

Integration Between *Adat* and Islam in the Practice of Religious Freedom in West Sumatra

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Abstract

The Minangkabau community traditionally integrates *adat* (customary law) and Islam as a form of local wisdom across various domains, including interactions with non-Minangs, marriage between religions, inheritance, government systems and resolution of domestic violence. However, this integration is less evident in issues of religious freedom. Interestingly, in the community of Sungai Buluh Minang, the local wisdom of Bodi Caniago *adat* and Tarekat Syattariyah provide the foundation for practising religious freedom in the village. This article analyses the integration of the local wisdom of Bodi Caniago and Tarekat Syattariyah in the practice of religious freedom. Through literature study, observation and interviews, this research shows that equality reflected in the concept of deliberation and consensus of Bodi Caniago *adat* has legitimised the existence of two churches for the Nias community, the provision of honorariums for church religious teachers and the availability of burial areas for the Nias community. At the same time, tolerance that emphasises respect for the doctrine of the Shattariyyah Order has allowed their children to wear school uniforms without the headscarf and receive religious education from Christian teachers. The values of equality and tolerance reflect a discourse of Islamic humanism characterised by anthropo-cosmic integration between God, nature and human beings, as well as a pluralistic epistemology between tradition, Islam and a sense of responsibility towards society. This article argues that the values of equality and tolerance deeply rooted in Islamic humanism are compatible with human rights, particularly religious freedom as a civilised practice based on religion.

Keywords: Islamic humanism, religious freedom, local wisdom, equality, tolerance

Introduction

The Minangkabau society believes in the integration of Minangkabau customs and Islam as expressed through the aphorism, “*Adat Basandi Syara’ Syara’ Basandi Kitabullah*” (ABS-SBK). This philosophy emphasises that *adat* is based on Islam, which the Qur'an and Hadith guide. Practically, it is implemented through the slogan “*Syara’ mangato, adat mamakai*” (The Shariah plans, *adat* applies).¹ The duality of *adat* and Islam is considered to have become a constitutive point that regulates the lives of the Minangkabau people.²

Both have become categorical identities that provide a way to understand the self and establish norms of behaviour by which one identifies or is identified.³ In other words, *adat* and Islam have become local wisdom that functions as knowledge, as well as ways of thinking and behaving for the Minangkabau people.⁴ Many articles have examined the relationship between Minangkabau customs and Islam. Mina Elfira,⁵ Nofiardi,⁶ Wardah Nuroniyah and Bani Syarif Maula,⁷ examine this

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¹ Benny Ridwan et al., “Islam Nusantara, Ulemas, and Social Media: Understanding the Pros and Cons of Islam Nusantara among Ulemas of West Sumatera,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 9, no. 2 (2019): 163–88, <https://doi.org/10.18326/IJIMS.V9I2.163-188>.

² Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, “Ambivalent Identities: Decentralization and Minangkabau Political Communities,” in *Renegotiating Boundaries*, 2014, 692–714, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004260436_019.

³ Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, “Identity in Dispute: Law, Religion, and Identity in Minangkabau,” *Asian Ethnicity* 13, no. 4 (2012): 341–58, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2012.710073>.

⁴ Djufri, Median Wilestari, and Molina, “Corporate Social Responsibility in Indonesia: A Transformation of Local Wisdom Perspectives,” *ENDLESS: International Journal of Future Studies* 5, no. 1 (2022): 262–77, <https://doi.org/10.54783/endlessjournal.v5i1.59>.

⁵ Mina Elfira, “Inter-Ethnic Relations in Padang of West Sumatra Navigating between Assimilation and Exclusivity,” *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 13, no. 2 (2011): 293, <https://doi.org/10.17510/wjhi.v13i2.25>.

⁶ Nofiardi, “Adat Rantau as a Solution for Multi-Ethnic Marriage in Pasaman, West Sumatra,” *Al-Risalah Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 20, no. 2 (2020): 243–56, <https://doi.org/10.30631/al-risalah.v20i2.544>.

