

Implementation of Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho's Islamic Education Perspective through *Adat* and *Syara'* Interaction

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the application of Islamic education from the perspective of Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jaho through the interaction of *adat* and *syara'*. The method used in research is content analysis, with the steps of having a general idea about the research topic, looking for supporting information, clarifying the focus (expanding or narrowing and organizing reading), searching for and finding the material needed, re-organizing and making research notes (at best central), reviewing and re-enriching reading material, re-organizing material or notes and starting to write. The research results show that applying Islamic education from the perspective of Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho through the 'interaction of *adat* and *syara'*' is developed through three values: *adat* and *syara'* values, national values, and cultural values. The three elements of value are essential points in the affinity of custom and *syara'* of Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jaho, each of which is related and cannot be separated in Minangkabau society, the interaction between religious values, national values and traditional values, which always interact with each other, mediates between one with another. The affinity of *adat* and *syara'* is also inseparable from the authority holders of *adat* and *syara'* values, in its development, it has experienced very problematic developments in terms of terminological definitions and implementation.

Keywords: Islamic Education, Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jaho, Customs, and *Sharia*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap penerapan pendidikan Islam perspektif Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jaho melalui interaksi *adat* dan *syara'*. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian adalah content analisis, dengan langkah-langkah memiliki ide umum tentang topik penelitian, mencari informasi pendukung, mempertegas fokus (perluas atau sempit dan mengorganisasikan bacaan), mencari dan menemukan bahan yang diperlukan, mengorganisasikan kembali dan membuat catatan penelitian (paling sentral), mereview dan memperkaya kembali bahan bacaan, mengorganisasikan lagi bahan atau catatan dan mulai menulis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penerapan pendidikan Islam perspektif Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho melalui interaksi *adat* dan *syara'* dikembangkan melalui tiga nilai, yaitu: nilai *adat* dan *syara'*, nilai-nilai kebangsaan dan nilai-nilai budaya. Tiga unsur nilai yang menjadi point penting dalam pertalian *adat* dan *syara'* Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jaho, masing-masing memiliki keterkaitan dan tidak bisa dipisahkan dalam masyarakat Minangkabau, interaksi antara nilai agama, nilai kebangsaan dan nilai *adat* yang selalu berinteraksi satu sama lainnya, saling memediasi antara satu dengan yang lainnya. Pertalian *adat* dan *syara'* juga tidak terlepas dari pemegang otoritas nilai *adat* dan *syara'*, dalam perkembangannya mengalami perkembangan yang sangat problematik dalam definisi terminologis maupun implementasinya.

Kata Kunci: Pendidikan Islam, Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jaho, *Adat* dan *Syara'*

Background

When religious teachings enter a cultured community, there will be a tug of war between religious and cultural interests. The interaction of Islam and local culture, on the other hand, is an attempt to see the dynamic relationship between Islam and various values and concepts of life that are maintained and

inherited and are seen as a way of life for the community.

Likewise, the Islamic religion that developed in Minangkabau has customs and traditions passed down from generation to generation. However, the contradiction and overlap between *adat* (local culture) and religion is a striking phenomenon in the

Minangkabau. According to Bousquet and Van Ronkel, who were cited by Taufik Abdullah, this piqued their interest since it suggested that the opposition between *adat* and Islam could result in a synthesis that later took on a distinctive Minangkabau appearance¹. The dynamics and process of renewal are always struggling in various dialectical relations between cultural values and external elements in the long history of society. According to Mochtar Naimin in AA. Navis², Minangkabau culture has known the cultural concept of duality for a long time. Duality, which is dichotomous and bipolar, such as the dialectical duality between *luhak* (native) nature and natural *rantau* (spreading) also has a philosophical cultural connotation where diversity and uniformity are integrated with living systems and systems of thinking that symbolize Minangkabau natural systems. This was confirmed by Mestika Zed³ who stated that when Islam arrived and was gradually accepted by society, there was a synthesis (consensus) between *adat* and religion. The Minang expression says “*syara*’ suddenly goes up, *adat* goes down” (Islam came from the coast, *adat* came down from the mainland).

