SHEIKH DJAMIL DJAHO AND SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CRITICISM OF MINANGKABAU MUSLIM: A Study on *Tazkirat al-Qulub Fi Mu'amalat 'Allam al-Guyub*

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**ABSTRACT**

This article discusses the socio-religious critique of Sheikh Djamil Djaho on the religious and socio-society conditions in Minangkabau. Analysis of the content and approach of social history-intellectuals was used to dissect the contents of the book *Tazkirat al-Qulub* associated with social-religious context in the policy at the beginning of the 20th century. Based on the analysis of texts it is known that Sheikh Djaho expressed his criticism towards several groups. Among the groups are (1) scholars, (2) worshippers, (3) Sufism experts, and (4) experts of the world. According to Sheikh Djaho, the four groups might include *gurū* (faction), when they use intelligence in their respective fields as masks, not in honesty. This study shows three points. First, the presence of Sheikh Djaho’s criticism departs from the reality of the life of the clergy and layman at that time. Second, the reality of social life keeps a text alive in society. Third, the solution to social-religious reality in the early 20th century was the practice of *tasawwuf*.

**Keywords**: works of ulama, Minangkabau, classical texts, social criticism, *tasawwuf*.

**INTRODUCTION**

Minangkabau is an area that had significant religious dynamics in the early 20th century (Schrieke, 1975: 4). This situation was caused by various aspects. Apart from the emergence of the reformers, who tried to modernize the religious tradition that had been passed down by the previous generation, it was also nuanced by the interests of the Dutch colonial and the rise of the spirit of nationalism (Hadler, 2010). Various elites, in this context are scholars, tried to establish influence in the midst of society. The dynamics took place in various fields. Among them are in the field of education and educational institutions, *da'wah*, and other socio-religious aspects.

In the socio-religious aspect, there are various phenomena which make Minangkabau always interesting to note. The ideas of Islamic renewal, for example, resulted in the separation between ulama, with the youths as the driving force of renewal and the older ones as the keeper of tradition (Latief, 1988). Although no significant gaps existed in these two groups, in addition to its nomenclature which popularized by Colonials, the existence of Youth and Elder Groups has had an insurmountable impact. Many debates, that often ended in conflict, were born from *ikhtilaφ fiqhiyyah* (different interpretation of the Islamic law).

Islamic education which was originally implemented through *surau* institution, then underwent renewal, with the entry of the classical system as the replacement of *halaqah* (Azra, 2002b). Although the change had a positive impact on the course of an education, it also affected the survival of a tradition. *Halaqah* teaches good manner; sitting in the floor with a row of ethical codes, it was all replaced by sitting on a bench, with emotional tie not as strong as sitting around the teacher.

One thing that is criticized by many ulama,
at that time, is about the void of moral in various lines of life. If in the tradition of transmitting Islamic knowledge prioritizes good manner in learning, secular education run by colonials concerned with the subject matter more than ethics during learning. Not infrequently the existence of teacher is not in the position of ‘object’ in the eyes of students, but more to the ‘subject’ who serve only as a provider of material.

The development of worldly life in the form of modernity also colored the dynamics of the early 20th century. The emergence of the desire to seek the worldly livelihood, coupled with the trader mentality possessed by Minangkabau society momentarily, became the driving factor of worldly-oriented life attitude (Radjab, 1954). This orientation influenced the life of the Minangkabau people. If previously farming was a daytime activity and went to surau when the night arrived, it would no longer be a life priority. Many worldly ideals influenced the mentality of the younger generation at that time. One of the things affected by the worldly ideals was the fading existence of the religiosity in line with the mounting materialistic needs.

The aforementioned matters made ulama, especially the Elder Ulama, criticizing the circumstances during that time. Many writings were produced by ulama to respond such matter. The writings are in the form of short articles in newspapers or marketed books.

The articles and books regard to the moral decline and degradation of religious knowledge and therefore focused more on efforts to be back the root of Islamic spirituality, \textit{tašawwuf}. In reality, \textit{tašawwuf} on one side can be a self-criticism toward an ongoing condition. \textit{Tašawwuf} is not always talking about the ritual about the approach of servants to the creator. On the other side \textit{tašawwuf} can also become a barometer of socio-community and socio-religious life.

One form of response to socio-religious dynamics in the early 20th century was written by Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho (1975-1950) in a book called \textit{Tazkirat al-Qulub fī Mu’amatāt ‘Allām al-Guyub}. This book is a very popular treatise, written by one of the elders and also prominent educators among the Older Group. Since being written and printed in the early 1940s, it has not lost market share until now. In fact, this book became one of the reading materials for \textit{tašawwuf} subject in madrassas in the environment of Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association. This implies that this book is still considered relevant to addressing the current socio-community situation.

A strongly rooted writing, by being used as a subject of matter and general reading after passing through various times, is a unique thing to be noticed further. \textit{Tazkirat al-Qulub}, which enters the category of “long-lived” books, is interesting to be studied in depth if associated with its context of writing. The research problems are how did Sheikh Djamal respond to the socio-religious dynamics of his day? How did Sheikh Djamal assess the overlapping situation between modernity, colonialism, and degradation of etiquette? They will all be discussed based on content analysis on the work of Sheikh Djamal Djaho.

\textbf{Research Method}

This study applies the intellectual social history approach. The approach allows to place the text of \textit{Mişbah al-ţalām} in the framework of religious upheaval in West Sumatra in the early 20th century. Social history, as expressed by Azra, is a study of the factors, even in the realm of social sphere—which affects the occurrence of the events of history itself (Azra, 2002a: 4). Related to the matter, Tsing Kartodirjo, as quoted by Azra, mentions further that social history is the history of the splinter “movement” from the mainstream society or the established social and political order (Azra, 2002a: 5).

