

Modernization Of Islamic “Surau” Traditional Education In West Sumatera, Indonesia

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Abstract

Since Indonesian reformation era, west sumateran society (Minang) echoed the emergence of slogan ‘back to the surau’ to bring back Islamic educational institution. Surau is the mosques dubbed by west sumateran society that has the function not only as the worshipping place but also as the center of community education. Law Number 22 of 1999 on Regional Autonomy and Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2000 on the *nagari*, west sumateran system of society are the cornerstone of the initial desire. Although there is no direct connection between the surau and those regulation, but those affect the attention of people who want return the missing old tradition revived. In addition, it is also very closely related to the community creed *adaik basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi Kitabullah*, customs based on syariah, and syariah based on the book of Allah. This paper tries to offer the process to modernize the Surau as the integration of Islamic traditional society with the modern education system in Indonesia. The surau education models that can be offered in the present era, among others, are at least the surau has to build Islamic center, boarding school or something, a mosque itself, dormitories, classrooms, seminar rooms, a wellness area, a consultation room, a library, means of sports, laboratories, and park. It has to cultivate integrative science both Islam and modern, broad and high insight, adequate skills, and noble character. On the other hand, the role of the surau seems to preserve its original function; as the initial and basic institutions for minang children at least to learn the Koran. And, If possible, surau can be functioned as the place to revitalize the Minang traditions.

Keywords: Modernization, surau and Minangkabau

Introduction

Minangkabau is a tribe of West Sumatera region in Indonesia, which is known as one of the center of Islam in the archipelago. The history and development of Islam in this region attract many observers of Islam in the archipelago, including western indonesianits'. The struggle of Islam with the local culture (Minangkabau tradition) also gives an attraction, due to the uniqueness found in matrilineal in kinship system that still preserved in this era. In other hand, the Minangkabau region has always been considered as one of the initial point of modernist Islamic idea, due to intellectual contact between the Minangkabau and the Arab world, especially through the medium of the Hajj. The presence of *economic* improvement in this area as a direct result of the internationalization of trade in coffee and other agricultural products made the voyage to the Arab world possible. In summary, the dynamism of this region has made such a prominent Islamic modernization in many ways.

Endang Saefuddin Ansari said that the modernization process is intended as an activity that brings progress and reforms-changes in the composition and mode of human society, from static to dynamic, from traditional to rational, from the feudal to the populist society.² The process changes the way of thinking so as to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of all apparatuses and procedures. Undoubtedly, the modernization also provides color and style of the constant changes according to the time and space.

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² Endang Saefuddin Anshari, *Wawasan Islam: Pokok-pokok Pikiran tentang Islam dan Umatnya*, (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1986), pp. 230-231

The emergence of modernism is based on several assumptions, namely: First, today is the development and progress of anytime that indicate a change in the various aspects of human life; second, religious teachings in each period should be related to the actual conditions in society, consciously or not, as the old doctrine might be no longer relevant to the present condition of society; Third, the view of every age on the nature of religion is relative which is according to the development of knowledge at that moment. Thus, what might be considered to be true in the past, it may be false right now.³

Based on the theory above, it could be assumed that modernization resulted in the emergence of the changes. These changes occur both institutionally and instrumentally, including Islam in Nusantara. According to Noer in the 18th century, many Indonesian Muslims began to realize that they would not likely compete with the forces that opposed the penetration of Christian mission and struggled in facing the modernity if they still had continued their traditional ways.⁴ Then, they realized the need for the changes, both by digging Islamic traditions of the past and adapting the new development rendered by west. The changes in both institutionally and instrumentally, occurred within Islam itself and from outside that affect the progress of Islam. Therefore, this article tries to discovered the change and development of *Surau* institution from the era of Dutch East Indies in Minangkabau to present modernization of *surau* education model in response to the slogan "back to the surau" in reformation era, that implemented in the new Indonesian system of local autonomy. According to Azyumardi Azra, *surau* in the context of autonomy believed that Minang community could generate *batang tarandam* (sinking rod), that will produce such great scholars of the past, such as. Prof. Dr. Buya Hamka.⁵

Surau tarandam (collapsing of surau)

Surau was originally introduced by Sheikh Burhanuddin both as a praying place and educational institutions especially for traditional Islamic mysticism. Then it could quickly become socialized well in the life of Minangkabau society. In addition, *surau* was also as a gathering place for boys who have already become adult (baligh) and stopover place for the nomads (*perantau*).⁶

The early existence of *surau* was very strategic institution for disseminating Islamic lessons,⁷ but since the Dutch colonial implemented policy on education, economy, and religion, the function of *Surau* among community had been marginalized.⁸

Secular educational institutions established by Dutch colonists began to have a place in the hearts of most of the indigenous peoples. In contrary *surau* as Islamic educational institutions began to be marginalized, meanwhile the Islamic scholar there began to be separated.