Until now, there have been many studies that talk about the affinity of *adat* (local culture) and *syara*’ (religion) in West Sumatra, both carried out by experts and researchers since pre-colonial and post-independence, such as Christine Dobbin⁴, Schrieke⁵, Okira Oki⁶,

Taufiq Abdullah⁷, Josselin de Jong⁸. Meanwhile, during the post-independence period, the theme of research on Minangkabau dialectics was more directed at developing dialectics into other social issues such as the kinship system, the economic system, the system of government, and nationalism, such as Laurel Kathleen Schwede⁹, Franz von Benda Beckman¹⁰, Mestika Zed¹¹, Audrey Kahin¹² and Gusti Asnan¹³.

In contemporary studies, the duality of *adat* and Islam remains one of the central and constitutive identification points for most Minangkabau researchers. The research conducted by Franz and Keebet Von Benda Beckman¹⁴ and Renske Biezeveld¹⁵ explained that the post-New Order Minangkabau experienced confusion, especially during the implementation of the nagari administration. Debates about *adat* and religion are increasingly expanding, not only in terms of customary law but also are starting to enter discourse as a whole structural system of society. Therefore, the scholars, local elites,

⁷ Taufik Abdullah, “Adat Dan Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau.”

⁸ Josselin de Jong, *Minangkabau and Negeri Sembilan Social Politic Structure in Indonesia* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1980).

⁹ Laurel Kathleen Schwede, “Family Strategies of Labor Allocation and Decision Making in A Matrilineal Islamic Society The Minangkabau of West Sumatera Indonesia” (Desertasi P.hD Cornell University, 1972).

¹⁰ Franz dan Keebet Benda Von Beckmann, *Identitas-Identitas Ambivalen; Desentralisasi Dan Komunitas Politik Minangkabau, Dalam Henk Schulte Nordbelt (Ed Al) Politik Lokal Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007).

¹¹ Mestika Zed, *Sumatera Barat Di Panggung Sejarah 1945-1995* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1988).

¹² Audrey Kahin, *Dari Pemberontakan Ke Integrasi, Sumatera Barat Dan Politik Indonesia 1926-1998*, 1998.

¹³ Gusti Asnan, *Dari Pemberontakan Ke Revolusi* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2000).

¹⁴ Franz dan Keebet Benda Von Beckmann, *Identitas-Identitas Ambivalen; Desentralisasi Dan Komunitas Politik Minangkabau, Dalam Henk Schulte Nordbelt (Ed Al) Politik Lokal Di Indonesia*.

¹⁵ Renske Biezeveld, *Ragam Peran Adat Di Sumatera Barat Dalam Jamie S.Davidson (Ed.Al), Adat Dalam Politik Indonesia, Jakarta, KITLV* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2010).

¹ Taufik Abdullah, “Adat Dan Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau,” *Indonesia* 2, 1966.

² AA. Navis, *Dialektika Minangkabau Dalam Kemelut Sosial Dan Politik* (Padang: Genta Singgalang Press, 1983).

³ Mestika Zed, “Islam Dan Budaya Lokal: Minangkabau Modern,” 2010.

⁴ Christine Dobbin, “Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 3 (1974).

⁵ Schrieke, *Pergolakan Agama Di Sumatera Barat* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1992).

⁶ Okira Oki, *Social Change in West Sumatera 1908-1945* (Australia: Desertasi ANU Australia, 1977).

and indigenous peoples gave birth to a different image in defining Minangkabau identity itself.

The unique phenomenon of *adat* and *syara'* ties in Minangkabau culture is still an interesting study for academics and researchers to date. There are at least 5 types, in general, the focus of the study. First, a philosophical study and hermeneutical analysis of dialectics of *adat* and *syara'* as contained in Fitri's study¹⁶ and Ariani¹⁷. Second, the study of customary and *syara'* ties in inheritance law in Minangkabau as a study Dewi¹⁸, Ismail¹⁹, and Febrina²⁰. Third, the study of customary and *syara'* ties and their implementation in the world of education such as Alfurqan²¹, Ilham²², Fimansyah²³, Ariza²⁴, and Meria²⁵. Fourth,

studies that focus on customary and *syara'* ties in the socio-cultural field in the form of socio-cultural analysis in society such as Rozi's²⁶ research, Tono²⁷, Bukhari²⁸, Fifth, the study of customary and *syara'* ties in the social dynamics of the Minangkabau people in their interactions with communities outside or within cultural boundaries such as Rozi's research²⁹, Kohar³⁰ and Kamal & Rozi³¹.