\textbf{Result And Discussion}

\textit{Minangkabau in the Context Of Socio-Religious at the End Of Second Millennium}

Talking about Minangkabau certainly will not be separated from a number of important events in this region’s history. Among them are Minangkabau custom, Islam, and the struggle
to be free from colonialism. In terms of custom, Minangkabau is known as a region which is strongly holding its customs and cultures. Although, in almost every period, there are some people who criticize the custom, Minangkabau custom with all its dynamics is maintained and always become a pride because the region which is strongly holding these customs and traditions can survive along with Islam which rooted deeper. Custom does not just disappear, by going through difficult times because of the influence of the times, in fact, it is getting stronger juxtaposed with syara’ (religion of Islam). Until the appearance of a parable, Minangkabau customs and Islam is like water and cliff, both complement and synergize each other.

In terms of struggle for independence, Minangkabau has marked a history as a region that has a fighting spirit against colonialism. The war that occurred in the 19th century and the in beginning of the 20th century become the witness. In the early 19th century there was a war known as the Paderi War, the war, which in Dobbin’s account, was the antithesis of the struggle for economic influence in the deeper region (Dobbin, 2008: 198-202). This war almost broke Dutch’s spirit to monopolize economic resources. In addition to economy as the cause of the war, the lengthy period of war also resulted in huge material damage for the Colonials.

Padri was subjugated by the Colonials with the capture of Tuanku Imam and his exile to Java then to Menado. However, various forms of local struggle of Minangkabau society still continued. In the early 20th century, there was Belasting War as a response to Colonial policy in taxation in Minangkabau (Amran, 1985: 324-34). As before, the Minangkabau community didn’t accept it, even they struggled as a form of resistance against the policy which was disadvantageous to the people.

In addition to issues concerning colonial policy, the early 20th century also became an important point of unanimity of religious thoughts in Minangkabau. The introduction to Islamic renewal from Egypt (Azra, 2002b) that undermined the understanding and practice of religion in Minangkabau resulted in debates both in writings and in oral. Not a few of the consequences that arose among common people about these religious issues. Even it was told that differences in religious practice caused a family broken (Arrasuli, 1938: 8). There were husbands who divorced their wives because of different religious ideas. There were also brothers who did not greet each other because one had considered the other as a heretic. Many negative events occurred in response to the spirit of renewal.

This fact has temporarily lost time to be dedicated in the society. On one side, ulama actually strove their da’wah to criticize the long-standing religious tradition, while on the other side there were other ulama who spent their time as apologetic.

Several studies on the renewal movement in Minangkabau emphasized the importance of al-Manār Magazine in the spirit of tajdid. The magazine, which became the mouthpiece of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida, was spread across Minangkabau through Minangkabau students in Egypt (Azra, 1999: 92-93). The ideas of religious purification, in the sense of returning to the Qur’an and Sunnah, became the jargon voiced by al-Manār. In fact, al-Manār gained a place among some Minangkabau young ulamas. The birth of al-Manār Magazine in Padang and al-Manār al-Munir in Padangpanjang was a testament to the influence of al-Manār in the thinking of young ulamas. These two magazines, like their predecessor al-Manār, voiced renewal with sharp criticism of the established practice in Minangkabau (Azra, 1999: 92-100).

The acceptance of al-Manār actually did not depart from a void space. The teacher of the Minangkabau ulama, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi from Bukittinggi, had previously

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2In the 1950s decade, Hamka released a book containing sharp criticism toward Minangkabau custom. The title was Adat Minangkabau Menghadap Revolusi. This book had triggered protest from tradition group, but the criticism didn’t last long. Hamka’s book then becomes a literature about the dynamics of custom, not more.
also thrown religious criticism against some practices in Minangkabau. At first, he criticized inherited local practices. According to him, some religious practices applied according to custom guidance is not in accordance with Islamic shari’ah. His book, *al-Manhaj al-Masyru>* is a strong counter-argument of the custom on heritage. Although this work was written by a prestigious figure in Mecca, it still received a lot of criticism. Many Minangkabau scholars criticized the plot of thought and *istidlāl* of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib in this book (Latief, 1988). Nevertheless, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib’s attitude in the criticism against custom created a deep impression in the heart of his students. If the critical attitude hasn’t been familiar because it is subject to good manner courtesy, then criticism becomes an inseparable culture from the ideology of renewal.

Something that determines the position of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib as a prominent figure who colored the renewal of Islam is his criticism to Sufi order, the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa. It is important to note that the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa is an important element in the socio-religious life in Minangkabau. Almost all were practitioners and active in spreading this tariqa. The attitude of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib countering the tariqa practice is a form of thought of resistance against ulamas in his village. In addition, younger ulama’ who are his students are promoting his teacher’s thoughts in the form of being tariqa critics.

One of his disciples who is known to be a puritan is Haji Rasul. His full name is Abdul Karim Amarullah, born in Sungai Batang Maninjau. In addition to become an important ulama in Padangpanjang, he is also a modern madrasa, Thawalib. His father was a prominent ulama’ in the field of *tasawwuf* in the 19th century, namely Sheikh Amarullah or popularly known as Tuanku Kisa’i. Typically of *tasawwuf* ulama, Sheikh Amarullah is a practitioner and a mursyid in several important tariqas in the Sunni tradition. The tariqas are Naqsyabandiyah, ‘Alawiyah, and Haddadiyah (Putra, 2014: 191-203). Sheikh Amarullah once studied to Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahan, a Shafi’iyah mufti in Mecca famous for his rejection to Wahhabis. His teacher initiated Sheikh Amarullah to the ‘Alawiyah Tariqa.

Haji Rasul was born and grew up in the thick *tasawwuf* tradition, as can be seen from the position of his father who was a prominent mursyid in Minangkabau in the 19th century. Nevertheless, the flow of thought formed from long interaction with his teacher in Mecca, namely Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, did not necessarily make Haji Rasul “silent” against the tariqa practice, even though it was practiced by his own father. Thoughts are not always identical to the environment in which a person lives, but rather are formed by an influential teacher for a student.