In 1882, the Dutch government formed a special body to oversee the religious life and Islamic education that was called Priesterraden. The Dutch government policy regulated the course of education. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Islamic Minangkabau society was in a depressed situation. The society had faced economic pressures and political weight of the colonial Dutch, and on the other hand, ideas about religious renewal in all aspects seem increasingly vociferous echo. In 1908, the Dutch colonial government practiced the new tax system (*belasting*) to change the monopoly system of trade commodity in Indonesia, especially for coffee that since the quarter of 19th century, the production had declined. Indeed, from an economic standpoint, the policy seemed lucrative for the people, because crops could be sold on the free market.

³ Bustami Muhammad Said, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Agama antara Modernisme dan Tajdiduddin*, translated by. Abd Rahman. (Bekasi: Wacana Lazuardi Amanah, 1995), pp. 224

⁴ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), pp. 37

⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dal Transisi dan Modernisasi*, (Ciputat: Logos, 2003), pp. VII

⁶ Christine Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah: Sumatera Tengah 1784-1847*, translated by Lilian D. Tedjasukandhana, (Jakarta: INIS, 1992). pp. 142. Azyumardi Azra, "Surau di Tengah Krisis: Pesantren dalam Perspektif Masyarakat", in Dawam Rahardjo, (ed.), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren: Membangun dari Bawah*, (Jakarta: P3M. 1985), pp. 156

⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *The Rise and the Decline of the Minangkabau: A Traditional Institution in West Sumatra During Dutch Colonial Government*, (Colombia: Colombia University, 1988), pp. 22

⁸ Ramayulis, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam: Napaktilas Perubahan Konsep Filsafat dan Metodologi Pendidikan Islam dari Era Nabi SAW sampai Ulama Nusantara*, (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 2012), pp. 299

However, people saw it from the other side, where the new rule of the Dutch colonial government was no longer impressed as a protector of Minangkabau, but showed his attitude as a ruler of Minangkabau because of levied tax, although Plakat Panjang Treaty⁹ stated that there would not be a direct levied tax on the Minangkabau people by Dutch colonial government .

The Dutch colonial government policies were significant to the economic changes in Minangkabau. Increasingly dominant economic sector of the city influenced economy of nagari (villages), and this turn the economic condition of society to be more self sufficient. For instance, there were weekly alternative markets rotated into several adjoining villages. Furthermore, the cities in Minangkabau had been growing and visited by many immigrants with their children from the surrounding villages. They lived in urban areas with their family in their nuclear family. That condition tended to weaken the process of education in surau. The participants of surau were decrease drastically. The children tended to follow their family to migrate to another village to sell their commodity.

When the parents did not tend to hand over their children to the mosque, the Dutch colonial government set up more schools. Initially, in the 1850s the Dutch colonial government established the HIS (Hollandsch-Inlandsche School) in Bukittinggi. Then in the early 1900s, the Dutch colonial government imposed ethical politics that affected the social structure, economy, and education in Minangkabau.¹⁰ The Dutch colonial government set up more schools for natives in Minangkabau. Such circumstances clearly made the crisis of education process in the surau. Moreover, the attitude of the Dutch government was increasingly pressing surau activities, for instance; Dutch government issued about a regulation that obliged Islamic scholar have to make permission to give the lecture in public. Subsequently, in 1925, the Dutch East Indies government imposed more stringent regulations on Islamic education, where did not everyone (scholars) have a recommendation or approval to provide lessons of Al-Quran; even in 1932 the authority ruled Wilde School Ordonantie (The Ordinance of Wild School) to omit and close the madrassas and schools which did not have a permit.¹¹ After coming up the counselors in the field of religion, Snouck Hurgronje, a scholar of Semitic (Arab) who had other name Abdul Gaffar, the suppression was more intensified. Snouck's advice was from the results of his ethnographic studies on Indonesian Muslim society.¹²