However, an element that is no less important in the affinity of *adat* and *sharia*, especially in the dialectical process in the social dynamics of society, is cultural transmission. Through this transmission, values will be transmitted simultaneously and continuously. Cultural transmission is the passing on of cultural values from one generation to the next (reproduction). According to Koentjaraningkrat³², cultural elements that experience the process of transmission are cultural values, customs, views on life, various other life concepts, various social habits used

¹⁶ Novia Fitri Istiawati, "Pendidikan Karakter Berbasis Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Adat Ammatoa Dalam Menumbuhkan Karakter Konservasi," *Cendekia: Journal of Education and Teaching* 10, no. 1 (April 8, 2016): 1,

¹⁷ Iva Ariani, "Nilai Filosofis Budaya Matrilineal Di Minangkabau (Relevansinya Bagi Pengembangan Hak-Hak Perempuan Di Indonesia)," *Jurnal Filsafat* 25, no. 1 (2015): 32–55.

¹⁸ Erika Saraswati Dewi, "Studi Komparasi Mengenai Hak Waris Ditinjau Dari Hukum Adat Minangkabau Dan Kompilasi Hukum Islam" (Fakultas Hukum Unpas, 2020).

¹⁹ Ismail Ismail, "Akulturasi Hukum Kewarisan Islam Dengan Hukum Kewarisan Adat Minangkabau," *Al-Hurriyah: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 2, no. 1 (2017): 57–68.

²⁰ Yanti Febrina, "Studi Banding Sistem Hukum Waris Adat Dengan Hukum Waris Islam Dalam Konteks Fiqh Mawaris Pendidikan Agama Islam: (Studi Kasus Adat Minangkabau)," 2012.

²¹ Alfurqan Alfurqan, Zainurni Zein, and Abdul Salam, "Implementasi Khazanah Surau Terhadap Pendidikan Islam Modern," *TARBAWY: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Education* 6, no. 2 (2019): 127–41.

²² Ilham Ilham and M Waston, "Internalisasi Nilai Adat Minang Pada Pondok Pesantren Perkampungan Minangkabau Sumatera Barat" (Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2022).

²³ Wira Fimansyah, "Buddayah: Jurnal Pendidikan Antropologi Internalisasi Pendidikan Karakter Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Minangkabau Untuk Generasi Muda" 2, no. 2 (2020): 97–104.

²⁴ Hidra Ariza and M Isnando Tamrin, "Pendidikan Agama Islam Berbasis Kearifan Lokal (Benteng Di Era Globalisasi)," *Jurnal Kajian Dan Pengembangan Umat* 4, no. 2 (2021).

²⁵ Aziza Meria, "Integrasi Pendidikan Agama Islam Dalam Pembelajaran Budaya Alam Minangkabau Di Sekolah Dasar," *Al-Awlad* 7, no. 1 (2017): 59–70.

²⁶ Syafwan Rozi, "Negosiasi Islam Kultur Dalam Gerakan Paderi Rao Di Sumatera Tengah (1820-1833)," *Kalam* 6, no. 1 (2012): 85–104.

²⁷ Sidik Tono et al., "The Harmonious Relationship between Minangkabau Custom and Islam in the Distribution of Inheritance," *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, 2019, 39–55.

²⁸ Bukhari Bukhari, "Akulturasi Adat Dan Agama Islam Di Minangkabau Tinjauan Antropologi Dakwah," *Al Munir: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam*, 2009, 49–63.

²⁹ Syafwan Rozi, "Konstruksi Identitas Agama Dan Budaya Etnis Minangkabau Di Daerah Perbatasan: Perubahan Identitas Dalam Interaksi Antaretnis Di Rao Kabupaten Pasaman Sumatera Barat," *Masyarakat Indonesia* 39, no. 1 (2013): 215–45.

