

MYSTICAL PRACTICES AND AMULETS: THE VIEWS OF ABDUL KARIM AMRULLAH IN MINANGKABAU CULTURE

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Abstract

This research aims to explore the conception of magic and amulets during the time of Abdul Karim Amrullah, both in terms of concept and practice in Minangkabau. Magic and amulets are distinct aspects but closely related in Minangkabau culture. In the past, shamans primarily controlled magic, while amulets, as countermeasures, were held by tarekat scholars. Over time, with the integration of custom and Islam in Minangkabau's philosophy "adat bersendi syara' and syara' bersendi kitabullah," there was a shift in expertise between magic and amulets. Both became skills possessed by both shamans and scholars. Subsequent developments showed a decline in magic practitioners, with some even becoming scholars. This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach. There are three main questions addressed in this article: first, how did magic and amulets emerge in Minangkabau; second, what is the depiction of the development of magic and amulets in Minangkabau; third, what is Abdul Karim Amrullah's conception of magic and amulets in Minangkabau. According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, magic, and amulets are practices that corrupt faith and can lead to polytheism. The proliferation of magic and amulets in the past was due to the rigid and fatalistic interpretation of "qudrah" by the Minangkabau society.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi konsepsi sihir dan azimat pada masa Abdul Karim Amrullah, baik dari segi konsep maupun praktik di Minangkabau. Sihir dan azimat merupakan dua aspek yang berbeda tetapi memiliki hubungan erat dalam budaya Minangkabau. Pada masa lalu, sihir lebih dikuasai oleh para dukun, sementara azimat sebagai penangkalnya dipegang oleh ulama tarekat. Seiring berjalannya waktu, dengan integrasi adat dan Islam dalam falsafah Minangkabau "adat bersendi syara' dan syara' bersendi kitabullah," terjadi pergeseran keahlian antara sihir dan azimat. Sihir dan azimat menjadi keahlian yang dimiliki oleh dukun maupun ulama. Perkembangan selanjutnya menunjukkan berkurangnya ahli sihir, bahkan beberapa di antaranya menjadi ulama. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif. Terdapat tiga pertanyaan utama yang ingin dijawab dalam artikel ini: pertama, bagaimana sihir dan



azimat muncul di Minangkabau; kedua, bagaimana gambaran perkembangan sihir dan azimat di Minangkabau; ketiga, bagaimana konsepsi Abdul Karim Amrullah tentang sihir dan azimat di Minangkabau. Menurut Abdul Karim Amrullah, sihir dan azimat adalah praktik yang merusak akidah dan dapat menyebabkan kemusyrikan. Maraknya sihir dan azimat di masa lalu disebabkan oleh pemahaman jumud dan fatalis masyarakat Minangkabau terhadap konsep "qudrah."

Background

Abdul Karim Amrullah was a Minangkabau reformer who was firm on social and religious issues. His criticisms can be read in various writings he wrote in the early nineteenth century. One of the social-religious criticisms in his work is the issue of magic and amulets contained in *al-Burhan*.¹ *Al-Burhan*, part of Abdul Karim Amrullah's work and other works, can also be traced from the writings of Apria Putra.² The birth of specific names, such as *palasik*, *cindaku*, *orang bunian*, etc., can capture the use of magic in Minangkabau society in the past. The power of magic can be rejected by the existence of an amulet as an antidote or through specific mantras. In the next period, mantras were adjusted in Minangkabau Islam by including *basmalah*, Allah, angels, Rasulullah, *La Ilahailallah*, and others.³ The Tariqat Syattariyah sect also popularizes the use of amulets, whether from a robust Islamic faith or the lay community.

Many studies, such as Megan Collins, have been related to the issue of magic and amulets in Minangkabau culture.⁴ Desfiarni,⁵ Metti Jasentika,⁶ Zusneli Zubir,⁷ and others. According to Megan, Azimat can absorb negative energy from sorcerers. Meanwhile, Desfianti highlighted magic as part of economic improvement by making *lukah* a means of treatment. The importance of the mantra

¹ Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Al-Burhan* (Fort De Kock: Drukerij, 1927), 265.

² Apria Putra, "Ulama Dan Karya Tulis: Diskursus Keislaman Di Minangkabau Awal Abad 20," *Fuaduna: Jurnal Kajian Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 1, no. 2 (2017): 142.

³ Metty Jasentika, Hamidin Hamidin, and Muhammad Ismail Nasution, "Mantra Pelaris Dagangan Dalam Masyarakat Hilia Parik Nagari Lubuak Basuang, Kecamatan Lubuak Basuang, Kabupaten Agam," *Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra* 2, no. 1 (2013): 2.

⁴ Megan Collins, "Sojourns in Science: Plural Framings of Music, Disaster and Community Resilience in Minangkabau," in *Proceedings of the 5th Symposium: The ICTM Study Group On Performing Arts Of Southeast Asia*, n.d., 111.

⁵ Desfiarni, *Tari Lukah Gilo Sebagai Rekaman Budaya Minangkabau Pra Islam: Dari Magis Ke Seni Pertunjukan Sekuler* (Yogyakarta: Kalika, 2004), 52.

⁶ Jasentika, Hamidin, and Nasution, "Mantra Pelaris Dagangan Dalam Masyarakat Hilia Parik Nagari Lubuak Basuang, Kecamatan Lubuak Basuang, Kabupaten Agam," 2.

⁷ Zusneli Zubir, "Dukun Patah Tulang Dan Obatan Tradisional Di Nagari Koto Anau Kabupaten Solok Propinsi Sumatera Barat Tahun 1960-2012," *Jurnal Historia* 7, no. 1 (2019): 66–67.

element in the economy was also studied by Metti Jasentika, who focused on the function of mantras in increasing trade. Meanwhile, Zusneli Zubir tried to research the use of this invisible science for the benefit of fracture treatment. The background of the emergence of magic and amulets in the Minangkabau culture and the efforts made by the community to anticipate the act of magic as done by Abdul Karim Amrullah has not been seen.

This research describes Abdul Karim Amrullah's criticism of magic and amulets that developed in Minangkabau. In this article, three issues become academic anxiety. The first is the emergence of magic and talismans in Minangkabau. Second, what is the concept of magic and amulets that developed in Minangkabau in the past? Third, how did Abdul Karim Amrullah view magic and amulets that developed in Minangkabau? There are several arguments for the necessity of this research. First, there is a lack of Islamic intellectuals who try to explore the issue of magic and amulets in Minangkabau society, which is related to the emergence and development of magic and amulets in the past. Secondly, the views of Abdul Karim Amrullah associated with the issue of magic and amulets have not been exposed.