In order to reject the practice of the tariqa, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib wrote a book *Ižhār zagīlīl kāzībīn fī-tasyabbūbihīhin bīs-Sādiqīn*. In responding to this book, Haji Rasul advocated his teacher’s opinion by writing a book with a similar title, *Ižhār asātīr al-nuḏiilla fī- Tasyabbūbihīhin bil-nuḏriḏā* (Opening the Curtain of the Apostasy of a Person who Resembles Himself as One who can Guide) (Putra, 2011: 26-27). Haji Rasul’s response was an indication of the influence by Sheikh Ahmad Khatib.

More than Sheikh Ahmad Khatib who criticized one or two religious practices in his hometown, Haji Rasul passed the limit of his teacher’s activity. In addition to the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa, Haji Rasul also criticized the Syattariyah Tariqa, *Amalan Maulid*, especially Barzanji, pronouncing the intention, and a full taqlid attitude in one school of *fiqh* (Putra, 2011: 72-90). Based on more puritanical activity, Haji Rasul has always been the best example of the early 20th century Islamic reformers.

As revealed in the previous section that the acceptance of *al-Manār* did not come from a vacuum situation, then interpreted with a critical attitude of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib who has influenced his students who are the drivers of renewal. Sheikh Ahmad Khatib has laid the foundations of the renewal, albeit on a lesser scale, to his disciples. Therefore, most of his students immediately accepted *al-Manār*’s ideas,
which were not too far away from their teachers’ critical stance.

Haji Rasul as the model of the early reformers has been educated by his teacher Sheikh Ahmad Khatib. The presence of al-Manār made his renewing spirit stronger, so he released controversial thoughts in his time. For example, he expressed the opinion of a person even though moving from taqlid to ijtihad as mentioned in sūllān al-wuṣūl yurqā bihi ilā sawā’ī ḫīhu al-uṣūl, the first Malay book in usūl fiqh book. He went further than his teacher, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib. If the teacher still holds the Shafi’ite Madhhab, and he was appointed as one of the imams and preachers in the Shafi’ite Madhhab, then Haji Rasul expressed his courage to express his opinion outside the madhhab of his teacher. This made Sheikh Ahmad Khatib once issued a strict reprimand against his student.

In addition to al-Manār, the circulation of books from outside the Shafi’ite madhhab became one of the causes of religious struggle in Minangkabau. Zād al-waż’ād and Subul al-salām are two examples. Zād al-waż’ād is a monumental work of Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, a prominent student of Ibn Taymiyah. These teacher and disciple are often categorized as the figures behind the rise of Wahhabiyyah followers in Nejd. Although still in the group of Hanabali Madhhab ulamas, Ibnu Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim issued many controversial opinions in their mazhab group. Among others were the tawāsṣūl, the sufi tariqa, the nature of the istiwa’, and others. The Zād al-waż’ād was born in the spirit to restore the understanding to the Qur’an and Sunnah. With the momentum to follow the deeds of the Prophet Muhammad, Zād al-waż’ād contains some criticisms of the madhhab that prevailed at that time. Therefore, it is understandable if Ibnu Qayyim (as well as his teacher) and his book received a strong rebuttal from other ulamas. In the case of Minangkabau, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi and Sheikh Muhammad Sa’ad al-Khalidi Mungka were ulamas who disputed the contents of Zād al-waż’ād (al-Minangkabawi, 1906; Mungka, 1910).

Like al-Manār, Zād al-waż’ād also gained a place among young ulamas in Minangkabau. Haji Rasul as the pioneer of young ulamas made this book as a reference when criticizing the practice of talāffūz bin-niyyah (pronouncing intention) which is popular in Shafi’ite Madhhab (Putra, 2011: 75-76).

Subul al-salām, the second example, is also considered to influence young ulamas’ way of thinking. Mahmud Yunus mentioned in his book, al-Masāīl al-Fiqhiyyah, even this book is the cause of differences in the implementation of Tarāwīh prayer in Minangkabau (Yunus, 1950: 13). He stated that Subul al-salām asserted that Tarāwīh should have eight rak‘āhs with two salams, on the basis of ittība’ to the Prophet. This assertion differs from that which the Minangkabau Muslims have practiced based on the Shafi’ite Madhhab. Though it seems trivial, Tarāwīh problem had been a debate in that period.

The emergence of the reformers made the Shafi’ite ulamas needed to fortify their religious ideology. They then actively defended the Shafi’ite madhhab and its deeds through writings, tabīfīg, and even open debate. In categorizing these two groups with distinct schools, the researchers invented the term Youth Group for reformist ulamas and the Elder Group for ulamas who defended existing religious traditions.

The dynamics that occurred between Youth and Elder Groups were not only happening in the arena of knowledge, but also in the activities of religious struggle. Young ulamas with an open attitude held a reform in the education system. They adopted many classical systems, as Colonials applied to pribumi schools. In addition, the Young Ulamas produced many essays, which can certainly be judged as a transitional form of literacy from classical books to modern books which are regarded as being appropriate to the times. M. Sanusi Latief made a comparison and came to a conclusion that the Youth Group were more productive in writing than the Elder ulamas (Latief, 1988). This fact is understandable that the Youth Group were motivated by a spirit of
renewal, instead, the Elders prefer to retain the existing tradition.

In the field of education, the Elder Group was more conservative. They did not only maintain the *halaqah* system but also accepted the concept of classical education as being done by the Youth Group. However, to certain conditions, the lessons and books are not replaced; they must be in accordance with what is derived by the respective chain of knowledge (*sanad*).

Among the popular schools of Reformers is Thawalib. Madrasah Thawalib had branches in most of the Darek region at that time (Daya, 1955). In comparison to the Thawalib of Youth Group, the Elder Group also developed a classical education under the name Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, which also stood in almost every region. The birth of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah was the result of the agreement of the old ulamas in Canduang in 1928. The first three madrasas among the Elder Group were Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang led by Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho led by Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho and Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Tobekgadang led by Sheikh Abdul Wahid Asshalihi.