⁷ Wardah Nuroniyah, “Muslim Women Adhering to Minangkabau’s Bajapuik Tradition in Cirebon, West Java: Compromizing a Gendered Culture in Islamic Law,” *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* Vol. 22, no. 2 (2022): 135–53, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i2.135-153>.

relationship in the context of inter-ethnic relations, interfaith marriages, including the *bajapuik* tradition, and engagement customs in Pariaman.⁸ Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann place it in a tense relationship with the state,⁹ while Aleena Sebastian examines it through historical negotiations between customs, religion and the state.¹⁰ Isnarmi Moeis et al. analysed its impact on Minangkabau people's attitudes when interacting with others,¹¹ Purwanto studied it in inheritance distribution¹² and Zulfan Taufik looked at its application in the Nagari governance.¹³ Rohidin et al. discussed it in the context of Sharia local regulations in Padang City.¹⁴ Aria Zurnetti and Nani Muliati examined its application in Customary Criminal Law policies related to the resolution of domestic violence.¹⁵

However, no article has been found that examines the integration of *adat* and Islam in the context of religious freedom. This paper will fill the void by showing that the local wisdom of Bodi Caniago adat and Tarekat Shattariyyah (spiritual) of the Muslim community of Nagari¹⁶ Sungai Buluh, Padang Pariaman legitimises religious freedom. On the one hand, this Nagari is part of the lowest government unit in West Sumatra, which is known to uphold local wisdom, customs and Islam.¹⁷ On the other hand, after the Padri War, mosques were considered the main feature of a Nagari.¹⁸ In fact, in Nagari Sungai Buluh there are two Nias community churches that have been established for hundreds of years, namely the Banua Niha Keriso Protestan (BNKP) since 1934 and the Gereja Katolik Kristus Bangkit (GKKB), since 1967.¹⁹

They are free to celebrate Christmas, Christian church teachers get incentives from the Nagari government, funeral places are provided, their children are free to dress in school uniforms (without *jilbab*), and they get religious education from Christian teachers.²⁰ This paper aims (1) to explain the integration between local wisdom and religious freedom in Indonesia, including West Sumatra; (2) to explore the Minangkabau local wisdom (Bodi Caniago adat and Tarekat Shattariyyah) that legitimises religious freedom and (3) to analyse the relationship between Minangkabau local wisdom (*adat* and Islam), Islamic humanism and religious freedom in Sungai Buluh nagari, Padang Pariaman. This paper is based on the argument that the integration of Minangkabau local wisdom and religious freedom in West Sumatra reflects an integrated Islamic humanism between tradition, Islam and a sense of responsibility towards society (religious freedom).²¹

Methodology

This article is based on a qualitative study through a literature review. The literature review of books and articles is chosen mainly to provide an overview of the relationship between local wisdom and religious freedom in Indonesia, including in the Minang domain, West Sumatra. In addition, it provides

⁸ Nuroniayah, "Muslim Women Adhering to Minangkabau 's Bajapuik Tradition in Cirebon, West Java: Compromizing a Gendered Culture in Islamic Law."

⁹ von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann, "Identity in Dispute: Law, Religion, and Identity in Minangkabau."

¹⁰ Aleena Sebastian, "Matrilineal Practices among Muslims: An Ethnographic Study of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra," *Ethnography* 0, no. 0 (2022): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381221147137>.

¹¹ Isnarmi Moeis et al., "Intercultural Values in Local Wisdom: A Global Treasure of Minangkabau Ethnic in Indonesia," *Cogent Arts and Humanities* 9, no. 1 (2022): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2116841>.

¹² Muhammad Roy Purwanto, "The Harmonious Relationship Between Minangkabau Custom And Islam In The Distribution Of Inheritance," *Al-Shajarah*, no. April (2020): 1–25.

¹³ Zulfan. Muhammad Taufik Taufik, "Nagari Madani: Islamic Favoritism and Religious Freedom in Regional Development in West Sumatera, Indonesia," *Ulumuna* 27, no. 2 (2023): 692–714.

¹⁴ Rohidin Rohidin et al., "Exclusive Policy in Guaranteeing Freedom of Religion and Belief: A Study on the Existence of Sharia-Based Local Regulations in Indonesia and Its Problems," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2202939>.

¹⁵ Aria Zurnetti and Nani Muliati, "Customary Criminal Law Policy on Domestic Violence Settlement through Restorative Justice," *Cogent Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2022): 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2090083>.

¹⁶ Nagari is an area governed politically and legally by adat [custom]. A Nagari is characterized by wealth in the form of forests, communal land, rice fields, yard plantations, and residential land, a meeting place for the nagari customary community (hall), the Minangkabau Custom Preservation Council (KAN, Kerapatan Adat Nagari), surau/mushalla [smaller mosques], mosques, small shops, and public square. Firdaus et al., "One Mosque, Two Qiblahs: Understanding the Difference in Qiblah Direction of the Nagari Suayan Mosque in West Sumatera, Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 13, no. 1 (2019): 73–95, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.1.73-95>.