Research Methods

This research raises the theme of social science research, especially in Minangkabau, which is characterized by religious and social processes that seep into supernatural issues, such as the relationship between Islam and Minangkabau society in spiritual matters.⁸ This research is qualitative in the form of empirical normative history, making literature the primary information source. This research has at least two sources of reference: normative and empirical.⁹ Normative references include all Islamic hierarchic rules, such as the Qur'an, hadith, ijma', or qiyas. Empirical references are in the form of legal practices, events, and institutions in Minangkabau society.

Researchers are looking for historical data related to magic and amulets performed by the Minangkabau people, especially the views of Abdul Karim Amrullah. Given that what is studied is the conception of magic and amulets performed by the community, the approach taken is also positivistic as part of anthropological sociology research within a larger framework. Sociological research tries to understand society's two rules, customary rules on the one hand and Islamic rules on the other.

⁸ Syarifuddin Jurdi, *Sosiologi Nusantara: Mamahami Sosiologi Integralistik* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013), 19.

⁹ Mujia Rahardjo, *Penelitian Sosiologi Hukum Islam* (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2006), 3.

A Glimpse of Abdul Karim Amrullah's Biography

Abdul Karim Amrullah is the father of Buya Hamka. He was born on Sunday 17 Safar 1296 / February 10, 1879 in Kapalo Kabun, Jorong Batuang Panjang, Nagari Sungai Batang Maninjau, Agam Regency, West Sumatra. Abdul Karim Amrullah died in Jakarta on Saturday, 21 Jumadil Akhir 1364/2 June 1945, or 2 months before Indonesia's independence, at the age of 66.

Abdul Karim's name was changed from Muhammad Rasul to Abdul Karim after he returned from Mecca to study and perform the Hajj.¹⁰ An older student of Abdul Karim Amrullah, Shaykh Ibrahim Musa Parabek, also changed his name upon his return from Mecca. Upon returning from Mecca to perform the hajj pilgrimage and study there, Shaykh Ibrahim Musa changed his name to Ibrahim Musa, previously named Luthan Musa. Ibrahim Musa then opened a recitation in the Parabek area, so his name was added to Shaykh Ibrahim Musa Parabek.¹¹ A Pariaman scholar known as Shaykh Muhammad Djamil al-Chalidi also changed his name. Before studying in Mecca, his small name was Habibuen; upon returning from Mecca, his name was changed to Moehammad Djamil al-Chalidi.¹² According to Hendri-Loir Chambert, the name change after the Hajj was initiated in the city of Mecca by taking advantage of the ignorance of the pilgrims. Fake Shaykhs in the town of Mecca then "inaugurate" the pilgrims by wearing a turban for men and Malaya or face cover for women by getting a minimum wage of *seringgut* from the inauguration of the hajj.¹³ Besides using the name of Abdul Karim Amrullah, he is also commonly called "Tuan Rasul or *Inyik* Deer (Doctor)". The nickname Haji Rasul or Tuan Rasul is frequently used by his students, including the wider community. In writing the name in Haji Rasul's works, he immortalized his birthplace on the shores of Lake Maninjau by adding *Ad-Danawi* until his name became Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah ad-Danawi. Hereafter in this paper, Abdul Karim Amrullah will be referred to as Haji Rasul.

Haji Rasul's primary religious education began with studying with Tuanku Haji Hud and Tuanku Fakhri Sumnun in the Sibalantai area, Tarusan Painan, by exploring the Qur'an until it was completed. When he was 11, he learned to write Arabic letters to Inyik Adam. Shaykh Adam was the youngest brother of Shaykh Muhammad Djamil al-Chalidi. He became a popular recitation teacher in the city of

¹⁰ Hamka, *Ayahku, Riwayat Hidup DR. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah Dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama Di Sumatera* (Jakarta: Uminnda, 1982), 40.

¹¹ Abuddin Nata, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2011), 40.

¹² Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, *Pengungkapan Dan Pengkajian Naskah Kuno Kota Pariaman Sumatera Barat* (Jakarta: Putra Sejati Raya, 1996), 98.

¹³ Hendri Chambert-Loir, *Naik Haji Di Masa Silam Tahun 1900-1950*, vol. 2 (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1913), 690 – 91.

Pariaman.¹⁴ Inyiaq Adam was the son of Tuanku Said. At 13, Abdul Karim Amrullah continued studying *ilm al-nahwu* and *ilm al-sharf* with his father, Amrullah, including *fiqh* and *tafsir*.¹⁵ As an essential part of legal studies, his academic journey continued to the Sungai Rotan area of Pariaman. He studied with his father's student, Tuanku Sutan Muhammad Yusuf. His studies were completed after finishing the book *Minhaju al-Thalibin* by Imam Nawawi (631-676 AH/1233-1277 AD) and the book *Tafsir Jalalain* by Jalaluddin al-Sayuthi (d 911 AH). He studied in Sungai Rotan for two years. When Abdul Karim Amrullah was 16 years old, he was sent by his father to study in Mecca from 1894 to 1901. He studied in the Arab lands for 7 years. He was starting from the age of 16 until the age of 23.

After staying in the village for two years, from 1902-1904, Abdul Karim Amrullah returned to Mecca to deepen his knowledge for the second time and take his younger siblings to study there. Furthermore, Abdul Karim Amrullah stayed in Mecca for two years, from 1904-1906. Upon his return, he became a teacher in his hometown of Maninjau. Among the teachers who taught Abdul Karim Amrullah in Mecca were Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, Shaykh M. Thahir Jalaluddin, and Shaykh Usman Sarawak.¹⁶ Other scholars who became teachers of Abdul Karim Amrullah were Shaykh Abdul Hamid, Shaykh Bajuned, Shaykh Shalih Bafadal, Shaykh Hamid Jeddah, and Shaykh Sa'id Yamani, who was left in Mecca. He also studied with Shaykh Yusuf Nabhani, a Shaykh who hated Muhammad 'Abduh's principles.¹⁷ His departure to Mecca to study religion and his great desire to become a scholar was also because he did not want to attend a school established by the Dutch, even though many of his friends and teachers attended Dutch schools then.¹⁸

Magic and Amulets in Texts and Opinions in Minangkabau

To talk about magic is to talk about something abstract. It is considered to exist because it is believed to be able to affect the intended object. Magic can be

¹⁴ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, *Pengungkapan Dan Pengkajian Naskah Kuno Kota Pariaman Sumatera Barat*, 97.

¹⁵ Nuh, "Tokoh Pembaharu Minangkabau: H. Abdul Karim Amrullah 'Ulama Agresif' Dan Modern," *Pelita Jakarta*, July 13, 1988, 6.

¹⁶ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1979), 149.