In addition to the religious struggle between the Youth and the Elder Groups, another factor influencing the dynamics of Minangkabau Muslims in the early 20th century was to reinforce the attention to the economic fulfillment. Radjab, one of the authors of the history of Singkarak, mentioned that in the early 20th century there were many young men wanted to move from their villages (Radjab, 1950: 125). The purpose of moving to other villages was not only to study anaksiak (*santri*) in the past, but also to trade. It is not surprising that Minangkabaunese were born to become successful traders, and moving from their villages for trade was inseparable from their lives.

Economic fulfillment, which which is regarded as worldly matters, has spawned the third “elite” group in the Minangkabau people’s perspective. In addition to *niniak mamak* (tribal chief) as the top of the group, there were ulamas who became religious leaders, and lastly, traders as a foothold in the city. So these three groups seem to represent the custom, the religion, and the economy.

Colonialism, religious renewal, and worldly tendencies, as described in these subgroups, are the things that affect the mental state of Minangkabau Muslims in the early 20th century (Hadler, 2010). Interesting to note here is how ulamas, in this case, the elder ulamas, responded to these circumstances. As ulamas are always regarded as figures associated as someone steadfastly holding the tradition, did they participate in a shift in values caused by the influence of colonialism, Islamic renewal, and worldly tendencies? Or will they respond and criticize to the socio-religious conditions that nuance the history?

**Intellectual Legacy of Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho and His Position among Minangkabau Ulamas**

Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho, who is also known as Angku Djaho is one of the prominent ulamas of the Elder Group. He is a close friend of Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli and Sheikh Abdul Wahid Tabekgadang in the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association (PERTI). Together with his friends, he founded Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah which became the basis of Elder Group to transform knowledge. His dedication to education was proven by establishing a madrassa in 1928, a madrasah which was able to produce ulamas concerning on various fields.

Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho (futher is called as Sheikh Djaho) was born in 1875 in Djaho, one of the regions in the Padangpanjang region (Edwar [ed], 1981: 99). Padangpanjang is

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3 It is necessary to distinguish between the two leading ulamas of the early 20th century in Minangkabau with the same name. First, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djambe, an ulama and astronomer from Bukittinggi. Secondly, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Dja- ho, the ulama discussed in this paper, an ulama and educator, the founder of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho, from Padangpanjang. The mention of “Djaho” at the end of his name is the *nisba* (attribution) of the region of origin.
known as the Veranda of Mecca, which means that this area is the locus of religious knowledge. The intellectual climate shaped by the environment gave a positive influence on the growth of Sheikh Djaho in his childhood.

Sheikh Djaho studied the Qur’an and the basic knowledge of Islam in his hometown. The educational institution was a surau led by a Sheikh or tuanku. The learning system was in the form of ḥalāqah, in which astudents were sitting in a circle in front of the teacher. This traditional system shaped the character of Sheikh Djaho in the childhood. He then desired to study to some ulamas deeply. In addition to learning various knowledge in religion, Sheikh Djaho was also exercised with physical endurance lesson, silat. Therefore, in addition to being known as an ulama, Sheikh Djaho was also a famous pendekar (Djamily, 1996; and Yunus, 1994).

After finishing studying the Qur’an and basic knowledge of religion through the matn books, Sheikh Djaho then began his intellectual journey. He went to some ulamas in Minangkabau to study various scientific fields seriously. Among the ulamas who became his teachers were Sheikh Abdullah Halaban (d. 1926) and Sheikh Muhammad Sa’ad al-Khalidi Mungka (d. 1920). These two names were important figures in Islamic knowledge in Darek in the late 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century. They were the leaders of the Ittihād Ulama Sumatera (Association of Sumatran Ulamas) a legendary ulama organization in Minangkabau.

Sheikh Abdullah Halaban is a figure who established the foundation of Islamic education at surau institution in Darek. He is a qualified ulama in fiqh, usūl fiqh, and maantiq (logic). According to local historiography, it is narrated that Sheikh Abdullah came to examine eminent ulamas of Darek in the matter of fiqh, but no one could answer him until once he met Sheikh Sa’ad Mungka and confessed his scholarship (Sa’adi, 1988: 15). Because Sheikh Abdullah was a legendary expert in fiqh and usūl fiqh, Sheikh Djaho wanted to learn from him.

It was quite a long time Sheikh Djaho studied religion to Sheikh Abdullah until he was appointed by his teacher as guru tuo (assistant) who assisted the teaching process at Surau Halaban. In Halaban, Sheikh Djaho had a close relationship with Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli who also became a guru tuo, so that there was a close relationship between these two figures (Yunus, 1994: 33-34). To Sheikh Djaho, Sheikh Abdullah was an influential teacher in thoughts and education.

Sheikh Muhammad Sa’ad al-Khalidi Mungka (further is called as Sheikh Mungka) was the second figure that influenced Sheikh Jaho’s personality. Unlike previous teachers, Sheikh Djaho learned to Sheikh Muhammad Sa’ad when he had taught and was known as an ulama.

Sheikh Mungka was a prominent ulama in Darek. The surau where he taught was always attended by students from different regions of Minangkabau. He was known as syaikh al-al-masyaikh (the great teacher) (Abbas, 1975). Although this title is somewhat ambitious, history records that the ḥalāqah of Sheikh Mungka was only filled with ulamas. The beginners (mubtadi’) were provided with guru suduik (common teacher) who taught religious knowledge for basic and intermediate levels. Sheikh Mungka preferred to speak in Arabic to Minangkabau language (Yahya, 1978: 15). In addition, he was fond to write books and letters in the form of syi’ir. This all proved his scholarship level.

The popularity of Sheikh Mungka rose higher as he refuted the opinion of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi on the issue of the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa and the inheritance system of the heirloom. He wrote several books to defend the tariqa and implementation of the Shafi’ite madhhab (Putra, 2011: 39-41). His expertise in fiqh and taṣawwuf made himself the source from which the people were seeking answer when theyu had a problem in religion.