The advice of Snouck to the Dutch government namely; The first, he suggested that the Dutch government is neutral toward religion, not favoring of a single religion. According to Snouck that the Islamic fanaticism would be absorbed through the evolution of educational process; Second, the Dutch government was expected to stem the Pan-Islamism which was growing in the Middle East, by blocking the entry of books or brochures into Indonesian territory, overseeing direct contact or indirectly among Islamic preachers, as well as to limit and to supervise people who went to Mecca.¹³ The Dutch East Indies government policies exactly very squeezed out of muslims activities, presumably to make Islamic education, especially surau becoming sinking (tarandam), and seemed helpless even though it did not mean the disappearance of the role of surau at all. But the hard fact inevitable, that education in surau was increasingly lagged. In fact, in the decade of Padri War, Islamic education in Minangkabau assumed by Mahmud Yunus as the old system seemed like to decline.¹⁴

In line with the opinion of Mahmud Yunus, Graves also stated that the Islamic education during the Padri War started to decline, many eminent scholars who fell in the Padri War thus there were scarce religious teacher in the surau.¹⁵ On the other hand the Dutch government began to aggressively establish secular schools, which managed to appeal many students who are interested in learning for the sake of their economic and social status. Surau could not answer the demands of the social economy.

⁹ The treaty had been made by Dutch Government after the defeat of Padri Movement. See Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra*, (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1971), pp. 9

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*, (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999), pp. 140. MD Mansur, (et.al.), *Sejarah Minangkabau*, (Jakarta: Bharatara, 1970), pp. 175

¹¹ Hasbullah, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia: Lintasan Sejarah, Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangannya*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Islam dan PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996), pp. 47-48

¹² Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985). pp. 2

¹³ Abuddin Nata. *Sejarah Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Lembaga-lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2001), pp. 75-76

¹⁴ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Islam dalam Dinamika Politik Bangsa 1925-1984*, (Jakarta: PT. Rajawali, 1984), pp. 3

¹⁵ Elizabeth Graves, *The Minangkabau Response to the Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: Cornell University, 1981), pp. 78-81

Surau which too preoccupied with religious studies (fiqh and Sufism) were less applicable. In fact, Surau did not give a degree as an identity to get a job. Therefore, after the 1940 mosque became a minority compared to the modern Islamic schools.

Modernization of Surau education

Regarding to the crisis of surau, the leaders of Islamic education in Minangkabau have attempted to find a way out the crisis of Surau by modernizing it that can be seen as follow:

Early process of Modernization the Surau Education .

According Azyumardi Azra, the scholars seemed motivated to send their children to the Mecca based on the fact of the decline of the surau Islamic education.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the secular school system was established by the Dutch government, the Malay language used as a medium of instruction tools, religious subjects prohibited, and students dressed Europe. The school intended pupils to become a candidate of the colonial bureaucrats, civil servant, and the writers on the Dutch's coffee plantation.¹⁷

At the beginning of the 20th century, the establishment of secular schools was quickly efflorescent to educate indigenous Minangkabau in accordance with the will of the Dutch government. It could be proved that in 1913 there were 111 new schools pieces, and in 1915 increased to 358.¹⁸ Therefore, the reformer who came from Makkah and supported by local clerics tried to change state of surau educational system in order to lift its backwardness.

The religious teachers are young men who had gone to Mecca and back home to the Minangkabau, then taught at the surau. Through the surau or madrasa, the institution had been growing since it made an open relationship to the wider community. A key reformer in the modernization process of this Surau was Sheikh Ahmad al-Khatib Minangkabawi the Islamic scholar who settled on Mecca, although Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi never returned to the Minangkabau. He taught many religious teachers across archipelago. Through his students who returned to Minangkabau, such as Thaib Muhammad Umar, Abdul Latif Sukur, Ahmad Abdullah, Ibrahim Musa Parabek, Agus Salim, Abdul Karim Amrullah, Daud Rasyidi, and Sutan Darap Pariaman, the existence of educational surau institution had been growing. While they were using the traditional *halaqa* system, the existence of surau began to rise with new shades. The first surau that got a touch of modernization was the Surau Tanjung Sungayang Batusangkar established by Sheikh Omar Thaib 1897, and Surau Parabek in Bukit Tinggi established by Sheikh Ibrahim Musa in 1908.¹⁹ For Mahmud Yunus, the modernization of Islamic education movement was movement towards the establishment of modernization of madrasas as a time of change.²⁰

Modernization of the surau dealt with Islamic educational institutions, located on the kind textbooks to be used. Previously, there was only one kind of text book to be used t rein madrasa, and then various books were used for each of the disciplines. Sharaf (morphology) that had precedence over Nahwu (syntax) at that time began to be equated. On the other side, the hand writing book such as al-Amil and Dhammun was not studied anymore. Previously the text books were on Islamic sciences that written on Malay, then all of books were printed and witten in Arabic. All these Arabic books previously were brought from Mecca and Singapore. Then, Sheikh Ahmad Khalidi an expert opened a book store in Bukit Tinggi imported Islamic books directly from Egypt.