¹⁷ Hamka, *Ayahku, Riwayat Hidup DR. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah Dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama Di Sumatera*, 56; Novita Siswayanti, "Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah Ulama Pembaru Islam Di Minangkabau," *Dialog (Jurnal Penelitian Dan Kajian Keagamaan)* 39, no. 1 (2016): 37.

¹⁸ Nuh, "Tokoh Pembaharu Minangkabau: H. Abdul Karim Amrullah 'Ulama Agresif' Dan Modern," 6.

defined as any word or action that contradicts Sharia morals.¹⁹ Sorcerers usually raise beings other than God by connecting themselves with the forces of nature. Many stories legalize the existence of magic in society with various arguments. Even the story of magic comes from heaven through two angels who descended to earth and ended up staying on earth without being able to return to heaven. The angels are Harut and Marut, who then taught magic to humans, as found in Surah al-Baqarah verse 102.

When viewed from the practice of magic in Minangkabau, magic existed long before the birth of Abdul Karim Amrullah. According to Abu Bakar Muhammad Zakariya, there was an evolution of *shirk* during the Arab Jahiliah period until now, which can be classified in several forms, namely: First, *shirk* (associating partners with Allah) committed by humans to humans by worshiping pious people. This happened during the time of the Prophet Noah. Second, *shirk* is done through *i'tikaf*, visiting sacred and even worshiping the graves of the pious as a continuation of *shirk* in the first form, which continued from Noah to Prophet Ilyasa. Third, *shirk* by worshiping idols. This happened during Prophets Hud, Shaleh, and some of the people of Prophet Ibrahim, Prophet Yusuf, Prophet Shu'ib, Ilyas, and some of the people of Prophet Musa after Prophet Musa died. Fourth, *shirk* by worshipping heavenly bodies such as the stars and the sun. This happened during the time of Prophet Abraham. Fifth, *shirk* by glorifying lust. This happened during the time of Prophet Lot. Sixth, *shirk* by worshiping animals. This also happened during the time of Prophet Moses. Seventh, *shirk* occurs by worshiping the monks and priests of the Jewish and Christian religions at the time of Prophet Moses and the time of Prophet Isa. Eighth, *shirk* occurs when worshiping the prophets and apostles. Glorifying and even worshipping prophets and apostles happened during the time of Prophet Musa, Uzair, and Isa by glorifying al-Masih.²⁰

According to the Minang *Saisuak* (past) belief, there are two forms of soul or spirit and *sumangek* (spirit) within a person.²¹ *Sumangek* is also considered a being with will, thoughts, and feelings but detached from the body. *Sumangek* can be encountered in dreams and dialogue with the other *sumangek*, who appear surprised, afraid, and ill. After leaving the body, *sumangek* can also return to its place of origin at the call of the shaman through magic spells. There are many stories related to witchcraft in Minangkabau in the past, such as *palasik*, which inwardly sucks the blood of young children. The antidote is to put a bundle in the

¹⁹ 'Abdu al-Rahman Al-Jaziriy, *Kitab Al-Fiqhi 'ala Al-Madhahib Al-'Arba'Ah* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1996), 402.

²⁰ Abu Bakar Muhammad Zakariya, *Al-Syirk Fi Al-Qadim Wa Al-Hadits*, vol. 1 (Riyadh: Maktabah al-Rusdy, 2000), 393.

²¹ Carole Faucher, "Magical Discourse, Moral Boundaries, and Mapping of Interrelations in the Riau Archipelago," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 30, no. 1 (2002): 158.

blanket or hang it around the children's necks containing a purifier of black pepper (black peppercorns), *dasun* (single garlic), areca nut, nutmeg, cloves, and turmeric.²² Magic antidotes or amulets can sometimes come from pieces of Qur'anic verses (usually Surah Yasin or Qudsi verses) written on paper. The antidote is then wrapped in foil and cloth and tied around the arms or waist of children.²³ According to Abdul Hamid al-Khatib, tying a rope on the arm and around the neck as an amulet was already done by the Arab community before Islam. The rope hung around the neck is called *al-wahinah*, while the one hung around the neck is called *tamimah*.²⁴ According to Abu Bakar Muhammad Zakariya, *Shirk*, Allah's power can be equated with others in several ways practiced by the Arab community. First, a circle or gusset is attached to ward off bad luck in the form of a necklace or ring called *tamimah*. *Tamimah* is a necklace put around a child's neck to ward off *bala'* from evil eyes that can interfere when they are young. Secondly, asking for blessings from other than Allah is known as *tabaruk*. The *shirk* of doing *tabaruk* is because of the nature of something that exceeds the power of Allah. During the pre-Islamic era, the polytheists sought blessings from trees just as the Arabs sought blessings from the black stone of the Kaaba that had existed since the time of Prophet Ismail, including seeking blessings from graves. Third, practicing magic. The act of sorcery is not independent. Magic has a connection with Shaytan as an inseparable part of one another. The *shirk* of sorcery is the existence of a power other than Allah that provides benefits, striking harm, or the existence of supernatural information the Shaytan conveys to the sorcerer. The act of magic can be successful by slaughtering animals or performing *takarub* as requested by the shaitan. This includes a form of magic, which is performing *tiwalah*. *Tiwalah* is giving something to someone so that the person loves him. This can be done to a husband, wife, or someone else so that the person will be attracted to the person. Fourth, *al-thiyarah* or *tathayyur*. For the people of ignorance, the arrival of birds or the sight of birds for a person influences good or bad luck in life.²⁵

In Minang society, there were also popular stories of *orang bunian* who were shamanic experts, so-and-so people, *cindaku*, and others. All of these require special techniques to summon or expel to "utilize" or "stay away" by involving magic and amulets as anticipation. Many arguments can be used as the basis for

²² Anas Nafis, *Animism Di Minangkabau* (Padang: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Minangkabau (PPIM), 2004), 10.

²³ Fachri Syamsuddin, *Pembaharuan Islam Di Minangkabau Awal Abad XX: Pemikiran Syekh Muhammad Jamil Jambek, Syekh Abdullah Ahmad Dan Syekh Abdul Karim Amrullah* (Jakarta: Kartika Insan Lestari, 2004), 92.

²⁴ Abdul Hamid Al-Khatib, *Ketinggian Risalah Nabi Muhammad S.A.W.*, trans. Bey Arifin (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1977), 284.

