rejection of Radicalism to the Acceptance of the Nias-Christian**

The inclusivism of tarekat community sourced from the religious orthodoxy that they have. This orthodoxy is used as a religious pattern to address the presence of salafists in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. They also used this orthodoxy as a pattern of behaving towards the social groups that differ in religion with them such as their acceptance of the community of Nias-Christian. Those orthodoxy are: *First*, the nagari community of Sungai Buluah except the Christian adheres the Ahlussunnah Wal Jammah with the pattern of Tarekat Syattariyyah as their Islamic Understanding. *Second*, Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah is the only of Islamic understanding which is held by the nagari community of Sungai Buluah and it is prohibited to disseminate and develop the Islamic understanding other than it. *Third*, the nagari community Sungai Buluah worship with the practice of the fiqh of Imam Syafi'i and it is prohibited to disseminate and develop other than it. *Fourth*, the nagari community of Sungai Buluah makes the Tasawuf of Imam Al Ghazali with the pattern of Tarekat Syattariyyah as their spiritual activity.<sup>40</sup> The orthodoxy of Ahlussunnah Wal Jmaah is also mentioned with the orthodoxy of Wasathiyaah. This orthodoxy is the source of birth of the attitudes of religious inclusivism. This religious attitude is a social capital for the nagari community of Sunggai Buluah to reject the institutionalization of religious radicalism by salafi preachers and maintain the harmony in life with the Nias-Christians.

The agreement to determine the Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah as a religious understanding of the nagari community based on the moderate values which is had by this religious authority. The theology of Al-Ash'ari is more moderate if compared with the theology of

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<sup>39</sup> RPJMN Sungai Buluah Barat 2018

<sup>40</sup> Tk. Azhari, *Interviewed*, July 13, 2015

Mu'tazila which is liberal. While the reason for using the sufism of al-Ghazali, caused of his spritual practices are based on the consideration to avoid the understanding of philosophical sufism that unites the God and the human which is known as the Wahdatul Wujud. This sufism is also not contrary to the two basic teachings of Islam, the Qur'an and the Hadith. While the reason for determining the Shafi'i school of fiqh as the basis of worship is caused of the moderate attitudes which is held by Imam Syafi'i who positions his fiqh understanding between the two school of fiqh, namely the liberal of Imam Hanafi in using the reason and the puritanism of Imam Maliki who does not use reason on the process of determining the Islamic law. In the process of determining of the Islamic law, Imam Maliki often uses the Hadith, including the Daif Hadith (the weak Hadith) as the basis for determining law. For the community of Tarekat Syattariyah, the Shafi'i school of fiqh tries to use the midle way to determinate the Islamic law rather than the two school of fiqh above in their way to harmonizes the using of reason and hadith <sup>41</sup>.

**a) Rejection the Salafis Propaganda**

The strength of institutionalization of the Islamic orthodoxy of wasathiyah on the nagari community of Sungai Buluah has become a strong fortress for them in rejecting the religious radicalism. The custom aphorism that they always use to realize this orthodoxy is *jalan jan sampai dialiah urang lalu dan cupak jan sampai diganti urang panggaleh* (A way should not changed by those who happen to pass, a scale should not replaced by traders). This custom aphorism means, the Islamic orthodoxy of wasathiyah which has become a religious tradition of the nagari community must not replaced by the new of religious understanding with the patterns of their preaching that tend to upset the nagari community.<sup>42</sup>

The Islamic orthodoxy of wasathiyah has become a filter to the new of religious understanding that come to the nagari of Sungai Buluah, especially the understanding of religious radicalism. The power of this orthodoxy is evidenced by the prohibition of the activities of alafi preaching at the Jannatussalam mosque in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. Jannatussalam is a mosque that is managed by the nagari government. Prohibition of the salafi preaching is caused by the unrest which arise in the nagari community of Sungai Buluah. The unrest arises when a salafi pracher, graduation of the LIPIA college changes the pattern of Friday sermon using the orthodoxy of Tarekat Syattariyyah with the pattern

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<sup>41</sup> Sefriyono, "Lestari Dalam Perubahan: Analsis Sosiologi Agama Terhadap Pesantren Nurul Yakin," *Al-Adyan* 1 (2009): 160.

<sup>42</sup> Tk. Kuniang, *Interviewed*, August 16, 2015

## TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY

of Friday Sermon using the Salafi doctrine. Because it was disturbing the stability of nagari community, this issue reported to the Mufti Nagari (a religious leader in the nagari who has the authority to resolve the community problems related to the Islamic Law). Because, this mosque is a mosque which is owned by the nagari (managed by the nagari government), Mufti Nagari brought this issue to the meeting of *Urang Ampek Jinih*. *Urang Ampek Jinih* is part of custom institution on the nagari level where the member of it has the difference position and role. But they have the same goal. The member of *Urang Nan Ampek Jinih* is penghulu (tribal leader), manti (govenment), malin (relgious leader), and dubalang (security). This institution is part of the custom institution on the nagari level that is called with KAN (customary density of nagari). KAN is the custom institution in the nagari level that task to reserve the Minangkabau custom and culture. *Mufti Nagari* is the member of *Urang Nan Ampek Jinih*.<sup>43</sup>