¹⁷ Taufik Abdullah, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau," *Indonesia* 2 (1966): 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350753>.

¹⁸ Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784-1847* (Curzon Press, 1983), 139.

¹⁹ Sudiaro Laiya, *Sejarah Gereja Ono Niha (Nias) Di Padang Sumatera Barat* (Sukabina Press, 2016), 47.

²⁰ Zainal Abidin Bagir and Renata Arianingtyas, "Limitations to Freedom of Religion or Belief in Indonesia: Norms and Practices," *Religion & Human Rights* 15, no. 1–2 (2020): 39–56, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18710328-bja10003>.

²¹ Francesco Piraino, "Islamic Humanism": Another Form of Universalism in Contemporary Sufism," *Religion*, 2022, 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2022.2130836>.

an analysis of the integration of local wisdom of the Bodi Caniago custom and Shattariyyah Order in the practice of religious freedom in the village. The collected data is organised based on several categories, themes and topics according to the information obtained. Then, the data are analysed interpretatively to reveal the purpose and answers to the problems that arise. In addition, this article is supported by the results of in-depth interviews with traditional leaders and leaders of the Shattariyyah Order of Sungai Buluh Nagari, as well as pastors and administrators of the BNKP and the GKKB. Interviews were conducted individually with the figure and often in informal family discussions, but still focused on finding answers to the main points of the interview instrument that was prepared.²²

Both the literature review data and the interview results were analysed using the concept of integration, which implies interaction and joint maintenance and further development of cultural orientations. This can be observed in two forms. First, integration by compromise which usually takes place in intercultural relations, in this case, between the local wisdom of the Sungai Buluh Minang community and the practice of religious freedom in the village. Second, integration with a fair balance of interests by considering local wisdom.²³ For example, it is stated that the church is intended for the Nias community who were born and raised in the area and expansion is possible after considering the increasing number of congregations from the Nagari.²⁴

Local Wisdom and Religious Freedom

Several studies have placed local wisdom as a system which is supported by two basic elements: values and practices. Between the two, there is an established mutual symbiotic relationship. The values transformed into philosophy, norms, and rules are passed down from the forebears and are seen as valuable by the current generation as guides for daily behaviour. While practices such as customs and rituals are the means through which values are implemented and function in a society.²⁵ Therefore, in a society without state authority, local wisdom serves to organise and guide social behaviour, encourage tolerance and involvement of others, and explain to its members the obligations they must obey and the opportunities they can achieve.²⁶ In short, local wisdom serves to regulate behaviour and maintain social harmony.

However, other studies have seen that this function faded when the Indonesian state was established. The development programmes (modernism) of the New Order regime which were based on liberal-capitalist ideology, impacted environmental sustainability.²⁷ The liberal-capitalist ideology then manifested itself in the form of natural resource-based industries, such as mining and plantation.²⁸ Excessive exploitation, in many cases, ignores environmental sustainability maintained by local people through local wisdom.²⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that there have been protests by local (indigenous) communities, such as in Sumba, Bali, South Sulawesi and Kalimantan. In the name of preserving the environment based on local wisdom, they demanded the government to return and recognise their customary land.³⁰ Local wisdom was even allegedly a source of violent conflict in Maluku, West Sulawesi and Tarakan, North Kalimantan.³¹

²² Fransiska Widyawati & Yohanes Servatius Lon, "Adaptation and Negotiation of Muslims within the Local Catholic Community in Eastern Indonesia," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 18, no. 2 (2023): 23–37.

²³ Dorothea Bender-szymanski, "Assimilation, Segregation, or Integration? A Teaching Project Examining Approaches to Religious and Ideological Diversity in the Classroom," *Intercultural Education* 23, no. 4 (2012): 325–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2012.724587>.

²⁴ Datuk Lembang, Interview, December 16, 2017.

²⁵ Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin (ed.), *Adat and Indigeneity in Indonesia Culture and Entitlements between Heteronomy and Self-Ascription* (Göttingen University Press, 2017), 39.

²⁶ Biezeveld, "The Many Roles of Adat in West Sumatra," in *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics*, ed. Jamie S Davidson, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2007), 350, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203965498>.