²⁵ Muhammad Zakariya, *Al-Syirk Fi Al-Qadim Wa Al-Hadits*, 1:490.

the haram of amulets, namely: First, the generality of the prohibition of hanging amulets, whether from animal skins or writing from the verses of the Qur'an. All of them include *shirks*, which are prohibited. Secondly, *shaddu zari'ah* is a closing gap for the emergence of people doing *shirk*. Third, using the verse of the Qur'an as an amulet can degrade the Qur'an, which the user may take into the toilet or to places of immorality. Fourth, the Qur'an was revealed by Allah as a guide for humans and as a rule of life, not for amulets or antidotes. Fifth, attributing the permissibility of hanging the verse of the Qur'an as an amulet to the actions of Abdullah ibn Amru ibn Ash is a weak argument because he hung the Qur'an around the neck of his young son not used as an amulet, but to make it easier for his son to memorize the Qur'an. Sixth, al-Qur'an is rooted in *qara'a*, which means read, not written down; if it is associated with its function as *shifa*, then the Qur'an will provide healing for diseases if it is read not to be written down.²⁶

The images of supernatural beings described above are part of pre-religious beliefs that can harm humans through animism or dynamism.²⁷ Therefore, making "friends" between humans and spirits is necessary by offering offerings and performing spells by certain people. Shamans make mantras to gain supernatural powers and have magic by influencing the forces of nature or animals. When reading a mantra, a shaman must pronounce it well without mistakes, read it at a predetermined time, and avoid all taboos. Mantra is the secret language of the shaman or handler when communicating with a specific power.²⁸

The Development of Magic in Minangkabau Culture in The Past

In Minangkabau, witchcraft is included in the material given when studying in *Surau*, in addition to religious knowledge.²⁹ If *silat* is an exercise science, then magic is an inner science that is essentially the same for self-protection. Magic is usually learned by Minang youths who are considered "failures" in learning *silat*. Minang youths who learn magic typically agree not to use magic for evil purposes. However, from the total percentage, more young people are not good at martial arts and magic than those who are good at martial arts and magic.³⁰

²⁶ Musdar Bustamam Tambusai, *Buku Pintar Jin, Sihir Dan Ruqyah Syar'iyah* (Jakarta: Pustaka al-Kausar, 2010), 544 – 46.

²⁷ M Sanusi Latief, "Gerakan Kaum Tua Di Minangkabau" (IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1988), 31.

²⁸ Jasentika, Hamidin, and Nasution, "Mantra Pelaris Dagangan Dalam Masyarakat Hilia Parik Nagari Lubuak Basuang, Kecamatan Lubuak Basuang, Kabupaten Agam," 3.

²⁹ Melia Afdayeni, "Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Islam (Surau) Minangkabau Pra Dan Pasca Pembaruan," *Fuaduna: Jurnal Kajian Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 1, no. 1 (2017): 60.

³⁰ Muhammad Radjab, *Sistem Kekerabatan Di Minangkabau* (Padang: Center for Minangkabau Studies Press, 1969), 34.

The activities of society cannot be separated from supernatural issues that are beyond humans. All these activities depend on "salvation" to the ruler of the universe. Various forms of asking for salvation, ranging from reading specific readings, burning incense, giving offerings, and even giving property that is certainly not needed by the giver of salvation. Tools to bring, keep away and offer help that smells of *shirk* are included in the area that should not be done in *surau* as part of a place of worship. This consists of the success of *baralek* (party) events by hiring rain charmers or necromancers to anticipate that it will not rain during the party or choose a good day to hold a party.³¹

Specific methods precede learning *silat*, part of the effort to protect oneself in the *Surau* so that *silat* lessons are easily understood and seep into the soul.³² When the *silat* learning has been completed, gratitude efforts are also made by cutting a chicken as a sacrifice, and then the chicken's blood is dripped around the field. According to Desfiarni, Tarekat Satariyah in Minangkabau, as part of Islam in the face of Sufism, also uses magical nuances to be immune from various weapons.³³

Asking for help from the Giver to get multiple incomes is also done in economic matters in Minangkabau,³⁴ For example, catching fish in the river. Efforts to obtain abundant fish are made extraordinarily through *menggilakan*, a trap called *Lukah*. Two objectives are expected: first, to increase fish catch more than catching fish manually, and second, to prevent the fish that enter the trap from being stolen by others.³⁵ The fish seeker's effort is to spell out *Lukah* by involving spirits to achieve his hopes. Not only that, but *Lukah*, usually not far from the water, becomes very meaningful when it can also serve as a medical tool and means of use.

Forms of Amulets and Their Spreaders in Minangkabau

Another issue that was no less popular in Minangkabau culture during Abdul Karim Amrullah's time was amulets. *Azimat*, considered auspicious, can be broadly classified into two forms. The first is an object that is deemed to have power and can have a positive effect on the person holding it. Amulets in this first form can be necklaces, rings, tiger fangs, and so on. On the other hand, amulets can also absorb

³¹ Radjab, 45.

³² Muhammad Radjab, *Semasa Ketjil Di Kampung (1913-1928) (Autobiografi Seorang Anak Minangkabau)* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1950), 65.

³³ Desfiarni, *Tari Lukah Gilo Sebagai Rekaman Budaya Minangkabau Pra Islam: Dari Magis Ke Seni Pertunjukan Sekuler*, 52.

³⁴ Robert L Winzeler, "The Study of Malay Magic," *BKI* 139, no. 4 (1983): 437.

³⁵ Desfiarni, *Tari Lukah Gilo Sebagai Rekaman Budaya Minangkabau Pra Islam: Dari Magis Ke Seni Pertunjukan Sekuler*, 4.

negative energy by placing them on a person's body and wrapping them in a white or red cloth.³⁶ The amulet is made into a necklace or tied around the arm or waist.

Secondly, Arabic writing with a variety of writings. The Arabic writing used as an amulet can be rectangular, square, parallelogram, etc. In terms of function, this kind of amulet can also be divided into several benefits, such as an amulet to avoid fear so as not to be consumed by *upeh* and *tubo* (poison), an amulet for socializing in the village, an amulet to go migrating, an amulet to sell merchandise, an exorcist, an amulet to get someone's love, an antidote to danger and so on, including amulets used for treatment such as those found in the Surau Tarekat Syattariyah Pariangan which reached 33 manuscripts. The contents of the manuscripts include treating childless women, talismans for pregnant women, *salusuah* for women to give birth quickly, talismans for theft, facing enemies, resisting magic, and so on.³⁷ According to M. Sanusi Latief, as quoted from Van Ronkel, there are at least 15 kinds of amulets scattered in Minangkabau that were popularly used by the community in the past.³⁸

During the colonial period, amulets were among the war necessities used by some *tariqat* groups to defend the archipelago from colonial aggression. *Azimat* entered through the Sufi movement (Islamic mysticism) as part of *jihad fi sabilillah* in the 18th century.³⁹ One of the attractions of tarekat is the existence of spiritual mysticism for the community to gain immunity and supernatural powers, including raising courage in the face of Dutch colonial politics during the colonial period. The combination of mystical doctrine and jihad is considered an "alternative solution" to physically fight against the Dutch war power, which is regarded as modern in addition to dhikr and prayer. The recitation of worship is done after the five daily prayers and reading Surat al-Taubah verses 128-129 to fortify oneself from injury and get a long life. The use of amulets in religious history cannot be separated from the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism, which have been in the archipelago for centuries.⁴⁰

From the aspect of the writing used as an amulet, it can also be divided into several forms: amulets containing certain letters or specific sentences, writing containing Arabic numbers and symbols, and a mixture of Arabic sentences, letters, and symbols. An amulet containing letters usually consists of *hijaiyyah* letters

³⁶ Collins, "Sojourns in Science: Plural Framings of Music, Disaster and Community Resilience in Minangkabau," 111.