The preacher of salafi does not only replace the sermon pattern of Friday that has become the religious tradition of nagari community, because it is considered the heresy. But they also claimed that the Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Yakin has been liberalized by the arrival of the leader of PBNU. The Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Yakin is a boarding school which is the pride of the nagari community of Sungai Buluah. This boarding school is managed by the figures of Terekat Syattariyyah. The religious teacher of the nagari community which is called with *tuanku* is the graduation of this boading school. Salafi preached, the presence of the leader of PBNU in that boarding school had the negative effect on students, namely the development liberalism on students. The forms of liberal attitudes that can be seen among students after hearing the religious preaching of Said Aqil Siraj is many students of this Islamic boarding school do not use the hijab, especially when they leave their house for a purpose such as to the market. Those Salafi claim are also unrest the nagari community. The nagari community consider those salafi accusation don't have the solid prove. For the nagari community, the salafi preacher must prove his accusation. If they are not able to provide the evidence, salafi preachers must apologize to the nagari community through the sermons that they do during the three time of sermons on Friday. This action was taken so that the nagari community know about the mistakes which is made by salafi preacher. Besides have to do apologizing through the pulpit of the mosque, salafi preachers are also required come to

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<sup>43</sup> Dt. Rajo Lembang, *Interviewed*, August 03, 2015

the Islamic boarding school of Nurul Yakin to admit their mistakes. Salafi preachers obeyed all of the suggestions of *Urang Nan Ampek Jinih* and the nagari government and come to the Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Yakin to make apologize on their mistakes.<sup>44</sup> For salafi, the leader of the PBNU often upset them, because many of his remarks are inappropriate to be spoken by him as a leader the large of Islamic organization like NU. The sayings are like, the beard people are stupid, the robe clothing is not the Muslim clothing, but the clothes of the Arabs, Indonesian clothing is batik.<sup>45</sup>

#### **b) The Social Acceptance for The Nias People**

The Community of Tarekat Syattariyyah is not only able to dialogue their Islamic understanding with the local culture. But also able to dialogue their Islamic understanding with the adherents of other religions through their Islamic understanding and practices that they have. Among these forms of local culture are the local culture as a result of the Islamic acculturation with local custom such as the Minangkabau custom. The tradition of Islamic locality are different from the great islamic tradition. Although the first tradition is often referred as a form of the deviation of Islam in the form of syncretism. But on the contrary, many experts argue this acculturation is a way to enrich the mosaic of islamic culture. Terekat Syatariyah is an Islamic community which is able to dialogue Islam with local culture in Minangkabau as can be understood from the traditions of Salawat Dulang and Basafa.<sup>46</sup>

While the ability of the community of Tarekat Syattariyyah to dialogue their Islamic understanding towards the adherents of other religions can be understood from the religious inclusivism that they have. The Inclusivism of community of Tarekat Syattariyyah can be understood from their recognition of the existence of religions outside their owned. The inclusivism of community of Tarekat Syattariyyah towards the adherents of other religions is not only can be understood from their religious understanding, but also in their social practices. The community of Tarekat Syattariyyah as the holders of Islamic authority in the nagari of Sungai Buluah recognizes the existence of Christians and Catholics in this nagari. In the religious understanding of community of Tarekat Syattariyyah, born as a Christians, Catholics or Islam are not their willing, but the God willing, as the owner of all willing. God is the Creator of all things and has dominion over His creation. For the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, the existence of minorities of

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<sup>44</sup> Rahmat, *interviewed*, Juni 30, 2017).

<sup>45</sup> Latiful Kabir, *interviewed* August 30, 2017).

<sup>46</sup> Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyyah Di Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2008).

## TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TAREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY

Christian and Catholic in the nagari of Sungai Buluah is part of God deeds. Hence, there is no reason for each of religious communities, including Islam, not to recognize the existence of them.