²⁷ Ayu Pratiwi, "Kebijakan Ekonomi : Perspektif Ekonomi Politik," *Jurnal Abiware : Jurnal Vokasi Administrasi Bisnis* 3, no. 1 (2021): 1–14.

²⁸ Budi Winarno, "Neoliberal Policy of Indonesia's Agricultural Revitalization," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 5, no. 1 (2016): 31–39; Pratiwi, "Kebijakan Ekonomi : Perspektif Ekonomi Politik."

²⁹ E Kurniawati, "Participation of Green Environmental Group and Ulur-Ulur Local Wisdom on Buret Lake Ecotourism Management in Karst Area of Tulungagung, Indonesia," *Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites* 30, no. 2 (2020): 889–95, <https://doi.org/10.30892/gtg.302spl15-519>.

³⁰ Birgit Bräuchler, "Bali Tolak Reklamasi: The Local Adoption of Global Protest," *Convergence* 26, no. 3 (2020): 620–38, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856518806695>; Sukri Tamma and Timo Duile, "Indigeneity and the State in Indonesia: The Local Turn in the Dialectic of Recognition," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 39, no. 2 (2020): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103420905967>; Kathryn Robinson, "Can Formalisation of Adat Land Regulation Protect Community Rights? The Case of the Orang Asli Sorowako and the Karongsi'e/Dongi," *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 20, no. 5 (2019): 471–86, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2019.1670247>; Jacqueline Vel and Stepanus Makambombu, "Strategic Framing of Adat in Land-Acquisition Politics in East Sumba," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 20, no. 5 (2019): 435–52, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2019.1670239>.

³¹ Kirsten E Schulze, "The 'Ethnic' in Indonesia's Communal Conflicts: Violence in Ambon, Poso, and Sambas," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no. 12 (2017): 2096–2114, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1277030>.

In addition, the liberal-capitalist ideology also disturbs the harmonious relations between groups, especially in terms of religious freedom. There are a lot of articles that highlight the ambivalence of practices of religious freedom by both the government and society. In fact, religious freedom is guaranteed by the constitution, but the existence of certain religious places of worship of other religious circles often leads to conflicts and even violence. During the authoritarian New Order government, more than 300 churches were damaged or burned.³² This prolonged violence continued over the past two decades. During the communal conflicts in 1998 and 2002 in Poso and Ambon, for example, nearly 200 churches were attacked. This happened again in 2005 and 2016 in several areas; although during these events, the 1945 Constitution was amended, the Constitutional Court was formed, and many human rights treaties were ratified. Despite the violence, there was a lot of progress in religious freedom.³³

In the above context, the government is accused of violating religious freedom, which is legitimised by laws, for example, Law No. 1 of 1965,³⁴ which adopted the pattern of religious freedom in Islam.³⁵ However, it blocked repeated attempts to make Islam the source of public law through the 1945 Constitution.³⁶ The state is also said to be ambiguous in applying the constitution regarding freedom and religious restrictions.³⁷ This ambiguity is manifested in issuing decisions that are contrary to the universal meaning of religious freedom³⁸ and being inconsistent in protecting the religious freedom of minority groups.³⁹ Even the conflict over places of worship was allegedly used as an opportunity to gain political advantage.⁴⁰ This ambivalence indicates the government's inconsistency in upholding the constitution on religious freedom between referring to the liberal tradition and finding theological compatibility with mainstream Islam.⁴¹

Ambivalence about religious freedom also occurs in society. Among them are the MUI accepting the principles of a democratic state but rejecting pluralism, religious freedom, and Muslim minorities towards groups such as Ahmadiyah.⁴² Similarly, the dominance of FKUB (Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama) in terms of building houses of worship, ignoring tolerance, and resistance to radicalism,⁴³ and the decline of religious freedom as conservative-fundamentalist religious politicians try to win the hearts of the people.⁴⁴ Religious freedom among West Sumatran Muslims demands that other religions do not 'disturb' them, while Christians in North Sulawesi accept religious pluralism.⁴⁵ This ambivalence is not only because the process of establishing houses of worship is out of procedure and fraught with fraud,⁴⁶ but also means that it does not respect mainstream Islam.⁴⁷ It has even been suspected of being part of the agenda of colonialism and the spread of Christianity.⁴⁸

³² Ismatu Ropi, *Religion and Regulation in Indonesia*, Palgrave Macmillan (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 166, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-2827-4>.