³⁷ Zubir, "Dukun Patah Tulang Dan Obatan Tradisional Di Nagari Koto Anau Kabupaten Solok Propinsi Sumatera Barat Tahun 1960-2012," 66 – 67.

³⁸ Latief, "Gerakan Kaum Tua Di Minangkabau," 242.

³⁹ Sidik, "Mulhaq Fi Bayan Al-Fawa'id Al-Nafi'ah Fi Al-Jihadi Fi Sabilillah (Aktualisasi Jihad Dalam Purifikasi Azimat)," *Manuskripta; Jurnal Manassa* 5, no. 2 (2015): 330.

⁴⁰ Sidik, 332.

arranged between boxes like a shelf. Inside the shelf are the *hijaiyyah* letters. Amulets containing *hijaiyyah* letters, when combined between one letter and another, do not form a complete series of words with a specific meaning, such as putting the letter *ha* as many as three letters, combining the letter *lam* with *ha*, and so on. On the other hand, an amulet made by stringing together sentences can be read. However, another problem is the incompleteness of the string of sentences as a clear editorial. For example, the amulet to avoid fear begins by writing the *basmalah*, surrendering to Allah, sending blessings to the Prophet, praying, and finally closing with *la haula wala kuata illa billahi*.⁴¹

Azimats that contain numbers can be recognized using Arabic letters, such as those used to determine the best time to perform an event, such as the numbers 44122, 44139, 44134, and so on. There is also a line between the numbers with an elongated Arabic sentence. Amulets written in letters and numbers, such as an amulet to get good company when going overseas, can also be found. This amulet for migrants is written by putting the *hijaiyyah* letters at the beginning and Arabic numerals from the middle to the end. Meanwhile, an amulet written as a mixture of letters, sentences, and symbols can be described as an amulet to avoid *tubo* and *upéh* (poison). The *azimat* is written by putting Arabic numerals at the top and *hijaiyyah* letters in the middle. It is also equipped with asterisks.

Scholars can use Arabic letters to make amulets to get certain rewards, which can also be done by people who do not understand Islam. The amulets made by certain scholars with various functions reinforce the hypothesis that so rampant is the apathy of the people and the weakness of their faith in the oneness of Allah. Other forms of *shirk* committed by the Arabs in the past are; First, *al-kihanah* and *al-irafah*. *Al-Kihanah* or *al-kahin* is a person who gets supernatural information about problems that will occur in the future. In comparison, *al-Irafah* is a person who knows about things that have happened in the past, such as knowing the thief, where the stolen goods are located, and where the thief is now. According to Ibn Taymiyyah, as quoted by Abu Bakr Muhammad Zakariya, the essence of *al-Irafah* is the same as *kahin* or shamans, necromancers, and fortune-tellers. They are different in terms of planting but the same. Secondly, confirming the words of astrologers. Astrologers know about unseen matters in the heavens, such as when the rain falls or the wind blows. Third, justifying *al-anwa'* or handlers. A charmer can tell when it will rain or when the rain will stop. Fourth, swearing to idols. In this form, the ignorant Arabs believed the idols they worshipped knew the unseen. When they wanted to travel, trade, wage war, or cast lots, they went to the idol of Hubal, the greatest idol of the Quraysh. Then, they put money into bowls provided by the idol servants. Then, an inscription came out through the idol servant in the form of, God

⁴¹ Sidik, 564.

told me to do this, God forbade me to do that, and so on. The advice given by Hubal through the idol servants can stop an action, get good, or avoid bad. Fifth, believing that *Jinn* (Genie) knows the unseen. If the *Jinn* knew the supernatural, of course, the *Jinn* knew when the Prophet Solomon died while supervising the *Jinn* who was working on the orders of the Prophet Solomon. The death of the Prophet Solomon was known after the fall of the Prophet Solomon when the stick used to support him began to be eaten by termites.⁴²

Meanwhile, *azimat* written in *hijaiyyah* letters from people who do not understand Islam can be done by shamans who are also scattered in various regions in Minangkabau. The use of Arabic for *azimat* can also be influenced by the fact that many of the shamans are illiterate in latent letters (letters in the form of Indonesian) but can write and read Arabic letters. Arabic letters were more prevalent in Minangkabau in the past than latent letters because many people were illiterate then. The existence of *azimat* as something promising cannot be separated from the spread of tarekat in various regions in Minangkabau. *Azimat* can be obtained by asking certain people secretly and can also be obtained openly in the ceremonial activities of the tarekat, such as the sale of *azimat* in the *basapa* (pilgrimage) event in Ulakan, Pariaman. *Azimat*s made by ascetic teachers with vast or small influence can be obtained by giving a sum of money determined by the maker of the *azimat*s. The sale and manufacture of these amulets is a source of financial income for the tarekat teachers. The cost of an amulet can be as low as f1,- (one rupiah in Dutch times).⁴³ Information about the amulet's efficacy can also be obtained from the seller when he sells it or after ordering it for a particular purpose. The amulet is usually wrapped in a small white cloth that a tarekat teacher or shaman has chanted.

Abdul Karim Amrullah's Rejection of Magic and Amulets in Minangkabau

Abdul Karim Amrullah views magic as a reality in society. The occasion of the revelation of Surah al-Falaq and Surah al-Nas proves that magic is a reality, not an unfounded story. In fact, according to Abdul Karim Amrullah, Surah al-Falaq, and Surah al-Nas also functioned as an effort to protect the Prophet Muhammad SAW from the evil magic of a Jew named Labid ibn al-'Asim. He was a leader of the *Ruriq* tribe known to be an expert in matters of magic. Previously, the attempt to harm the Apostle through magic had been carried out by the Jews but did not have any effect on the Apostle. The failure of the Jews in bewitching the Apostle led to the need for a hired sorcerer who was more skilled than the previous sorcerer.