There are several values of Tarekat Syattariyyah which motivate its adherents to live harmony with the adherents of other religions, especially towards Christians and Catholics in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. Those values are: *First*, the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah think more about the *hakikat* than the *syariat*. For those who thinks the *syariat*, their mindset already limited by the legal provisions that they have. In the implementation of worship like Shalat, the adherents of non-tarekat already have rigidly the understanding of the provisions of *fiqh*, about the validity of *shalat*, at least if they are not follow it the reward of their *shalats* are reduced. This type of thinking will greatly affect to the patterns of their interaction, especially to the adherents of other religions. People or groups that use the *fiqh* rigidly, the rigidity will have a negative effect on the patterns of interaction that they do as seen from their attitudes that tend to be intolerant toward the differences, including the religious differences. Therefore, the *fiqh* is a source of dispute. Although the Imams of *mazhab* (the priests of the school) did not encourage his followers to be fanatical to his *mazhab*, many of his followers are fanatical to the *mazhab* which is followed. For the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, people who hate the adherents of other religions, while the difference of religions essentially are God's creations, basically, the hate attitudes are hate the God's creations. *Second*, all of humans are the descendants of Adam and are glorified by God. To reinforce this statement, the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah bases their theological views on the Al-Qur'an, the Surah of Al-Isra', the verse of 70. The meaning of this verse is *We truly glorified the children of Adam, We transported them in land and in the sea, We gave them a good fortune, We exaggerate them with the perfect advantage over most of the creatures that We have created*. For the adherents of the Tarekat Syattariyyah, all of people who live on the earth are the children and grandchildren of Adam, including the Nias people who adhere Christianity and Catholicism. Allah glorifies them, so it is not right for His creatures to despise them. In the religious understanding of Tarekat Syattariyyah, stepping on their grave is not permitted, let alone intolerant towards them. *Third*, all human being are created from the one *Nur*. This religious understanding based on the theological view, *I (the Prophet of Muhammad) was created from the Nur of Allah. While the nature was created from My Nur (the Nur of Muhammad)*. For the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah,

the Prophet of Muhammad did not make an exception that only Muslims were created from His Nur, but all religious people. Therefore, in the view of adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, even though the Nias people are Christian and Catholic, they also are created from the Nur of Allah. Based on this religious understanding, there is no the enough reason to hate them caused of the difference of religions.<sup>47</sup>

The religious attitude of adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah in which they do not hate the people who are different from them, including the different of religious beliefs based on the two teaching of Tarekat Syattariyyah above. These two teaching are always taught by the teachers of tarekat in every teaching of tarekat in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. In a book entitled *Tarekat Syattariyyah* by Sheikh Ali Imran Hasan, a founder of the Islamic boarding school of Nurul Yakin mentioned that human beings consist of two parts, namely *a'yan tsabitah* and *a'yan kharijiyah*. *A'yan tsabitah* is interpreted with the fine body (soul). While *a'yan kharijiyah* is interpreted with the rough body (physical). *A'yan tsabitah* is a white and clean, *Nur* that covers the entire human body. This Nur is sourced from the Nur of Muhammad. *A'yan tsabitah* is the essence of a human being. *A'yan tsabitah* strenthens a human being to maintain the good character such as thinking and acting properly, advising correctly, trusted, intelligent, generous, giving the enlightenment, merciful, and afraid to do the wrong doing.<sup>48</sup> In the religious understanding of the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, in principle, all humans have this good character, because they have the same sources of Nur, no exception for the Nias people who lived in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. Therefore, there is no the enough reason to hate them.

The acceptance of nagari community of Sungai Buluah towards the Nias ethnict is not only motivated by the inclusivism of the religious understanding of Tarekat Syattariyyah, the democratic values of Minangkabau custom, but also motivated by the hospitality and politeness of the Nias ethnic in their interaction which is they have done since living in the nagari of Sungai Buluah. The Nias people when working with Minangkabau people such as forests clearing, cultivator of agricultural land, village cleaners, have shown the good social attitudes. The inclusive attitudes of the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, the democratic

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<sup>47</sup> Tk. Azhari, Interviewed, July 27, 2019

<sup>48</sup> Ali Amran Hasan, *Buku Panduan Tarekat Syattariyyah* (Padang Pariaman: Pesantren Nurul Yakin, 2013).

## **TAREKAT AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVISM OF THE COMMUNITY OF TEREKAT SYATTARIYYAH IN THE NAGARI OF SUNGAI BULUAH PADANG PARIAMAN REGENCY**

values of Minangkabau custom and the politeness of the Nias people are the basis of social acceptance of the Nias ethnic in the nagari of Sungai Buluah.<sup>49</sup>

### **D. CONCLUSION**

The inclusivism practices of the community of Tarekat Syattariyyah in the nagari of Sungai Buluah can be understood in the two forms: *First*, the rejection of salafi preaching by the reason of their preaching unrest the community of nagari. For the salafis, the religious understanding of the Tarekat Syattariyyah is heresy and the arrival of Said Aqil Siraj to the Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Yakin has resulted the negative effect to the santri (religious students), namely the liberalization. While the Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Yakin is the Islamic boarding school of pride for the nagari community of Sungai Buluah. The radical patterns of salafi preaching contradict with the Wasathiyah of the orthodoxy of *Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah*. *Second*, the acceptance of the Nias ethnic which has the Christian and Catholic in religion is motivated by the inclusivism of values of Tarekat Syattariyyah. The inclusivism values of the Tarekat Syattariyyah are the religious differences and choosing the certain religions like Catholic, Christian, Hinduism basically is not the will of man but the will of God; All the Adam's descendants, including the non-Muslim are glorified by Allah. Therefore, there is no reason for His servant not to glorify them either; all of the human beings were created from the one Nur, Nur Muhammad. Based on these theological understanding, for the adherents of Tarekat Syattariyyah, hate each other caused of religion contradicts with the religious values.

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<sup>49</sup> Tk. Umar Husen, *Interviewed*, July 7, 2019

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