³³ Bagir and Arianingtyas, "Limitations to Freedom of Religion or Belief in Indonesia: Norms and Practices."

³⁴ Noorhaidi Hasan, "Religious Diversity and Blasphemy Law: Understanding Growing Religious Conflict and Intolerance in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah* 55, no. 1 (2017): 105–26, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.551.105-126>.

³⁵ Stewart Fenwick, *Blasphemy, Islam and the State: Pluralism and Liberalism in Indonesia*, *Blasphemy, Islam and the State: Pluralism and Liberalism in Indonesia* (Routledge, 2016), 171, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315527697>.

³⁶ Mirjam Künkler and Yüksel Sezgin, "The Unification of Law and the Postcolonial State: The Limits of State Monism in India and Indonesia," *American Behavioral Scientist* 60, no. 8 (2016): 987–1012, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764216643808>.

³⁷ Hanna Lerner, "Permissive Constitutions, Democracy, and Religious Freedom in India, Indonesia, Israel, and Turkey," *World Politics* 65, no. 4 (2013): 609–55, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887113000208>.

³⁸ Muhammad As'ad, "Ahmadiyah and the Freedom of Religion in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 3, no. 2 (2009): 390–413, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2009.3.2.390-413>.

³⁹ Simon Butt, "Constitutional Recognition of Beliefs in Indonesia," *Journal of Law and Religion* 35, no. 3 (2020): 450–73, <https://doi.org/10.1017/jlr.2020.39>.

⁴⁰ Melissa Crouch, "Implementing the Regulation on Places of Worship in Indonesia: New Problems, Local Politics and Court Action," *Asian Studies Review* 34, no. 4 (2010): 403–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2010.527921>.

⁴¹ Zainal Abidin Bagir, "Advocacy for Religious Freedom in Democratizing Indonesia," *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 12, no. 4 (2014): 27–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2014.976084>.

⁴² Mohamad Abdun Nasir, "The 'Ulamā', Fatāwā and Challenges to Democracy in Contemporary Indonesia," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 25, no. 4 (2014): 489–505, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2014.926598>.

⁴³ Ahmad Faqih, "The Role of Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (FKUB) for Religious Harmony and the Rights of Freedom of Religion or Belief (Forb)," *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 11, no. 1 (2021): 75–93.

⁴⁴ Kikue Hamayotsu, "The Limits of Civil Society in Democratic Indonesia: Media Freedom and Religious Intolerance," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43, no. 4 (2013): 658–77, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2013.780471>.

⁴⁵ Delmus Puneri Salim, Srifani Simbuka, and Muzwir Luntajo, "Politics and Religious Freedom in Indonesia: The Case of West Sumatra and North Sulawesi," *Journal of Government and Politics* 7, no. 4 (2016): 594–618, <https://doi.org/10.18196/jgpp.2016.0044.594-618>.

⁴⁶ Mohd Yasin Robi'atul Adawiyah, Ismanto, "Conflict of the House of Worship Construction in Jambi Province and Its Solution," *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization* 44 (2015): 108–14.

⁴⁷ Hamid Chalid, "Freedom of Religion in the Midst of Indonesia's Plural Society," *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 16, no. 1 (2018): 74–84, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2018.1433515>.

⁴⁸ Teresa M. Bejan, "Evangelical Toleration," *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 4 (2015): 11–14.

Apart from the indecision mentioned above, in Nagari Sungai Buluh, religious freedom is legitimised by local wisdom. Sociologically, the existence of other communities with all their uniqueness has been recognised by previous generations and passed on to the current generation. Compliance is considered valid because it is socially in accordance with the norms, values and beliefs held firmly by the community.⁴⁹ The fact is that in a village where people observe Minangkabau customary local wisdom, Bodi Caniogo and Shattari Islam, the Church is seen as the Nagari's 'asset', and its congregation is seen as the Nagari's 'offspring'.⁵⁰ This is interesting to examine because, *adat* [custom] and Islam, which have been synthesised into ABS-SBK, have become the philosophy and ideology of the Minang people, including the Sungai Buluh Minang community.⁵¹ On the other hand, several studies have indicated that ABS-SBK is the main stumbling block for the issue of religious freedom in the domain of Minang, West Sumatra.⁵²