⁴² Muhammad Zakariya, *Al-Syirk Fi Al-Qadim Wa Al-Hadits*, 1:360.

⁴³ Muhammad Zakariya, 1:243.

Labid then got an offer with a wage of three dinars.⁴⁴ The equipment used to bewitch the Prophet was a comb, and several strands of the Prophet's hair were given a potion and then placed in a well. Ali Umar al-Habshi researched the traditions that tell the story of the Apostle being bewitched. His criticism was in the form of *Sanad and Matan's* criticism. Hadiths that say to the story of the Apostle being hit by magic are found in the hadith narrated by Bukhari in the chapter of morals, chapter *al-Sahir*, narrated by Muslim in the book of *al-Tibb*, narrated by Nasa'i in the book of Tahrim al-Dam, narrated by Baihaqi in Dalail Nubuawah and others. Some of the narrators about the Prophet being subjected to sorcery were narrators who did not pass *jarh wa ta'dil* such as Hisham ibn 'Urwah. He was a narrator who liked to do *tadlis*. *Matan* also criticizes that magic comes from the help of the shaitan, as found in Surah al-Baqarah verse 102. This is undoubtedly not possible against the Prophet, who always makes dhikr and the person who is preserved; if the shaitan just ran away when dealing with Umar ibn Khatab, of course, the shaitan would be more afraid of the Apostle SAW. Other great scholars rejected the Prophet PBUH was subject to magic, such as al-Razi in his Mafatih al-'Ghaib, 'Abduh in his Tafsir Juz Amma, Rashid Ridha in his Tafsir al-Manar, Sayyid Qutb with Tafsir fi Zhilal al-Qur'an and others.⁴⁵ The description of the Apostle being subjected to sorcery is recorded in the hadith narrated by 'A'isyah.⁴⁶

Another version reveals that magic was performed on the Apostle by duplicating the Apostle through wax. Then pierced the candle with eleven needles and tied it with eleven knots. When collected, these eleven knots equal the number of surah al-Falaq and surah al-Nas. This means that reading one verse opens one knot of magic performed on the Prophet until the release of the last knot by reading the end of Surah al-Nas. Based on this hadith, the scholars then divided *ruqyah* into two forms, namely *shar'i ruqyah* and *shirk ruqyah*. *Shar'i ruqyah* is *ruqyah* performed based on the example of the Prophet, while *shirk ruqyah* is *ruqyah* performed by shamans with an element of polytheism. There are several conditions for performing *shar'i ruqyah*: *First, by reading the verses of the Qur'an, its names and attributes*, and the prayers of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Secondly, it should be in Arabic, and its meaning should be understood. Thirdly, it does not contain anything forbidden, such as asking for help or praying to other

⁴⁴ Amrullah, *Al-Burhan*, 340.

⁴⁵ Ali Umar Al-Habsyi, *Nabi Tersihir? Kajian Ilmiah Sebab Turun Surat Al-Falaq Dan an-Naas* (Bangil: Yayasan as-Sajjad, 1998), 90.

⁴⁶ Imam Abi Abdillah Muhammad ibn Isma'il Al-Bukhari, *Shahih Bukhari Bahashiah Al-Sandiy*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifah, n.d.), 20; Imam Al-Nawawi, *Shahih Muslim Bi Sharah Al-Imam Al-Nawawi*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Maktabah al-Ghazali, n.d.), 174.

than Allah, or invoking the names of the jinn or their kings. Fourth, believing that it is not merely *ruqyah* that has an effect, but with the permission of Allah.⁴⁷

According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, scholars also differ in opinion about the effect of magic on the Prophet; some say for 40 days, 60 days, and a year. But the magic the Prophet Muhammad SAW felt very strongly was only three days. Then, according to Abdul Karim Amrullah, the magic that hit the Prophet Muhammad SAW only affected the physical Apostle and did not affect the mind, heart, and faith of the Apostle to Allah. One alternative to treating someone subject to witchcraft is through *ruqyah*. *Ruqyah* can be said to be an antidote or talisman used to ward off someone who is afflicted with calamities such as fear or madness. A person who has been *ruqyah* means a person who has received protection.⁴⁸ *Ruqyah* is also defined as a protective reading that is recited to people who are sick, such as those with fever, trance, or other diseases.⁴⁹ On this basis, the magic that happened to the Prophet did not affect the prophethood or apostleship of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.⁵⁰ The influence of magic on the physical Apostle included the inability of the Apostle to have an erection when having sex with his wife.⁵¹ From some of the literature presented by Abdul Karim Amrullah about the Apostle being hit by magic, he did not criticize some of the narrations that told of the Apostle being hit by magic. He acknowledged that the Prophet Muhammad was subject to magic but rejected magic that could undermine the prophetic and apostolic position of the Prophet Muhammad, let alone bring doubt to the message conveyed to his people.

According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, magic can lead someone to disbelief because they believe that power comes from something temporal other than Allah. This means that the person with magic is god to the new, not to the substance that gives power. According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, magic is a skill that can be learned. The practice of magic usually comes from wicked people, such as people who are immune to bullets, fire resistance, and so on. If the advantages of a person who comes from the saints of Allah are called *karamah* and Allah's help to the pious is called *ma'unah*, then the extraordinary power that comes from the wicked is called *istidraj*.⁵² Abdul Karim Amrullah's opinion is the same as that of his contemporary, Abdul Latif Syakur, that *istidraj* is something extraordinary owned

⁴⁷ Tambusai, *Buku Pintar Jin, Sihir Dan Ruqyah Syar'iyah*, 268.

⁴⁸ Ali bin Naafi' Al-'Alyany, *Ruqyah: Obat Guna-Guna Dan Sihir*, trans. Muhiburrahman (Jakarta: Dar Elfalaha, 2005), 5.

⁴⁹ Tambusai, *Buku Pintar Jin, Sihir Dan Ruqyah Syar'iyah*, 259.

⁵⁰ Amrullah, *Al-Burhan*, 341.

⁵¹ Amrullah, 345.