¹⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *The Rise and the Decline of the Minangkabau: A Traditional Institution in West Sumatra During Dutch Colonial Government*, (Colombia: Colombia University, 1988), pp. 22; see also H. Dt. Rajo Penghulu, *Rangkaian Mustika Adat Basandi Syarak di Minangkabau*. (Bandung: Remaja Karya. 1984), pp. IX.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Graves, *The Minangkabau Response to the Dutch Colonial Rule in the Ninetenth Century*, (New York: Cornell University, 1981), pp. 80-81

¹⁸ Azyumardi Azra, "Surau di Tengah Krisis: Pesantren dalam Perspektif Masyarakat" in M. Dawan Raharjo (ed.), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren Membangun dari Bawah*, (Jakarta, P3M, 1985), pp. 165-166

¹⁹ Burhanuddin Daya, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam: Kasus Sumatera Thawalib*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wawana, 1990), hlm. 64

²⁰ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Mutiara Sumber Widya, 1995), pp. 53

Thus so many religious texts including al-Manar magazine which the magazine founded by Rashid Ridha that had a propaganda on Pan-Islamism could be got at the store.²¹ The first modernization of Surau can be concluded as the process of de-ruralization of Islamic education. It means that the surau education has been introduced or opened the gate with the wider Islamic sciences from communities across the globe and leaved their way of traditional education that restricted on both literatures and thoughts.

The next Modernization of Surau Education.

The next modernization of surau education had extensively done by Youth, which was characterized by the appearance of four student leaders Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, namely: Muhammad Jamil Jambek in Bukittinggi, Abdullah Haji Ahmad and Padang Padang Panjang, Sheikh Abdul Karim Amrullah in Maninjau Padang Panjang, and Sheikh Muhammad Umar Thaib at Batusangkar.²² They began criticizing the practices of the traditionalist religious scholars and the practices of indigenous people that considered exaggerating the customs. Some scholars subbed the youth as the modernist of Islam. They rejected the accretion of Islam such as magic, mysticism, legal tradition that postdate the four madzhab, and practices that adopted local belief. They believed that the accretion of Islam could hinder the progress of Islamic community. Those efforts intensified at the beginning of the 20th century, and successfully kicked the silence and setbacks educational institutions in Minangkabau society.

The movement was very influential on the development of surau. They applied ideas to establish religious schools. In fact, in 1914, Haji Ahmad Abdullah initiated the establishment of Syarikat Oesaha Movement in Padang. The first effort of this movement was to establish HIS Adabiyah on August 23 as a political reaction to the Dutch Indies government's secular education. With the establishment of HIS Adabiyah, people who did not get the opportunity to study at a government school had the opportunity to study in the school.²³

The emergence of Islamic educational institutions founded by Young People made the traditionalist scholar snapped. They began to make a meeting in accordance with their restless of the Islamic movement from the youth. Then the traditional scholars got a meeting held in Parabek Bukit Tinggi in May 5, 1930 resulted in the decision to form the Union of Tarbiyah Islamiyah. Union of Tarbiyah Islamiyah (PERTI) was the movement of traditionalist scholars that tried to compete with that of youth who has the purist Islamization ideology.²⁴ Perti did not try to bring the educational system back to the old system such as teach a single hand writing text book, instead they began to use Arabic printed book in studying Islam to maintain their traditional theology such as mysticism and legal tradition postdated to four madzhab.²⁵

Such conditions appeared as a new chapter in the development of Islamic education in Minangkabau. Surau institutions which had long been the only Islamic education system in Minangkabau began marginalized with the advent of modern Islamic educational institution called madrasah. However, it should be understood that the appearance of the school was a manifestation of the reaction to dissatisfaction with the traditional education system, School like Adabiyah itself as an Islamic educational institutions, in addition to the surau, presumably still applied the classical system as applied in surau, even though it used a blackboard, tables, and benches to write.