Bodi Caniogo, Consensus and Religious Freedom

The freedom of the Nias community to perform religious rituals and ceremonies in BNKP and GKKB churches is legitimised by the local wisdom of the Bodi Caniogo custom that emphasises the following consensus:

In the past, we only approved of one church, namely the BNKP. Then during the tenure of Regent Anas Malik [Head of Padang Pariaman Regency, serving two terms; 1980-1985 and 1985-1990] somehow, allowed to add one more church, two churches were finally approved. But, the church is used [only] for the Nias tribe here [Sungai Buluh], not for outsiders. How many households [head of family] do you have, at most 800 people. From morning to evening, they can do it [hold a mass] alternately. The two churches can be used for services or other activities for twenty-four hours. But if they add another [church], we don't allow it. We only acknowledge and approve of the two churches⁵³

The repeated consensus mentioned is important because the Bodi Caniogo system emphasises sense (courtesy), humanity and concern for the benefits issue. The application of norms and rules is based on considerations of benefits and harm. The law is not necessarily imposed on people who violate it but is reviewed so that fair punishment can be imposed.⁵⁴ This system emphasises togetherness to reach deliberation and consensus because it is known to be more democratic and tolerant.⁵⁵ Using an allegorical expression, Datuk Tampang, a member of the KAN nagari, said, "*Mandapek samo samo balabo kahilangan samo marugi, duduak samo low and tagak samo tinggi*." [Together we gain profits, together we suffer losses, sitting equally low, standing equally tall].⁵⁶ This expression signifies wisdom that accommodates the diverse interests within the Nagari, including the Nias-Christian community.

The Nias Community is accommodated in the Bodi Caniogo custom because of the mutual symbiotic relationship that has existed for a long time between the two ethnic groups. The Nias community is considered to have been instrumental in exploring (pioneering) and cleaning the Sungai Buluh so that it becomes a village worth living in. For this service, all the *penghulu* [village head], *imam* [the person who leads prayers in a mosque], *khatib* [the person who gives sermons in a mosque], *labai-labai* [the person who explains religious matters to others] and *ninik mamak* [tribal leaders] in the Sungai Buluh Nagari gave the right to own land in the Nagari, including selling and pawning.

⁴⁹ Cathryn Johnson, Timothy J. Dowd, and Cecilia L. Ridgeway, "Legitimacy as a Social Process," *Annual Review of Sociology* 32 (2006): 53–78, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.32.061604.123101>.

⁵⁰ Lembang, Interview.

⁵¹ Erwati Aziz, Mohammad Dzofir, and Aris Widodo, "The Acculturation of Islam and Customary Law: An Experience of Minangkabau, Indonesia," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2020): 13–60, <https://doi.org/10.21043/QIJS.V8I1.7197>.

⁵² Nunu Burhanuddin, Ahmad Ali Nurdin, and Muhammad Irfan Helmy, "Religious Conflict and Regional Autonomy in Church Establishment and Islamic Clothing in West Pasaman and Dharmasraya" 9, no. 2 (2019): 189–216, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v9i2.189-216>; Melissa Crouch, "Religious Regulations in Indonesia: Failing Vulnerable Groups," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 43, no. 2 (2009): 53–103.

⁵³ Lembang, Interview, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁵⁴ Ibrahim Dt. Sanggoeno Diradjo, *Tambo Alam Minangkabau Tatanan Adat Warisan Nenek Moyang Orang Minang*, 2nd ed. (Kristal Multimedia, 2015), 35.

⁵⁵ Gusti Asnan, *Kamus Sejarah Minangkabau* (PPIM, 2003), 47.

⁵⁶ Datuk Tampang Hulu, Interview, July 28, 2018, loc. Sungai Buluh.