⁵² Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Risalah 'Umdah Al-Anam Fi Ilmu Al-Qalam* (Padang: Percetakan al-Munir, 1916), 8.

by the *fasiq*, but he differs in his opinion when interpreting *ma'unah*. Suppose Abdul Karim Amrullah interprets *ma'unah* as Allah's help for the pious, according to Abdul Latif Syakur. In that case, *ma'unah* is something extraordinary that Allah gave someone unclear about his righteousness or wickedness.⁵³

The existence of magic is different again according to the opinion of M. 'Abduh (died 1905 AD); according to 'Abduh, the existence of magic does not exist. If Pharaoh's servant had used magic on Moses, then what he did would have been a trick in the eyes. Muhammad 'Abduh detailed his rejection of magic. First, magic is not part of the creed but is a matter of custom and human science (*ilmu insaniyyah*). Secondly, the arrival of the expression magic in Surah al-Baqarah verse 102 does not necessarily become a matter of belief for humans. Third, the mention of magic in the Qur'an in multiple places indicates two things: the existence of a kind of *helah* and scientific endeavor for fear of being known to others. It is called magic because of the subtle way it is done. Fourth, magic is a fantasy and a play of the eyes, not the essence, like the sorcerer of Fir'aun when he turned a rope into a snake. Fifth, magic is used to obtain something with the help of jinn and shaitans.⁵⁴ The magic performed by Pharaoh's servants using mercury (Hg) caused the ropes used by Pharaoh's sorcerers to stand as if alive.⁵⁵ 'Abduh rejected the existence of magic like the Mu'tazilah view. According to Quraish Shihab, M. Abduh's denial of magic is inseparable from efforts to build logical, scientific, and rational thinking and ignore suprarational things.⁵⁶

Hamka, the son of Abdul Karim Amrullah, also rejected the nature of magic. Hamka puts forward several arguments. First, magic is not independent in giving effects to the intended object. The benefit or harm caused by magic is closely related to Allah's "permission" to convey magic to the subject. If magic is performed on someone so that the person becomes sick by Allah's permission, then the essence of the disease is not due to magic but the existence of Allah's intention to harm someone. The sorcerer will not hurt someone with his magic with Allah's permission. Hamka is realistic in seeing the reality of Minangkabau society; even though Hamka rejects magic, Hamka recognizes the media to convey magic to the intended person with the terms *dipper*, *tinggam*, and *gasing*.⁵⁷

⁵³ Abdul Latif Syakur, *Al-Tarbiyah Wa Al-Ta'lim Qism Al-Tauhid* (Fort de Kock: al-Matbakh al-Islamiyah, 1925), 40.

⁵⁴ Abdullah Mahmud Shahatah, *Minhaj Al-Imam Muhammad 'Abduh Fi Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-Karim* (Cairo: Rasail al-Jami'iyah, n.d.), 122–23.

⁵⁵ M Quraish Shihab, *Studi Kritis Tafsir Al-Manar Karya Muhammad 'Abduh Dan M. Rasyid Ridha* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1994), 41.

⁵⁶ Shihab, 43.

⁵⁷ Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, vol. XXX (Surabaya: Yayasan Latimojong, 1979), 284.

Secondly, Hamka criticizes the tradition narrated by Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim through Aisha about the Apostle being bewitched by a Jew named Labid ibn 'Asim. The tradition that reveals that the Apostle was bewitched is one with an incomplete *sanad* and *gharib (strange) matan*. The Hadith about the Prophet being subjected to witchcraft is a *matruk* Hadith that should be abandoned.⁵⁸ The Qur'an in Surah al-Maidah verse 67 reveals that Allah maintains the Prophet Muhammad SAW, and in Surah al-Taha verse 69, the sorcerer will not succeed no matter how it comes. Revealing that the Prophet and the Apostle were subjected to magic means that it can demean the dignity of an Apostle as a chosen human being from the creator. Third, Hamka criticized the place where Surah al-Falaq was revealed. Surah al-Falaq was revealed in Mecca, not in Medina. When in Mecca, the Apostle had not yet clashed with the Jews.⁵⁹ On this basis, the history that says that the Prophet was subjected to witchcraft is a false history due to the lack of research into the authenticity of the incident.⁶⁰

Abdul Latif Syakur also finds the same opinion that Surah al-Nas was revealed in connection with magic performed by a Jew named Labid ibn 'Ashim. Surah al-Nas was revealed in Mecca, which amounted to six verses.⁶¹ Meanwhile, according to Zainuddin Hamidy, the third verse in Surah al-Falaq asks for protection from Allah from the danger of darkness, either outwardly or inwardly, in the form of the darkness of the mind and the eyes of the heart.⁶² Meanwhile, Mahmud Yunus explicitly stated the existence of magic in his tafsir work. According to Mahmud Yunus, the fourth verse of Surah al-Falaq is interpreted as "And from the evil of the sorcerers who blow with their saliva on the gusset (knot) of the rope".⁶³

Abdul Karim Amrullah had his own experience of this magic. He was once bewitched when he successfully married the girl Raihanah, who was previously proposed to by a Tanjung Sani, Maninjau. After the marriage of Abdul Karim Amrullah took place with Raihanah, he only looked at his wife like a rotten corpse, and then he also felt *'unah* or impotent until he could not have intercourse with his wife. Not only his first wife, when Abdul Karim Amrullah married the second time, his second wife was also subjected to witchcraft through a stab in the neck, which

⁵⁸ Hamka, XXX:288.

⁵⁹ Hamka, XXX:290.

⁶⁰ Al-Habsyi, *Nabi Tersihir? Kajian Ilmiah Sebab Turun Surat Al-Falaq Dan an-Naas*, 103.

⁶¹ Abdul Latif Syakur, *Al-Dakwah Wa Al-Irsyad Ila Sabil Al-Rasyad* (Bukittinggi: Tsamarat al-Ikhwan, 1951), 27.

⁶² Zainuddin Hamidy and Fachruddin Hs., *Tafsir Quran* (Selangor: Klang Book Center, 1988), 936.

⁶³ Mahmud Yunus, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-Karim* (Jakarta: Klang Book Center, 2003), 522.

resulted in a large boil on her neck, which almost brought death.⁶⁴ According to Yusuf Qaradhawi, there is no benefit to learning sorcery. Instead, it brings harm, such as separating husband and wife. Therefore, sorcery is a major sin.⁶⁵

As the community's understanding of the *mudharat* of using magic in Muaro Pauh grew stronger, Abdul Karim Amrullah gathered sorcerers and invulnerability experts by providing tauhid enlightenment to burn the amulets voluntarily. The burnt amulets consisted of tiger skins and deer antlers, given *mantra*.⁶⁶ Although known to be strict in socio-cultural and religious practices, according to Sudarnoto, Abdul Karim Amrullah, Muhammad Jamil Jambek, and Abdullah Ahmad are a triad that is considered very "Liberal and out of the understanding of his teacher's thought (Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi).⁶⁷ Abdul Karim Amrullah is polite towards differences. Local wisdom is part of Indonesia's cultural wealth and is still finding its identity. The strengthening of Islam in Minangkabau culture also strengthens the position of custom and religion in parallel, and it is part of the strength of national culture in this archipelago.