Sheikh Djaho came to Mungka along with his friends, such as Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli, Sheikh Machudum Solok, Sheikh Salim Bayur, and
others (Sa’adi, 1988: 16). The field of scholarship that was discussed in the ḡalaqah of Sheikh Mungka was fiqh, with the Tuhfah al-Muṭṭaj book, the main book in the Shafi’ite madhhab. In addition, some ulamas came specifically to study taṣawwuf because Sheikh Mungka was also the mursyi>d of the Naqsyabandiyyah Tariqa. Learning in Mungka, Sheikh Djaho did not settle down as in other places before. He came for a few days and returned to Djaho to lead the madrasa he founded. Sheikh Djaho learned to Shaikh Mungka until his teacher died in 1920.

In addition to Sheikh Abdullah Halaban and Sheikh Sa’ad Mungka, the figure that shaped the personality and the mind of Sheikh Djaho was Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. The last figure was a prominent ulama in Haramain. He became the master who led ḡalaqah at the Al-Haram Mosque (Edwar, 1981: 15-20). Due to the position he has attained, namely as an imam and preacher in the Shafi’ite Madhhab, he is the pride for Southeast Asian students. Any student from Southeast Asia who came to Mecca always visited him.

The expertise of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib is in the field of fiqh. This is not surprising because he is one of the main disciples of Sayyid Bakri Syatha, a prominent Shafi’iyte fiqh expert in Mecca. In fact, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib can be called as the ulama behind the spread of the I’anah al-Ṭālibīn book in Nusantara.

Sheikh Djaho settled in Mecca for 10 years. Most of his 10 years staying there, he used it to study religion. In addition to Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, he also studied to Sheikh Ali al-Maliki, Sheikh Sa’id Yamani, and others (Yunus, 1994: 35-38). Several years were used for teaching. He was one of the few disciples of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib who had been allowed to teach at the Al-Haram Mosque.

After obtaining a diploma from some ulamas in Mecca and having gained teaching experience, Sheikh Djaho then returned to his hometown, Djaho. He then taught in Sheikh Adam’s surau and began to develop the knowledge he studied in Mecca (Yahya, 1978: 42). In 1928, under the agreement of the elder ulamas in Canduang, Sheikh Djaho developed Sheikh Adam’s halaqah into a madrasa with the classical system. This madrasa is known as Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho (Yahya, 1978: 54). This madrasa became one of the first three madrassas of the elders, after the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang and the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Tobekgodang.

The expertise of Sheikh Djaho in the knowledge of ‘aqidah, Arabic, and fiqh, made his madrasa grow rapidly. In a short time, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho was visited by students from various regions, even from the Malay Peninsula (Djamily, 1996: 63-85). Medium and high-level education, for seven years, with various lessons such as fiqh, iṣṭil, naḥw, ṣarf, balāghah, tafsīr, hadīs, taṣawwuf, and taḥfid able to form santri (student) with broad insight. Therefore the first generation of this madrasa became pioneers of ulama in the mid-20th century. Students who have obtained diplomas, and have been declared qualified, are expected to open madrassas in their villages. So Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho had branches in some areas, the result of Djaho’s graduates who are considered capable of carrying Islamic da’wah into society. Among Sheikh Djaho’s prominent disciples as ulama are Sheikh Umar Bakri in Pariangan, Sheikh Zakaria Labai Sati Malalo, Sheikh Muhammad Kanis Tuanku Tuah, Sheikh H. Mansur Dt. Nagari Basa, and others, including a row of Sheikh Djaho’s disciples, though studied indirectly, was Sheikh Muda Wali al-Khalidi (Djamily, 1996: 59). The last figure was a very influential Acehnese ulama. He was initially invited to Djaho to have a muzakarah (discussion) in religious matters. Then Sheikh Djaho was interested in the depth of his knowledge so that he was made as a son-in-law.

The figure of Sheikh Djaho was very important in Islamic scholarship transmission in Minangkabau in the 20th century. In the scholarly genealogy, Sheikh Djaho lies in the rank of next-generation ulamas. In addition, he also had a significant position in the intellectual struggles of
his time. He was made as a figure to take fatwa from which requested orally and written by various people. In the discussions among ulamas, Sheikh Djaho’s opinion was often made as the final conclusion of a problem. This proved that his intellectual maturity was recognized.

As a prominent ulama, Sheikh Djaho also occupied several positions in several organizations. In the *Ittihād Ulama Sumatera*, the first organization among Minangkabau ulamas, he sat on the main board (Majalah Al-Mizan, 1916: 16), while in the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Union, which then developed rapidly in several areas of Sumatra, Sheikh Djaho became one of the founders and had been a chairman. After he reached an old age, he became the mentor and was considered as an important figure.

Besides being active in the socio-religious life, Sheikh Djaho was also known as a prolific writer. His essays were sometimes used as a lesson for anaksiak (santri) and as a response to the prevailing social conditions of his day. Although Sheikh Djaho preferred writing in Arabic, he had on several occasions used the Minangkabau Malay language as a written language. Among Syaiikh Djaho’s writings are:

2. *Suluh Benderang*, contains about the issues that became the debate in the early 20th century. Sheikh Djaho, in this case, affirms his principle in the Asy’ari’ite aqidah and Shafi’ite Madhhab.
3. Al-Hujjāh *al-balīghah*, contains about the practice of Tarawih prayer and answer some questions about the difference of Tarawih problem.
4. *Tażkīrat al-Qulūb*, contains about the *tasawwuf* lesson and become the main book at madrassas under the auspices of Perti.

In addition to the aformentioned books, Shaikh Djaho wrote some articles in several magazines. Unfortunately, these articles have not been well documented. These writings are an original form of Sheikh Djaho’s thoughts. Some of them are still used and read to this day.

*Tażkīrat al-Qulūb* as The Monumental Work of Sheikh Djamil Djaho

The book of *Tażkīrat al-Qulūb* the popular and widespread work of Sheikh Djaho. Passing through the period after this text was produced, *Tażkīrat al-Qulūb* is still used as a teaching material in some madrassas and majelis taklim (religious study group) now, in addition as an individual readings. It is interesting to discuss the text that is still alive, not only at the time of its writing. In addition to proving that the work is populist, it also gives the understanding that the matters revealed in the book are still relevant.