Furthermore, because the Minangkabau society was still strong to hold the traditionalist Islam, then the Adabiyah schools got a strong reaction among the public, and in turn Adabiyah schools was closed and moved to Padang (the biggest city in Minangkabau).

²¹ Hamka, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr.H.Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera*, (Jakarta: Umminda, 1982), pp. 94-105.; Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), pp 47; Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Mutiara Sumber Widya, 1995), pp. 48; and Elwis Nazar, *Normal Islam di Padang (1931-1946)*, (Padang: IAIN IB Press, 2001), pp. 71

²² Azyumardi Azra, "Surau di Tengah Krisis: Pesantren dalam Perspektif Masyarakat" in M. Dawan Raharjo (ed.), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren Membangun dari Bawah*, (Jakarta: P3M, 1985), pp 167

²³ Zaidin Dt. Majo Lelo, "Mengenal Perguruan Adabiyah Padang", in *Panji Masyarakat Magazine*, No. 395 year XXIV, 11 Mei 1983

²⁴ Jajat Burhanuddin, "The Fragmentation of Religious Authority: Islamic Printed Media in Early 20th Century" in *Studia Islamica Volume 11 No.1, 2004* (Jakarta: PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah)

²⁵ Azyumardi Azra, "Surau di Tengah Krisis: Pesantren dalam Perspektif Masyarakat" in M. Dawan Raharjo (ed.), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren Membangun dari Bawah*, (Jakarta: P3M, 1985), pp. 171

Adabiyah was the only school established in the city of Padang adopting the model of Islamic education institutions like al-Islamiyah al-Iqbal in Singapore which was established in 1908 by Osman Effendi Rafat from Egypt.²⁶ But, according to Abuddin Nata, because of in the subsequent development this school received subsidies from the Dutch government, consequently it changed the name with Hollandisch Malaische School of Adabiyah, and even the principal was a Dutchmen who was christian.²⁷ Therefore, it was considered to have deviated from the ideals of Islamic education..

The educational institution which indeed has strong influence in Minangkabau was Sumatra Thawalib in Padang Panjang. This institution emerged from jembatan besi surau that was originally provided traditional religious instruction. Fiqh (Law) and tafsir (exegesis of Quran) were the core subjects of the institution. The key peoples of the school were Haji Abdullah Ahmad and haji Rasul. Their teaching was emphasized on the mastering Arabic language and its derivation, thus the pupils could learn the necessary books independently, and eventually was able to dig Islamic knowledge of the Qur'an and Hadist as the primary source of Islamic teachings.²⁸

Bagindo Jamaluddin Rashad, who had just returned from Europe in 1915 initiated a public meeting in Padang Panjang Surau to establish the organization of jembatan besi called Organisasi Perkumpulan Sabun (Soap Society Organization). The name "Perkumpulan Sabun" presumably was chosen in accordance with the beginning of the member bussiness that sold soaps to the students.²⁹ However, the activity of this organization was rapidly growing that could be able to pay the teachers who were teaching in surau, and in turn, the organization was renamed in 1918 as Sumatera Thawalib.

Furthermore, modernization of surau was more visible again with the establishment of a surau named Surau Parabek on the initiative of Ibrahim Musa who returned from Mecca in 1916. Since then the development of Surau Parabek was running quickly. In 1919 his students established a club, Mudzakarot al-Ikhwan that had a variety of activities such as c discussion, debate. Then the organization was turned the name into Thawalib. On the February 15, 1920, a meeting was held between Sumatra Thawalib and Thuwailib of Surau Parabek to make a join organization namely Sumatra Thawalib. The establishment of the first Sumatera Thawalib was immediately followed by the set up the branches in some regions ie, Bengkulu and Aceh. Furthermore, the organization of Sumatra Thawalib was trying to break through its activities in the field of education, namely to establish schools or colleges and changed the educational system from surau into school by the name of Sumatera Thawalib. As a chairman Sumatra Thawalib, Haji Jalaluddin Thaib introduced the modern teaching to this institution, such as the use of benches and tables, the new curriculum, and also the obligation to pay school fee. In addition, general subjects such as earth science (geography) and mathematics were taught, although the main subject was religious instruction. For students at a higher level, the books of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida, especially Tafsir al-Manar were made as handbooks. Besides reading the book of Ibn Qayyim, they also read the book of Ibn Taymiyya. But unfortunately, in 1923, when the Sumatra Thawalib rapidly developed into a model of modern Islamic education organizations, comunism which was brought by Datuk Battuta and zainuddin after returning from Java, entered into this educational institution. Therefore, in 1926, the Dutch government began to take action against Thawalib Padang panjang by closing the student cafeteria allegedly as a center of communist activities. Next, in 1927, as a result of the silungkang uprising against dutch indies government, many teachers who taught at Thawalib padang panjang was banned.³⁰

Next, surau modernization appeared was also marked by the events in 1915, namely the establishment of Diniyah School by Zainuddin Labai in Padang Panjang. Educational institutions was partly a result of the development of surau jembatan besi using the system and methods of general education such as grading system, desks, blackboard to write, and books. This school used a government schools system.