³⁰ Wakidul Kohar and Yummil Hasan, "Islam Transmigran: Studi Integrasi Budaya Masyarakat Transmigrasi Di Sumatera Barat," *AL MUNIR: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam*, 2018, 42–58.

³¹ Muhiddinur Kamal and Syafwan Rozi, "The Cultured Islam: The Boundary Of Islamic Identity Between The Minangkabau And Mandailing Ethnic," *El-Harakah* 22, no. 2 (2020): 223.

³² Koentjaraningrat, *Beberapa Pokok Antropologi Sosial* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1990).

in interacting between members of society, various attitudes, and roles needed in association and their behavior. Even according to Bourdieu and Passeron³³, and Tilaar³⁴, the culture transmission is nothing more than an educational process.

The thinkers and figures of the Minangkabau movement have contributed their main ideas in laying the foundation, implementing, and maintaining the dialectical process and affinity between *adat* and *syara'*. One of them is Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho, who is also known as Buya Jaho or Inyiah Jaho, a prominent scholar in Minangkabau. Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho has institutionalized his ideas through Islamic education at Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Jaho. The establishment of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Jaho cannot be separated from the participation of the community around Jaho, Padang Panjang in West Sumatera. In addition, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho is a scholar who has a strong influence on society. Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho is also known as a prolific writer through his works which provide inspiration and valuable teachings for the Minangkabau people. There are 7 of his works, namely *Tadzkiratul Qulub fil Muraqabah 'Allamul Ghuyub*, *Nujumul Hidayah*, *As-Syamsul Lami'ah*, *Fil 'Aqidah was Diyanah*, *Hujjatul Balighah*, *Al-Maqalah ar-Radhiyah*, *Kasyful Awsiyah*.

Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho shows his uniqueness through his works, not only as a thinker and figure in the Islamic movement in Minangkabau, but also as a driving figure who has transmitted and reproduced values and ideas through the educational institutions he founded, both formal and informal education.

³³ P. dan J.C. Passeron Bourdieu, *Reproduksi in Education, Society and Culture* (London: Sage, 1977).

³⁴ H.A.R Tilaar, *Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Dan Masyarakat Madani Indonesia* (Bandung: Kerjasama antara PT. Remaja Rosdakarya dengan Yayasan Adikarya IKAPI dan The Ford Foundation, 1999).

The values of affinity between *adat* and *syara'* have been transmitted and continue to be reproduced by the students and followers of Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli together with Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jaho which have inspired researchers to explore his ideas and movements. Based on the above studies, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho's educational ideas still exist and are relevant amidst the strengthening of discussions about the relations of religion, culture, and the state in religious and national life in Indonesia in this era. By using the analysis of the theory of relations and interaction of religion and culture Peter L. Berger³⁵ and Woodhead³⁶, the idea of the relationship between *adat* and *syara'*, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho Arrasuli, is interesting to reveal. Even the implementation of his ideas through educational institutions is also interesting in terms of institutionalization theory³⁷ as well as the theory of cultural transmission makes the study of Sheikh's ideas increasingly unique. The author hypothesizes that there is a unique and specific system that was initiated and implemented by Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho in explaining customary and *syara'* ties not only in the educational institutions he owns but also in his community service in the fields of da'wah, social and political affairs.

Thus, this study will discuss and complement previous studies specifically on education that focus on the application of Islamic education from the perspective of Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho through the interaction of *adat*, *syara'*, and nationality. *Syara'*

³⁵ Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of A Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Open Road Media, 1966).

³⁶ Linda Woodhead, Paul Heelas, and David Martin, *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion, Peter Berger and the Study of Religion*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203206805>.

³⁷ Peter L Berger & Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial Atas Kenyataan, Risahtentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2012).

with the traditional philosophy of *basandi syara' syara'* basandi Kitabullah.

The purpose of this library research is to collect data and information using various materials found in the library room. To gather the information needed for this discussion, the author read books on the subject.