There are several things that are discussed in the *Tażkīrat al-Qulūb*. In accordance with the context of the early 20th century, there are at least three important points in the book. First, criticism of Islamic renewal. Second, an assessment of the pseudo-sufi. Third, the response to the misleading intellectual. Regarding the Islamic renewal, Sheikh Djaho gave a sharp criticism, especially in the realm of fatwa and *ijtiḥād*. He argued that not everyone can give a fatwa and *ijtiḥād*. With regard to the pseudo-sufi, Sheikh Djaho judges them as a hypocrite who sells the appearance of Sufism. Finally, misleading intellectuals are considered as ulamas who have the impact of stagnating Islamic teachings.

From the type of religious knowledge categorization, *Tażkīrat al-Qulūb* is a work that contains about the explanation of *tasawwuf*. The important point of this book is about the character of a person, in addition to God, is also to others. Like other books for *tasawwuf* genre, the discussion of this book is not about explaining the law and the proposition, but it
is more conservative, giving the explanation of the importance of noble characters and various alternatives in being in the boundary of syara’.

The authorship of this book was more driven by personal reality. Unlike other books of ulamas in his day which were written to fulfill a person’s request, the book was born as an answer to the question he himself invented. For the author himself, which in this context is the subject, he was conducting a question and answer himself. Subject and object are one in imaginative conversation. This is a new writing style for that time.

Tażkirat al-Qulūb writing was for a personal reason. Sheikh Djaho at a young age was no longer felt there was an empty thing to him. In fact, in his career and wealth, he was quite well-off. His career as a prominent ulama was brilliant; he was appointed to the main board of the Ittihād ‘Ulama Sumatera and became the leader of the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association, as well as a renowned madrasa caretaker. From an economic point of view, he was categorized as a middle class, though his daily activities were just teaching. Sheikh Djaho wrote that his anger was caused by the dryness of spirituality. His activity which was always solely in his career and wealth, he was quite well-off. His last work, but the contents of this book reflect the maturity of thinking based on long enough experience.

The text of Tażkirat al-Qulūb was written in the early decade of the 1940s, a few years before he died. There is no indication that this book is his last work, but the contents of this book reflect the maturity of thinking based on long enough experience.

The book of Tażkirat al-Qulūb is a quite popular book. This can be seen from the percentage of usage of this book as a teaching material on the tašawwuf subject at the ‘āliyah level in Perti madrasas.4 As of this writing, this work is still maintained as a teaching material, even by NU pesantren and some Majelis Taklim.3 This proves that this book still has an important position among Minangkabau santri.

The first print of this book was not provided with the information of publisher nor the date of publication. Two texts that are always propagated manually are Tażkirat al-Qulūb prints of Maktabah Nusantara Bukittinggi. One print

4 Among the madrasas that use this book are Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho (Padangpanjang), Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Tobekgadang, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Kotopanjang Lampasi, and others.

3 Al-Ma‘ārif al-Sa‘īdiyah Pesantren, as an NU base in Limapuluh Kota, also made this book as a teaching material for tašawwuf.
Sheikh Djamil Djaho and Socio-Religious Criticism of Minangkabau Muslim
Saeful Bahri

is the second print which mentions the year. This print cooperated with Maktabah Al-Ma’arif belonging to Haji Ilyas Fort de Kock. The second text is the fourth print by Maktabah Nusantara in 1956. Information about the reprinting is not known anymore, but the book is then widespread by photocopy.

Viewed from its physical manuscript, Tazkirat al-Qulub includes a small book consisting of 65 pages that already includes a list of taṣwīb (misprint), fihris (table of contents), and muqaddimah (introduction). Although fairly small, the contents of this book are deep. It is very rare for a class to complete the lesson about this book within a year.

It consists of two great titles (the book). The first title is the book of al-Muraqabah, explaining the importance of awareness of God’s oversight in every behavior. The second title is the book of al-Gurūr, explaining matters that can deceive people so that they are negligent from God. Each title has parts of chapters. The Book of al-Muraqabah contains seven chapters, including asbab al-muraqabah (causes of muraqabah), i’sār al-ẓikr (dhikr regularly), muhasabah al-nafs (self-introspection), mujanaḥah amr al-nafs (fight against desires) ‘adam ittiḥa’ al-hawa’ (not following the worldly wishes), al-haya’ (sense of shame), al-taubah (repentance), ṭikr al-maut (remembering death), and tafakur syiddah al-maut (contemplating on death matters). In the second part, the book of al-Gurūr, there are four discussions, namely the Gurūr of knowledge expert, the Gurūr of worship expert, the Gurūr of tasjāwuwf expert, and the Gurūr of the worldly matters expert. The discussion of Gurūr (deceit) dominates Tazkirat al-Qulub.

The ulamas put Tazkirat al-Qulub as the monumental work of Sheikh Djaho. Among those who placed this book as the main work of Sheikh Djaho was Sirajuddin Abbas, a politician ulama who documented the old Minangkabau ulamas (Abbas 1975: 352). In addition, Yunus Yahya, an ulama who once met Sheikh Djaho, placed this work as a brilliant idea (Yahya, 1978: 16). Criticism of this book was given by Hamka in his Ayahku. Hamka mentioned Sheikh Djaho as a disingenuous figure in conveying the memoirs of Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, and Jamaluddin al-Afghani. As a figure who was fascinated by the thoughts of three early reformer figures of the 20th century, Hamka judged Sheikh Djaho was too hasty. Hamka’s criticism was based on Sheikh Djaho’s statement that the origin of the Gurūr of knowledge is the three aforementioned reformers. Hamka’s writing appeared several years after the death of Sheikh Djaho.