In addition, the penghulu (Tuhenöri) is also recognised as a representative of their customs. Allegorically, it is said that the penghulu “Will resolve the tangled, clear the murky and gather the scattered in accordance with the customs of Nias society...”⁵⁷ The consensus above shows how all the important elements in Nagari Sungai Buluh are involved, such as the *ninik mamak*, *imam*, *khatib* and *labai*. The involvement of important actors in the Nagari has shown that the Nias community, with its cultural attributes attached to it, is socially compatible with or accepted by the Sungai Buluh Minang community. Consensus in this context means the perception that an entity's actions are desirable, appropriate and socially compatible with the norms, values, beliefs and provisions.⁵⁸ Such consensus acts as a condition for legitimacy that underlies all the legitimacy of theories.⁵⁹ In the local wisdom of Bodi Caniago, consensus (*saiyo*) is the end result of a deliberation based on unanimity which is the norm that must be obeyed without discrimination. It signifies that everyone is equal before the law or agreed norms. The participation of all members of society in approving and implementing the norms is a form of solidarity.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, for the Nias community, consensus means religious freedom because it gives them an opportunity to be involved in deliberations concerning their interests in the *Nagari*. Before having their own church, this community held masses in Padang City. The distance is 24 kilometres away, and people travelled there on foot, especially before Indonesia's independence. Based on solidarity, all groups in the Nagari Sungai Buluh allowed them to build a church because they are regarded as the offspring of the Nagari. In fact, in Nagari Sungai Buluh, there were several Nias community churches, such as Marantih Sikabu in 1947, Kali Air in 1950, and Batang Sarik in 1953. However, the only typical Nias church that has survived to date is the BNKP church, which was constructed in 1934 and completed in 1955. Twelve years later, on December 16, 1967, it also allowed the construction of the GKKB Church, which could accommodate around 169 congregational families.⁶¹

On the basis of consensus and togetherness, the village government budgeted an honorarium for Christian teachers in the church of one hundred and fifty thousand rupiah. The honorarium is the same as that of Religious Education teachers in mosques. The honorarium is intended as a form of favouritism towards empowerment groups and to improve the religious education of children, including Christians.⁶² In addition, the Christian Nias tribe also received community land for the cemetery about thirty hundred meters from the BNKP church. The burial area can be used by both Catholic and Protestant Nias tribes (Interview with Yustina Harefa, Sungai Buluh, July 21, 2017). It is just that this burial area is differentiated from the cemetery for various Muslim Minang tribes, which have their own areas.⁶³

Some members of the Sungai Buluh Minang community expressed concern and even criticised the penghulu (customary leaders) and religious figures who signed the *adat* agreement, as it granted the Nias community access to traditional land belonging to the Nagari (village). Such arrangements are rare within the Minangkabau society, particularly for communities of different religious backgrounds.⁶⁴ Even though it was considered wrong, according to Syahrial (a local government employee), it was difficult to avoid given Nias's community services in pioneering and developing the Nagari. The strong harmonious relations between the Nias community leaders and the previous Sungai Buluh Minang community leaders also reinforced this. Syahrial asserts that, in general, the land within the boundaries of Nagari Sungai Buluh owes much to the Nias community's dedication to the village, and over time, this land has gradually become owned by the Minang people through individual purchases.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Tim, “Agreement on the Sales or Pawning of Land between the the Sungai Buluh Minang Community and the Nias Community” (Loeboek Aloeng, February 1928).

⁵⁸ Mark C Suchman, “Managing Legitimacy : Strategic and Institutional Approaches,” *The Academy of Management Review* 20, no. 3 (1995): 571–610.

⁵⁹ Patrick Haack, Oliver Schilke, and Lynne Zucker, “Legitimacy Revisited: Disentangling Propriety, Validity, and Consensus,” *Journal of Management Studies* 58, no. 3 (2021): 749–81, <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12615>.

⁶⁰ Moeis et al., “Intercultural Values in Local Wisdom: A Global Treasure of Minangkabau Ethnic in Indonesia,” 1–12.

⁶¹ Laiya, *Sejarah Gereja Ono Niha (Nias) Di Padang Sumatera Barat*.

⁶² Wali Nagari, “Surat Keputusan Wali Nagari Sungai Buluh Barat Tentang Penetapan Guru Gereja (Honor Pengajar Untuk Agama Non Islam) Nagari Sungai Buluh Barat Tahun 2018 Kecamatan Batang Anai Kabupaten Padang Pariaman,” Pub. L. No. /SK/WN-SBB/XII-2018 (2018).

⁶³ Muhammad Amin, Interview, July 26, 2017, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁶⁴ Hapitun Hapitun, “Interview,” July 7, 2017, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁶⁵ Syahrial Syahrial, “Interview,” July 7, 2017, loc. Sungai Buluh.