The method used in this research is content analysis, with the following steps: Having a general idea about the research topic, looking for supporting information, reinforcing the focus (expanding or narrowing and organizing the reading), finding and finding the material needed, re-organizing and making research notes (most central), reviewing and re-enriching reading material, and organizing again material or notes and starting to write³⁸. The data sources in this study are books related to humanity, articles, scientific books, magazines, documents, mass media, newspapers, and other writings as comparisons and supports relating to the humanitarian paradigm in Islamic education.

Meanwhile, in data analysis using the following steps: pour out and explain the discussion or text that is following the design results offered; the draft is processed systematically according to its category and classification; the process of discussing the problem is analyzed based on the description that is manifested; the analysis of these problems drew general conclusions³⁹.

Syeikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho and Relationship of *Adat* and *Syara'*

In the history of *adat* (costumary) and *syara'* (Islamic law) ties in Minangkabau, the role of Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho cannot be ruled out, especially from the aspect of his work or direct involvement in the dialectic of *adat* and *syara'*. According to Gusti Asnan⁴⁰, the

work of Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli on Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho entitled "Sari Patie Oath Sati Bukik Marapalam" is the oldest source explaining the event of the Bukik Marapalam Oath, a monumental event in the birth of an agreement between traditional and religious leaders known as "*Adat Basandi Syara' Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*". According to Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli, disputes between indigenous peoples and religious people ended with an agreement on Marapalam Hill which was thought to have taken place in 1831-1833 and was attended by princes, religious scholars, and important figures from Luhak Nan Tigo and Lareh Nan Duo. Other books of his work related to *adat* and *syara'* relations include "*Adat ties and Syara' in Minangkabau*", "The Book of Origins of the Penghulu Rank and Its Establishment", as well as Guidelines for Life in Minangkabau Nature,

These books explained the dialectics between *adat* and *syara'* in Minangkabau. Moreover, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho's direct involvement with Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli in customary and *syara'* dialectics has also become a historical record through the missionary, educational and political journeys of his time. Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho together with Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli have revived the dynamics of customary and *syara'* ties which originally had a sharp dialectic into a dynamic dialectic through the social life of students and their followers. They have transmitted this value of customary affinity and *syara'* through reproduction and passing it on to followers and future generations through their Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah and the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association (PERTI) organization. Bourdieu⁴¹ is the transmission of

³⁸ Mestika Zed, *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2004).

³⁹ Noeng Muhadjir, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin, 1996).

⁴⁰ Gusti Asnan, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau: Catatan Dari Peristiwa Bukik Marapalan Dalam Ulama, Seni*

Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau, Kenang-Kenangan Dari MTQ Ke 26 Propinsi Sumatera Barat Di Kotamadya Sawahlunto (Sawahlunto: Pemda Sawahlunto, 1995).

⁴¹ Bourdieu, *Reproduksi in Education, Society and Culture*.

cultural values from one generation to the next (reproduction).

According to Wiyono in Putri Hana Pebriana⁴² the word interaction in general can be interpreted as interconnected or mutually reacting and occurs in two or more individuals. Interaction is one of the integrity principles of the learning curriculum which includes communication skills and working together to foster harmonious communication between individuals and their environment⁴³, DeVito in Sujarwanto⁴⁴ proposed ten principles of interaction that can be used to build intercultural communication. The ten principles are openness, empathy, supportive attitude, positive attitude, equality, self-confidence, immediacy, interaction management, creativity, and value oriented. Some of the conditions needed in communicating include: (1) an attitude of mutual respect for cultural members as human beings, (2) an attitude of respect for other cultures as they are, not as we want them to be, (3) an attitude of respect for the rights of other cultural members to act differently from the way we act, (4) competent cross-cultural communicators must learn to enjoy living with people from other cultures⁴⁵.

The process of social interaction will produce two forms, namely associative and dissociative processes. The form of associative social interaction is a form of interaction that leads to harmony, and intimacy, while the form of dissociative processes leads to disharmony and even division. Forms of social interaction

in the form of associative processes include cooperation, accommodation, and assimilation.