Tazkirat al-Qulub as Self-Criticism to Socio-Religiosity

As revealed in the fragment above, the discussion of Gurūr (deceit) in Tazkirat al-Qulub dominates its discussion. Sheikh Djaho in the book of Gurūr mentions four groups that can be influenced by deceit so that the essence of these four matters only acts as a mask covering their true identity. What Sheikh Djaho reveals when considering the Minangkabau socio-religious condition in the early 20th century is a reality. The information provided by an Indonesianist, Hadler, mentions at least there are some elements that make the dynamics of Minangkabau always alive. Especially it was in the early 20th century, the question of colonial policy, the desire to get out of the economic down turn, and the religion modernization. These three things are a form of al-nugtarin (the deceived ones) on Sheikh Djaho’s version. Seen from the context of the Tazkirat al-Qulub writer, the discussion of al-Gurūr that dominates the content is a synthesis of the circumstances experienced and or around Sheikh Djaho. The writing becomes a way of responding to such situation, which Sheikh Djaho also used as a disclosure as well as a critique of matters that are not in line with the foundation of religion.

From the socio-religious context of Minangkabau in the early 20th century, the Tazkirat al-Qulub tries to respond to three fundamental matters, which according to Sheikh Djaho, are considerable to corrupt the religion and society. The three matters are the renewal of Islam, pseudo-Sufi, and intellectual. Each matter
was responded by Sheikh Djaho in a persuasive way according to Sufi tradition.

Response to Islamic Renewal

The renewal of Islam is inseparable in the Nusantara in the early 20th century. The birth of the reform movement has brought about a lot of influence on the socio-religious conditions in various regions. Minangkabau became one of the reforming bases raised by the Youth Group, as mentioned above. There were a number of things that took the attention of Youth Group in Minangkabau, ranging from the tariqa problem that dragged ulamas in long debates, to minor issues such as death ceremony. Not infrequently the debate of these matters made the people split into groups according to their choice.

Sheikh Djaho was an ulama who was directly connected with Islamic renewal in Minangkabau. In addition to being the main disciple of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, a figure considered to be behind the renewal movement in Minangkabau, Sheikh Djaho also once led the Muhammadiyah Modernist organization in Padangpanjang. Then he was reported resigned from the organization after attending a conference in Java. Differences in religious understanding became the reason that should be put forward for his attitude.

Regarding the Islamic renewal, the text of Taz|kirat al-qulu>b presents his discussion about this subject in al-guru>r part, especially on the afa>t al-di>n wa nawa>qid}uha> (confusion in religion and how to prevent it). It is well known that Sheikh Djaho is on the side of the Elder Group, who by all his rejection of the reformulation of religious traditions that have been considered established. Sheikh Djaho, in sarcastic language, strongly criticized renewal efforts in the Islamic material, including the attachment to the fiqh maz|hab and the practice of the Sufi order. Sheikh Djaho assertively stated that those who make fatwa with no related knowledge is a mujtahid jahil (moronic fatwa expert):

وأما مجتهد جاهل فهو أكثر شيء افسادا في الدين....

“And as for the mujtahid jahil then he is the one who damages the religion the most... he makes fatwaas he pleases; justifying what is forbidden by Allah, and forbid what Allah has permitted. There are many of these groups in our time” (Djaho, n.d.: 56).

Sheikh Djaho concluded that the Islamic renewal was proclaimed by three main figures, namely Muhammad Abduh, Sayyid Ridha, and Jamaluddin al-Afghani. Muhammad Abduh and Sayyid Ridha, a teacher and a student, are figures who consider the attitude of jumud (frozen mind) in religion as the cause of the decline of Islam. Jumud can be demonstrated by excessive fanaticism towards certain fiqh maz|hab following the Sufi order which reduces their time to work in the religion, and the absence of a tradition of critical thinking among ulamas. The thoughts of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Ridha were stated in the al-Mana>r magazine which later spread widely to Minangkabau. This reformists’ thinking influenced the Minangkabau Youths to break down the ulama tradition in the regions. Taqlid attitude was attacked with al-Mana>r’s line of thought. It also includes local traditions which are not written in qat'i (clearly) fashion in the Qur’an and Hadith.

In addition to the al-Mana>r magazine the reformer also left the Quranic interpretation with the same name, Tafsir al-Mana>r. In addition to containing ideas about renewal, this interpretation also proposes the possibility of a review for interpretations that were considered as a standard before. The al-Mana>r magazine and the Tafsir al-Mana>r were spread in Minangkabau through the hands of Indonesian students in al-Azhar.

According to Sheikh Djaho, the influence of al-Mana>r did not merely give influence to the Youth Group, more than that he was considered as a breakthrough of the elements of the maz|hab with the slogan of returning to the Qur’an and Sunnah. Even though not everyone can directly
Sheikh Djamil Djaho and Socio-Religious Criticism of Minangkabau Muslim
Saeful Bahri

refer to the Qur’an as the basis of the istinbat al-ahkam (issuing the law). Sheikh Djaho’s strong statement was:

ورؤساء المجتهدين الجاهلين جمال الدين أفغاني ومحمد عبده و رشيد رضا صاحب جريدة المنار كلهم ضالون ومضلون الناس هم مصلحون في ظنهم بل هم مفسدون في الدين.

“The main figures of the mujtahid ja hil were Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Ridha, the leaders of al-Manar Magazine. They are misguided and misleading. They think that they are a reformer group, on the contrary, they are destroyers of religion (teachings)” (Djaho, n.d.: 56).

Sharp criticisms toward the thoughts of Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Ridha were not only from Sheikh Djaho himself, even some other ulamas also gave views on al-Manar even its interpretations had been forbidden for reading. Until the 1970s, criticisms to the al-Manar and the figure behind the magazine remained. Sirajuddin Abbas (1964) included religion modernization in the book of “40 Masalah Agama” (40 Problems in Religion) which is still popular until now. On the contrary, among the Youth Group at that time, they also aggressively introduced the thoughts of the reformers. Hamka wrote several times about the biographies of al-Afghani, Abduh, and Rasyid Ridha accompanied by the mention of their services. Therefore it is not surprising that Hamka is a strong critic to the contents of the Ta’zkirat al-Qulub.