²⁶ Burhanuddin Daya, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam: Kasus Sumatera Thawalib*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wawana, 1990), pp. 82-83

²⁷ Abuddin Nata (ed.). *Sejarah Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Lembaga-lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2001), pp. 82

²⁸ Deliar Noor, *Gerakan Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia. 1900-1942*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1991), pp 52-53

²⁹ Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modem*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986), pp. 45

³⁰ Deliar Noor, *Gerakan Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia 1900- 1942*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1991), pp 55-56

Establishment of educational institutions was followed by similar fifteen educational institutions in Minangkabau. Subjects focused on general science, but religious studies was not less important subject. These schools also started using the books from Egypt, such as *Durus al-Nahwiyah* (Arabic Syntax), *Qawa'id al-Lughah al Arabiyah* (the principles of Arabic Language), and so on. After Zainuddin labai's death, his goal was followed by his youngest sister, Encik Rahmah el-Yunusiah who founded *Madrasah Diniya*, and in 1923 her students incorporate organization that was called by the union students of diniyah school. Azyumardi Azra said that in 1933 The Old scholars had 589 surau with 9285 pupils. Instead, meanwhile young scholars had 452 madrasahs with 25,292 pupils, while there were 132 secular-religious schools with 44,577 pupils combination, and the number of pure secular school was 35 with 824 pupils³¹ The facts above proves that Islamic scholar seemed to realize that surau was very difficult to maintain the traditional education system throughly strong currents madrasa or modern school system in Minangkabau society. Thus the Islamic modern school system was slowly accepted by community.

Back To Surau

The emergence of back to the surau (*kembali ke surau*) discourse in Minangkabau society started since the reformation era after 1998. Law Number 22 of 1999 on Regional Autonomy and Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2000 on the system of regional government is the cornerstone of the initial desire. Although the two products of law were no direct connection with the surau, but those affect the attention of people who want to revive the old tradition that has been missing. In addition, it is also very closely related to the slogan *adaik basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi Kitabullah* as expressed above.

Surau as a religious institution, accommodating all religious practices such as places of worship and recitation of the Qur'an, has actually contributed greatly in the development and formation of religious character of Minangkabau society. Similarly, the institution also plays in socio-cultural life of Minangkabau Society, for example, as children place to sleep, studying martial arts and learning customs. It can not be forgotten that the lives of many people in the past forged in the surau institutions, so there was the view that they would have the mental attitude or disposition that could be strong both in the field of religion and custom. And not infrequently the surau has always been associated with the presence of scholars and great thinkers of Minangkabau that had contribution at national and international level. Relating to the past history, in this reformation era for the West Sumatra (Minangkabau) as if returning to surau is "main program" towards inevitability.

Unfortunately, the term "*kembali ke surau*" (back to the surau) is only a slogan and a notion that does not be followed by the regulation. Thus, many interpretations follow the notion. And the problem lays on the meaning of the concept about the Surau education itself. Some interprets the notion as back to the old system of education of surau. Thus every village must have surau not only as the place to pray but also as the place where every childrens learned about classical Islamic teaching. There are number of a priori rejection arguments and various doubts and fears due to social change and its demands. Furthermore, the interpretation from the political point of view states that the notion is only to fulfill group's interests and ambitions to attract public sympathy. The discourse burgeons at all levels of society, including governments, scholars, community leaders, scholars, students and others in Minangkabau. Therefore, it raises the following questions, for the community of West Sumatra, is it necessary at this time to back to the surau (*kembali ke surau*) with its simplicity and tradition? Furthermore, how to go back to the surau for the demand of the present and future?