Cooperation is the main form of social interaction. According to Charles H. Cooley in Abdulsyani⁴⁶, cooperation arises when people realize that they have the same interests and at the same time have enough knowledge and control over themselves to fulfill these interests; awareness of the existence of common interests and the existence of an organization are important facts in useful cooperation. Cooperation has five forms, namely harmony which includes cooperation and mutual help, bargaining, co-optation, coalition, and joint venture. Accommodation means there is a balance of social norms and values prevailing in society.

Balance is realized because of the process of adjustment and agreement not to conflict with each other to reduce conflict between individuals or between groups as a result of differences in understanding, prevent the explosion of a conflict temporarily, enable cooperation, and to promote fusion between separate social groups.

Assimilation is a process that involves efforts to reduce differences between individuals or groups of people, as well as efforts to improve the unity of actions, attitudes, and mental processes by combining interests and goals. Tolerance, balanced economic opportunities, respect for foreigners and their culture, an open attitude from the ruling class in society, equality in cultural elements, mixed marriages (amalgamation), and enemies from the outside will facilitate assimilation.⁴⁷

The form of social interaction in a dissociative process includes competition, controversy, and conflict or conflict, the competition is defined as a social process, in

⁴² Putri Hana Pebriana, "Analisis Penggunaan Gadget Terhadap Kemampuan Interaksi Sosial," *Jurnal Obsesi: Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* 1, no. 1 (2017): 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v1i1.26>.

⁴³ Putri Hana Pebriana.

⁴⁴ Imam Sujarwanto, "Interaksi Sosial Antar Umat Beragama (Studi Kasus Pada Masyarakat Karang Malang Kedungbanteng Kabupaten Tegal)," *Journal of Educational Social Studies* 1, no. 2 (2012): 60–65.

⁴⁵ W Anugrah, D. dan Kresnowiati, *Komunikasi Antar Budaya; Konsep Dan Aplikasinya* (Jakarta: Jala Permata, 2008).

⁴⁶ Abdulsyani, *Sosiologi Skematika, Teori Dan Terapan* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2002).

⁴⁷ Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar (Cet. Ke-44)* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2012).

which individuals or groups of people compete for profit through areas of life that exist at a certain time to become the center of public attention by attracting public attention or by sharpening pre-existing prejudices, without using threats or violence.

A social process that exists between competition and conflict is referred to as a *contra version*. The opposite version is distinguished by symptoms of doubt about oneself or a plan, as well as hidden feelings of dislike, hatred, or doubt about one's personality. Conflict occurs when people try to achieve their goals by confronting the opposing party with threats and violence. Individual differences in attitudes or feelings, differences in personality, differences in individual or group interests, and rapid social changes can all lead to conflict. Social interaction can also be influenced by psychological factors originating within the relationship's internal parties. Impersonation, suggestion, identification, and sympathy are examples of these factors.⁴⁸ Likewise in terms of cultural values (*adat*) and religion (*syara'*).

Adat and *syara'* are two important elements that influence each other in the system and structure of society. When religious teachings enter a cultured community, on the one hand, there will be a tug-of-war between religious interests and customary interests. On the other hand, the interaction of religion and culture is an attempt to see the dynamic relationship between religion and various values and concepts of life that are maintained and inherited and seen as a guideline for people's lives⁴⁹.

According to Shadily in Hasanuddin⁵⁰, for Muslims, custom can become a source of law if there are three conditions, namely not contradicting the arguments in the Qur'an and Hadith, becoming a habit that continues to apply in people's lives, and has become a habit of society in general.

Meanwhile, *syara'* are regulations that have been established by Allah for humans in the form of laws that are conveyed to His Apostles both in the form of worship and faith in belief in Allah SWT⁵¹. Shari'a can also be referred to as *syara'* (law), which is called *ad-din* or *millah*, which means religion (Shadily in Hasanuddin⁵²). The combination of *adat* and *syara'* will give birth to interaction through a dialectical process.