Response to the Pseudo-Sufi

The beginning of the 20th century was the period of the development of Sufi orders in Minangkabau. Several Sufi orders such as Naqsyabandiyah, Sammaniyah, Syattariyah, and Syadziliyyah showed strong influence in the scientific tradition in Minangkabau surau. Some well-known sheikhs were present and received many followers. Bruinessen report states that tariqa is an important religious rite at that time. Almost all ulama in the rural regions were affiliated to one of the mu’tabar (recognized) tariqas.

Something which became an important rite attracts common people to enliven the Sufi order. Not a few of those who claimed to be Sufi sheikhs were attracting attention and profit. Many cases, as noted by Yahya (1954), were occurred due to false sheikh who sold knowledge just like a peddler selling his goods (Yahya, 1954: 47). The main purpose was to seek wealth by selling the sheikh title to those who want to pay a certain price. This situation created anxiety while ulamas had the spirit to maintain the tariqa straight. So that in 1954, there was a Naqsababandiyah Tariqa conference which brought about 280 ulamas from tariqas from various regions in Central Sumatra. One theme discussed in the conference was to minimize the indication of a false sufi, known as the pseudo-Sufi.

Sheikh Djaho was an ulama who engaged in tariqa. Some of his teachers were famous Sheikhs of tariqa. Although he had studied to Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, who was known as a strong critic to tariqa practices, he did not seem to be much affected in this regard. Indeed, in the course of his life, he had never been mentioned teaching tariqa, but he gave a wide opportunity to his students to develop tariqa. Responding to the pseudo-sufi, Sheikh Djaho also provided a space in the Tazkirat al-Qulub. Although its nature acts as an advice, some assertions in the text imply the strict principle of Sheikh Djaho that false sufi is a form of ghurur that has the potential to damage the religion. Sheikh Djaho called them as people who only dress as Sufi; thinking themselves as Sufi (Djaho, n.d.: 45):

انهم شبهوابهم في لباسهم وهيئةهم وأحوالهم وتكلمهم فلما تكلموا هذه الأمور وتشبهوابهم فيما ظناو أنهم أيضا صوفية.

“They (only) resemble a Sufi on clothing, behavior, circumstances, and speech. When they can do something according to these matters and can resemble the circumstances of those Sufi, they then assume that they are Sufi.”

251
The assertion of Sheikh Djaho’s stance was written at the end of the discussion of *jama’a*ḥ al-muttaṣawwifah (the pseudo-Sufi group):

والحال أنه عند الله من الفجار المنافقين وعند ارباب القلوب هو من الحمقى الجاهلين.

“In conclusion, really they –the pseudo Sufi-, in the side of God, are hypocrites. While among the qulub experts (the real tasawwuf experts), they are foolish.”

**Response toward Misleading Intellectuals**

The discussion about the ambiguity of ulamas (intellectuals) has a wide place in the *Tazkirat al-qulub*. The misleading intellectuals mentioned in this case are those who use knowledge for something wrong. In al-Gāzalī’s terms, an intellectual who uses his knowledge to pursue worldly desires and obtain personal gain is called the ‘*ulamā’*ṣīḥ’ (evil ulamas). (al-Bantani, n.d.: 4).

Minangkabau is one of the regions known as the land of a thousand ulamas. Many ulamas were born and had a career in this area. It is common place that while ulamas have a diverse orientation, it is not just knowledge for charity or giving lessons to the people. In addition, there are ulamas who are sincere in pursuing their knowledge, there are also ulamas who use their knowledge for worldly matters, such as seeking position, office, follower, and wealth. Entering the 20th century with a variety of novelty, it makes the difference in the typology of ulamas increasingly sharp.

Sheikh Djaho distinguished ulama *gurūr* into nine categories. First, ulamas who study knowledge without doing charity. Second, ulamas who only practice worship, but they do not study the knowledge to cleanse the heart. Third, ulamas who are not concerned with the improvement of the soul. Fourth, ulamas who study *ṣyārī’ah* and *haqiqqah* without implementing them in their life. Fifth, ulamas who positioned themselves as *mufti* (fatwa giver) but they cannot guard themselves against despicable matters. Sixth, ulamas who like to argue. Seventh, ulamas who can only give advice to others, but not for themselves. Eighth, ulamas who give speeches in order to get sympathy from their listeners (Djaho, n.d.: 25-39). The sixth category, the ulamas who like to debate and then gives an explanation on the discussion of its own, namely the *afat al-dīn wa nawaqiduhu* chapter. The expansion done by Sheikh Djaho on the chapter indicates that this is an important one, in accordance with the circumstances experienced in that period.

**Conclusion**

Sheikh Djaho was one of the leading ulamas in Minangkabau in the early 20th century. In the circle of ulamas, he was a respected figure. His position as a ulama is supported by his intellectuality and activities in the filed of education, namely the founder and caretaker of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho.

As an ulama who lived in the era of religious upheaval in the early 20th century, Sheikh Djaho gave views on matters that he considered could shift Islamic values at that time. His views are expressed in the book *Tazkirat al-Qulub*, one of them, to not mention as his only work, the work of a Perti ulama who still has a place as material in the pesantren and majelis taklim. The views given by Sheikh Djaho are in the form of subtle criticism. In some places, especially things that are considered important, Sheikh Djaho wrote firm words that show his principles as Elder Ulama.

There are three things that can be concluded in this article. First, the presence of Sheikh Djaho’s criticism departs from the reality of the ulama’s life and the general public at that time. Reality makes an ulama speak as it is in response to circumstances. Second, the reality of social life keeps a text alive in society. The existence of *Tazkirat al-Qulub* in the midst of society, to this day, indicates that the reality experienced by Sheikh Djaho in his time still exists today. Third, the solution to the socio-religious reality can be set forth in the framework of understanding of *tasawwuf*, as done by Sheikh Djaho in his *Tazkirat al-Qulub*.
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