Actually, the phrase back to Surau can mean turning back to the place or to its original. Of course, back to the surau implies literally turned into a past state. Nevertheless, the debate became inevitable when trying to provide a complete and applicable definition of how it could be realized. The government of West Sumatra province in cooperation with the Association of Indonesian Islamic Scholar (ICMI) West Sumatra branch on June 27, 2001 at Hotel Bumi Minang Padang conducted seminars and workshops about back to the surau. The program at least tried to find a formulation on how the existence of Surau for the present and the future. Those seminars and workshop has resulted the presumption that surau could not back to the past. To understand the surau, presumably can be viewed from two meaning: first, a building resembles a mosque with relatively smaller size used to carry out acts of worship such as prayer rituals, and the basics of religious education for the children such as reading Qur'an; Second, the traditional institutions that have a role and function of religious and socio-cultural life in Minangkabau heritage.

³¹ Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*, (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, pp. 143-146

In the first sense leads to the physical meaning, while the second shows the philosophical meaning. going back to the surau would run smoothly if the two terms above can be viewed as a whole and placed in proportional position.

In fact, the surau today is only physical building with less role and function among Minangkabau society. To restore the role and function of surau as the past is hard to be realized. Furthermore, many thought that floats to the surface relating to the role and function of surau actualized forward in accordance with the demands of changing times. Deni Mariani tried to give the concept to reconstruct surau on two aspects, namely; First, the physical reconstruction of surau that synergistic cooperation among Minang societies; The second, non-physical reconstruction of surau, such as building the younger generation to actively engaging in the surau as the central activity of the community.³² Helmi gave thoughts on aspects of management and institutional arrangement that started from the assumption that surau need for renewal function, development and prospering surau. Institutional management must be organized in an integrated surau (mosque integrated management) which includes the integration of worship place and public facilities, integration of the worldly and hereafter aspect of religion, and the integration between the Islamic community conditions and their environment.³³

While AR Rizal tried to give a formulation of the surau forward with the of modern management that could integrate multiple values developed in modern civilization. Surau which was built with modern science and technology must be constantly exploring the essence of the Qur'an and the indigenous traditions that developed in the past. However, the problem could be not as easy to solve when viewed in the reality of life today.

Modernization or religious renewal in the early decades of the 20th century made the surau considered by minang society as an irrelevant if it goes back to the old system. In fact, New Order Government was not able to revive the surau that has been already collapsed (tarandam), so it was difficult to be revived or may have completely collapsed as ironically disclosed by AA Navis in his novel "Rubuhnya Surau Kami" (The Fall of Our Surau). Instead, Pesantren institution in Java which was equivalent to the surau in terms of religious education and reproductive scholars, can grow well with the government and society participations to empower it in term of educational, social, cultural, and even economic programs.

Perhaps, undoubtedly, A.A. Navis considered surau was impossible to revive to the past state in today's changing times. Navis said that the surau have died from its socio-cultural role, but in terms of basic education to carry out the study and writing the Quran can implemented in the surau.

The phrase "back to the surau" raises the question on how to turn the surau institutions that could perform two functions principally as religious institutions and socio-cultural organizations? This modern era required a seriousness in carrying out the activities of life. To bring life back to surau in the past, such as sleeping together in the mosque, learning martial arts, learning customs and so on are not suitable for today. For example; the benefits of sleeping in the mosque as a place to share stories, to listen to the tale of the experiences of the returning home migrants. These can be difficult to do the funtions in the past, because the development of information through mass media will be easily (practically) gotten. The information can get from homes, offices, libraries, schools and so on. Modern facilities such as; television, internet, computers, and so on. are also available. Therefore, automatically that is why the life of surau would be increasingly marginalized, even more collapsing (tarandam).

The difficulty in defining the presence of surau in accordance with the present life, seemed to deal with multiple-values in the society; where lives were filled with the spirit of togetherness and solidarity, which one of them is in the surau life; dealing also with the patterns and behaviors that tend modern materialistic-individualistic and pragmatic. Those who were pessimistic about the implementation of the concept back to the surau, presumably depart from these two different poles.

³² Deni Mariani. "Rekontruksi Surau Menuju Masyarakat Madani", Singgalang Daily, February 7th 2002

³³ Helmi, "Konsepsi dan Strategi Peningkatan Peran Surau/Masjid dalam Kehidupan Umat di Sumatera Barat: Aspek Manajemen dan Kelembagaan", Presented Paper at *Seminar dan Lokakarya (Semiloka) Kembali ke Surau*. (Padang, Hotel Bumi Minang, 27 July 2001), pp. 1-3

Furthermore, the desire to actualize surau function according to today requires a strategy to perform investigation showing cultural values that were relevant to the times. Mestika Zed argued about the concept back to surau, which was the spirit of surau came into the past that could be presented today. Although the concept was very abstract to be understood, but the dives against the spirit of religious and socio-cultural life of the reflected surau institutions could be translated in the breath of family life, or tribe, and in the wider region, such as villages (nagari). This concept will be missed when there was not supported by a structural policy and religious customs with a work planning systematically. Ninik mamak and clergy were at the top of both structural places.