The transmission of cultural or traditional values and religion are two important elements that influence each other in the system and structure of society. According to Peter L. Berger, there has been a fundamental dialectic between religion and culture.⁵³ When religious teachings enter a cultured community, on the one hand, there will be a tug-of-war between religious interests and cultural interests. This is where, according to Berger, a dialectic occurs between religion and culture. In addition, another important aspect related to religion and culture is the state. According to Bachtiar Efendi,⁵⁴ the relationship between religion and the state has three characteristics: integralist, symbolic, and secularistic. However, for the context of Indonesian culture, the pattern of relations that is suitable for viewing the relationship between religion and the state is symbolic, that is, the relationship between religion and the state is in

⁵⁰ Hasanuddin, *Adat Dan Syarak Sumber Inspirasi Dan Rujukan Nilai Dialektika Minangkabau*, 2013.

⁵¹ Hasanuddin.

⁵² Hasanuddin.

⁵³ Peter L Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, Terj. Hartono (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994).

⁵⁴ Bachtiar Effend, *Islam Dan Negara, Transformasi Politik Islam Pada Masa Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

⁴⁸ Soerjono Soekanto.

⁴⁹ Syafwan Rozi, "Konstruksi Identitas Islam Perbatasan Sebuah Sintesis Terhadap Identitas Tradisional Dan Identitas Modernis Dalam Paham Keagamaan Di Daerah Rao Sumatera Barat" (AICIS: Conferens Prosesdding, 2011), 1643–60.

a position of mutual need and is reciprocal or a mutualistic symbiosis. In this context, religion requires the state as an instrument and preserves and develops religion. Vice versa, the state also needs religion, because religion also helps the state in the moral, ethical and spiritual development of its citizens⁵⁵.

The findings of this study explain that the transmission of religious, customary, and state values are three elements of values in the affinity of *adat* and *syara'* by Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jaho and Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli, which are summarized in the form of Islamic values, national values, and cultural values.

Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association and Implementation of *Adat* and *Syara'* Relationship

In organizational activities, these national values are contained in the articles of association of the Islamic Tarbiyah Association an organization founded by Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli together with Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jaho. In the statutes or by laws of the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association, it is explained that the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association accepts and maintains the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which contains the foundations of the state: belief in the One and Only God, humanity, nationality, people's sovereignty and social justice⁵⁶. But practically, as a form of love for the motherland, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jaho and Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli are not only actively involved in organizing through the Islamic Tarbiyah Association, but also participating in the movement against imperialism.

Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jaho and Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli are also known as

cultural Islamic education figures. Islamic values, cultural values, and national values are three elements of values that are important points in Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jaho's affinity of custom and *sharia*, each of which is related and cannot be separated in Minangkabau society. The big point is the interaction between religious values, national values, and customary values which always interact and mediate between one another. Custom interacts with religion and will also mediate; from this it will give birth to new values. This is according to Berger's analysis⁵⁷ that the interaction between religion and culture produces values that are constructed, between customs and religions combined to produce new values. It is in this context that Minangkabau Islam appears and is reproduced.

Based on the integrative view, he stated that Islam basically embraces the various values inherent in people's lives. The form of Islamic values should be able to be transformed in human life so that they become Islamic characteristics. As stated by Muhammad Yusuf Musa⁵⁸ that the characteristic of Islam is that it teaches religious unity, political unity, social unity, the religion of freedom and equality, and religion of humanity. The value of this unity is the hallmark of national values.

The position of *adat* as a source of value is in line with Shadily's opinion in Hasanuddin⁵⁹ that custom can be used as a source of law if there are three conditions, namely that it does not conflict with the firm argument of the Al-Qur'an and Hadith, becomes a habit that continues to apply in society, and has become a habit of society in general. Even St. Alisjahbana's destiny in

⁵⁵ Syafwan Rozi, "Relasi Islam Dan Negara Dalam Ranah Lokal (Studi Perda No 1 Tahun 2001 Tentang Visi Agama Madani Di Kabupaten Agam)," *Al-Hurriyah: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 11, no. 2 (2018).

⁵⁶ Asril Asril, "Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli: Ulama Multi Talenta," *Khazanah: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.15548/khazanah.v0i0.74>.

⁵⁷ Peter L. Berger, *Social Reality of Religion* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967).