Typology of Abdul Karim Amrullah's Thought on the Issue of Magic and Amulets

Based on Abdul Karim Amrullah's intellectual development that has been described previously, it can be revealed some typologies that characterize Abdul Karim Amrullah's thinking in criticizing magic and amulets in Minangkabau, namely: First, from the aspect of using *qudrah*, Abdul Karim Amrullah is a hardworking figure. He adheres to the concept of *qadariyah*. His commentary on hard work is described when he interprets Surah al-Tin verse 3, which reveals that Allah created humans in the best possible form. The need for endeavor-making efforts accompanies Allah's perfection of human creation.⁶⁸ Furthermore, according to Abdul Karim Amrullah, a person's efforts must also be accompanied by prayer so that the efforts made get help from Allah.⁶⁹ According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, humans created by Allah in the best of creation are also equipped with the science of *gharizi* and the science of *iktasabi*. The science of *gharizi* is the knowledge that Allah gives humans without requiring a learning process to get it, such as eating

⁶⁴ Hamka, *Ayahku, Riwayat Hidup DR. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah Dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama Di Sumatera*, 72.

⁶⁵ Yusuf Al-Qaradhawi, *Al-'Aql Wa Al-Ilm Fi Al-Qur'an Al-Karim* (Cairo: al-Madba'ah al-Madani, 1996), 138.

⁶⁶ Siswayanti, "Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah Ulama Pembaru Islam Di Minangkabau," 38.

⁶⁷ Sudarnoto Abdul Hakim, "Catatan Untuk Benturan Budaya: Puritan Dan Sinkretis," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 9, no. 1 (2011): 198.

⁶⁸ Amrullah, *Al-Burhan*, 70.

⁶⁹ Amrullah, 82.

because of hunger, drinking because of thirst, and others. The science of *iktasabi* is the knowledge that humans first bring with the learning process. According to Abdul Karim, neither of these sciences will be successfully owned by humans if they do not get guidance from Allah.⁷⁰ According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, man should not depend only on what Allah has determined since he was created in his mother's womb. Human efforts have a significant influence on their fate. On this basis, Abdul Karim Amrullah reminded people to pray to Allah to get Allah's help and pass away in good condition.⁷¹

Furthermore, Abdul Karim also motivates people to be active in doing good deeds. It is not called a good deed, according to Abdul Karim Amrullah, if it only sits in the mosque, sits in the surau, *menekur-nekur* or conferring alone without doing the deeds that should be done as individuals, heads of families, members of society, and others. A person who does a lot of good deeds but does not care about others is a foolish version of good deeds and includes a wrong understanding, which has no basis in the Qur'an and Sunnah.⁷² In fact, according to Abdul Karim Amrullah, a person who has died but does many good deeds while he is still alive is likened to being alive because his goodness continues to be mentioned by people. The good deeds done by someone who has died are eternal in the world, whether in the form of knowledge or charity.⁷³ Second, Abdul Karim Amrullah is a rational reformer. In the flow of philosophy, the rationalists view reason as the only source of knowledge, or at least the principal. This flow is also called rationalism. Rationalism can also be interpreted as a philosophical approach emphasizing reason (ratio) as the primary source of knowledge, preceding or superior to and free from the influence of sensory experience.⁷⁴

His rejection of magic and amulets and various religious activities or cultural understandings considered erroneous are rejected with rational arguments derived from verses, hadith, and historical evidence. Everything is presented in simple and easy-to-understand language. Abdul Karim Amrullah also attempted to open the door to *ijtihad*, which some scholars considered closed. Opening the door to *ijtihad*, previously regarded as closed, was the first step to reforming and making various breakthroughs in understanding the multiple problems of Muslims found in the Qur'an and Sunnah. *Taqlid* only causes Muslims to be trapped in past thinking, which causes the decline of Muslims in various dimensions of life. Other Minangkabau reformers such as Abdullah Ahmad, Zainuddin Labai el-Yunusi, and

⁷⁰ Amrullah, 93.

⁷¹ Amrullah, 88.

⁷² Amrullah, 185.

⁷³ Amrullah, 198.

⁷⁴ Biyanto, *Fisafat Ilmu Dan Ilmu Keislaman* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015), 236.

Sjeh Thahir Jalaluddin also proposed socio-cultural reform ideas.⁷⁵ Third, Abdul Karim Amrullah was a realistic modernist. He tried to improve social society, which was incompatible with the Qur'an and Sunnah based on field facts or empirical. Empirical is synonymous in Greek with *empeiria* or *empeiros* (experienced in, acquainted with, or skilled for). In Latin, empiricism means experiential. Empiricism is a philosophy school that says that all knowledge's source should be sought in experience. Its central doctrine is that all knowledge begins with understanding. Empiricism is the antithesis of rationalism. That is because rationalism holds the opposite view, that reason is the only source of knowledge. Improving society as envisioned by the Qur'an and Sunnah was carried out by Abdul Karim Amrullah in various activities and methods. Improving public religiosity includes multiple themes such as belief, worship, *mu'amalah*, education, organization, and journalism. The spirit of renewing the religious community cannot be separated from the widespread influence of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Ridha in building a rational and modern Islamic society in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁶

Conclusion

The rise of mystical practices involving various elements of society in Minangkabau in the early 19th century disturbed Haji Rasul. The face of Islam became opaque with multiple beliefs and superstitions that led people away from Islamic law. Magic and amulets are two things that contradict each other: if a shaman presents magic by presenting *palasik*, *sijundai*, and so on, then another shaman provides an antidote in the form of reading certain verses accompanied by various antidotes. Abdul Karim Amrullah recognized the existence of magic in society. He even admitted that the Prophet had been subjected to magic, although it did not affect the existence of the apostle as a messenger of Allah. Efforts to anticipate shamanism by improving faith in God, then trying, praying, and doing various good deeds as a form of belief in the greatness of God.

According to Haji Rasul, improving the people's faith needs to be prioritized before making improvements in other aspects. *Aqidah* is the basis of Islam, which is the root of religion. Damage to the roots will have fatal consequences for cultural development, including building a rational Islam in a modern concept envisioned by M. Abduh and Rashid Ridha as pioneers of renewal in the Islamic world. The direction of Islam to be built is a progressive Islam that is clean from *shirk*, *taqlid*, and *khurafat* concepts that flourished in Minangkabau society during Abdul Karim Amrullah.

⁷⁵ Putra, "Ulama Dan Karya Tulis: Diskursus Keislaman Di Minangkabau Awal Abad 20," 137.

⁷⁶ Biyanto, *Fisafat Ilmu Dan Ilmu Keislaman*, 241.

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