Harmonization of the two functions of surau was very dependent on good terms from holders of indigenous leadership role and religious- If this could be done well, then the search and translation of cultural and religious values would be easily realized in the life of society. In addition, the participation of all members of the tribe or tribal and nagari communities was needed to encourage life nuanced socio-cultural and religious. Perhaps this was to be understood of the spirit and values of surau was attempted to be presented again.

In a similar perspective, Mas'oeed Abidin formulated the concept of surau by using clearly "spatial" in nagari life . In view of the spatial Abidin Mas'oeed refered to the slogan "*basasok bajarami, bapandan bakuburan, balabuaah batapian, barumah batanggo, bakorong bakampuang, basawah baladang, babalai bamusajik*" Minangkabau community life based on the philosophy adaik basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi Al- Qur'an could be easily realized one of them through surau institutions. Presumably, returned to the mosque as the past might not be possible, but the values of surau education in the past might be possible in the present and future. However, the opinion of leaders did not seem providing a clear solution and concrete form of surau. That was, the meaning back to the surau in the present and also the future, like, MDA- TPSA, Modern Integrated Boarding School Prof. Dr. Buya Hamka, "pesantren terpadu serambi mekah" School which is succesfull model of Islamic Centre.

Relating to discourse above, showed to motivate the government level II in West Sumatra in pursuit of the realization of the program back to surau. Therefore, the Government of Padang tried to start by issuing Regulation No. 6 of 2003 on compulsory master in reading and writing the Quran for every primary school graduates who wish to continue their education to junior high school. In fact, the implementation also attempted short boarding school (Ramadan), teenager for "wirid" once in every two weeks and will be targeted to be once a week or wearing Muslim dress and Muslim obligatory for Muslim students from elementary to High school level.

However, because the philosophy of adaik basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi Qur'an is not yet clearly defined, both the pattern and how to apply, then the implementation is not impressed compact intergovernmental level II in West Sumatra. Therefore, discourse and implementation efforts back to the surau as disclosed above, presumably need to be developed to be able to crystallize again lead to a policy to be applied simultaneously throughout Minangkabau with the pattern and the steps are clear.

According to the writer, the surau educational models that could be offered in an effort to return to surau in the present era, is, at least to build Islamic center, boarding school or something, which has a mosque, dormitories, classrooms, seminar rooms, a wellness area, consultation room, libraries, sports facilities, laboratories, and parks; in it cultivated on scientific integrally, breadth and height, adequate skills, and noble character. On the other hand, the role of the surau seems to be revitalized to become just the sort of break or mushalla; be the beginning of the institution and the foundation for children to learn Al-Quran. If possible, it can also surau as well as revitalized for the socialization of the customs, culture and Minang traditions.

It could be the modernization of surau in Minangkabau in the era now or the future will manifest as boarding with Al-Zaytun Ma'had models based in Indramayu West Java. Ma'had This is one of the leading boarding modern contemporary modern system (some even refer to the boarding or an ultra modern modern supra) as rahmatan li al-'alamin, which has the support of economic independence, developing a culture of tolerance and peace as well as in foundation of Islamic values that exist in the reform era. It should be added, that to bring back to the surau in the present and in the future, it seems necessary proactive attitude, has a strong intention in achieving objectives. Proactive person would need other people, but it does not mean rely heavily on the other side

Conclusion

Regarding to the elaboration of the educational modernization in Minangkabau above it can be concluded that the existence of surau as the first Islamic educational institution in Minangkabau has been modernized in the middle of the Dutch East Indies colonial government penetration. Modernization is related to the institutional system that is more accommodating to the demands of the Muslim community. Modernization of surau as an Islamic educational institution, among others, lies in the reference books that were previously only one kind only, then studied various books for each of the Islamic disciplines. In that era, the books were written by hand did not be studied anymore. Thus, the books began to use a printed document. Even the Arabic textbooks were translated in Malay language by Indonesian scholars.

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