⁵⁸ Muhammad Yusuf Musa, *Al-Islam Wa Hajab Al-Insaniyyah Ilayh, Peterjemah: A. Malik Madaniy Dan Hamim Ilyas* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1998).

⁵⁹ Hasanuddin, *Adat Dan Syarak Sumber Inspirasi Dan Rujukan Nilai Dialektika Minangkabau*.

Basori⁶⁰ stated that the values of religion, art, and solidarity related to taste and grounded in feelings, intuition, and imagination are included in cultural values.

The affinity of *adat* and *syara'* is also inseparable from the authority holders of customary and *syara'* values. In its development, this authoritative issue has experienced very problematic developments in terminological definition and implementation. In Islam, for example, this is due to the notion that the sole authority is Allah, who is contained in the Holy Qur'an. Following this definition, the owners of authority in Islam are those who can invite and direct action following Islamic messages in the Qur'an⁶¹. Those who are considered to have authority may be a cleric personally or clerics who associate with a group of organizations or institutions that have government legitimacy. Traditionally, authority in Islam is in the hands of the ulema or kyai or ustads. According to Sardar, religious authority in Islam is still around productive leaders, government or caliphs, clerics, and intellectuals. They have the authority to regulate, educate, and spread religious discourse among Muslims⁶². They have the legal authority and provide interpretations of the Holy Scriptures to resolve the problems of the people with the *fatwa* issued. The *fatwa* then becomes a reference for the behavior of the people, not excluding the same problems with customary and cultural authorities.

⁶⁰ Basori, "Antara Budaya Dan Agama; Menegaskan Identitas Islam Nusantara," *Madania: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 7, no. 1 (2017): 26–56, <http://ejournal.uin-suska.ac.id/index.php/madania/article/view/4831>.

⁶¹ Marc Gaborieau, *Redefining Religious Authority in South Asian Muslims*, *Dalam Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, Dan Nico JG Kaptein, Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2010).

⁶² Ziauddin Sardar, *Islam, Postmodernisme, and the Future* (London: Pluto Press, 2003).

Thus, it is necessary to realize that religious authority and even customary authority are not something rigid but dynamic⁶³. Even according to Rumadi⁶⁴ customary and religious authority is a social construction because according to him the issue of authority in Islam is a form of interplay between the construction of religious beliefs and social reality. So that the issue of authority becomes an arena of contestation by various religious groups.

In this case, there are three value authority holders, namely the clergy, traditional stakeholders, and the government. In its movement within the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association organization, it has strengthened the authority of religious values for followers, especially for adherents of the Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jamaah religious understanding⁶⁵. It's just that, in this context, the role of customary and religious authorities plays an important role in the process of transmitting values in the affinity of *adat* and *sharia*. Traditional leaders and religious leaders as guardians of traditional values and religious values are responsible for the continued existence of these values. Even as an authoritative institution in maintaining and overseeing the transmission of customary and *sharia* values.

Conclusion

The application of Islamic education from the perspective of Syekh Muhammad Djamil Jaho through the interaction of *adat*, *syara'*, and nationality is developed through three values, namely: *adat* and *syara'* values, national values, and cultural values. The three

⁶³ Zulkifli, "The Ulama In Indonesia : Between Religious Authority and Symbolic Power," *Miqot* XXXVII, no. 1 (2013): 180–97.

⁶⁴ Rumadi Rumadi, "Islam dan Otoritas Keagamaan," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 20, no. 1 (2012): 25, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.20.1.183>.

⁶⁵ Iskandar, "Nuzul, Arzam Arzam, and Jafar Ahmad. "Negosiasi Otoritas Fikih: Relasi Perti Kultural Dan Organisasi Keagamaan Arus Utama Di Kerinci," *Ijtihad* 37, no. 2 (2021).

elements of values which are important points in the affinity of custom and *syara'* of Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jaho, each of which is related and cannot be separated in Minangkabau society, the interaction between religious values, national values, and customary values which always interact with one another. Mediate between one another.

The affinity of *adat* and *syara'* is also inseparable from the authority holders of customary and *syara'* values. Authoritative issues in their development experience very problematic developments in terms of terminological definition and implementation.

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