However, traditional leaders such as Datuk Lembang denied that it was impossible for the Nias community to obtain the Nagari's traditional land if there were no theologically convincing factors. This is because the ones who made the pledge and jointly signed it were religious figures (*Imam, khatib and labai*). They suspected that the Nias community traditional leader (*si Gapuak*), who entered into an agreement with the traditional leaders and religious leaders of the Nagari Sungai Buluh, had embraced Islam because he had a Minang wife. Many of their descendants have embraced Islam and even have their amulets written in Arabic. Even though some are Christians, they are not devout to their religion, no longer eat pork or display Christianity prominently. "Maybe if they were pure Christians, the *penghulu* would not accept them," said Datuk Lembang.⁶⁶ Meanwhile, the Nias community who embraced Christianity, according to Datuak Tampang Hulu, are considered the latest development, as they are mostly immigrants from Gunungsitoli.⁶⁷

Even though it has caused controversy, the presence of the Nias community, with its unique customs and Christianity, has been recognised. In reality, their *penghulu* was highly respected (through an invitation to a ceremony) with slaughtered buffalos. With this acknowledgement, the chief of the Sungai Buluh Minang community, which originally consisted of 16 people, has increased to 17, one of whom is from the Nias community. The latter is assigned to take care of cultural interests and customs, including Christianity, which is the religion of the Nias community in the Nagari. They are free to carry out religious activities in the two designated churches similar to other local wisdoms of the *sipakatau* (mutual appreciation), and the *sipakalebhi* (mutual respect) from the Mandar tribe in South Sulawesi.⁶⁸ This proves that the local wisdom of Bodi Caniago, with its shared values, has provided space for religious freedom.

Tarekat Shattariyyah, Tolerance and Religious Freedom

In addition to the Bodi Caniago custom, religious freedom for the Nias community is also legitimised by another local wisdom, namely the tolerance doctrine of the Tarekat Shattariyyah practised by the Minang Community of Nagari Sungai Buluh. Tolerance appears in the form of acceptance and respect for different entities,⁶⁹ in this case, the Nias community is an important indicator of religious freedom.⁷⁰ Tuanku Azhari, a figure of the Tarekat Shattariyyah who is active in preaching in Nagari Sungai Buluh said:

All humans are descendants of Adam, including the Nias community. Allah glorifies them including the church where they hold masses and it is not right for us as His servants not to glorify them. It is not permissible to step on the graves of the dead, let alone disrespect the living. Therefore, there is no reason to hate just because of religious differences. Everything that exists on earth essentially occurs with God's permission, including Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc. Because of His will and power, humans are not allowed to destroy or abolish it. On the contrary, it is obligatory to preserve it.⁷¹

The tolerant attitude towards different entities is shown in the context of the freedom of the Nias community to celebrate religious holidays such as Christmas. Celebrations are held annually at the BNKP and GKKB churches in Sungai Buluh Nagari. Activities related to the liturgy are attended not only by congregants from the Nagari but also from surrounding areas such as Padang. The ceremonial activities or celebrations also invite Nagari government officials and local Nagari leaders, despite the presence of the wali of the Nagari. The celebration took place safely and smoothly. Apart from coordinating with the village government and community leaders, the police were also involved. However, this security is more of a cautious attitude in line with the emergence of terrorism issues and movements.⁷²

⁶⁶ Lembang, Interview, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁶⁷ Hulu, Interview, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁶⁸ Md. Jahirul Islamb, C. Cece Sobarna, and Tajudin Nurd, "Religious Tolerance and Local Wisdom Values Keeping," *Journal of Tianjin University Science and Technology* 54, no. 04 (2021): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/V6Z8J>.

⁶⁹ Islamb, Sobarna, and Nurd, "Religious Tolerance and Local Wisdom Values Keeping."

⁷⁰ Carolyn Evans, "Freedom of Religion or Belief," *Freedom of Religion under the European Convention on Human Rights*, no. September (2012): 67–102, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199243648.003.0005>.

⁷¹ Tuanku Azhari, "Interview," July 7, 2018, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁷² Nashir Nashir, Interview, October 20, 2017, loc. Sungai Buluh.

The tolerant attitude is also shown by allowing Christian students of SD 07 Nagari Sungai Buluh to wear long skirts for girls but without the *jilbab*. This is different from most Christian students in Padang City, who still wear the headscarf and are even involved in implementing the seven-minute lecture every Friday due to the unclear school regulations on this.⁷³ They also get religious education from teachers who are of the same religion as them in accordance with the mandate of the National Education System Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 20 of 2003. When Muslim students gather in the schoolyard to hold lecture seven, local Christian students receive school pastoral activities from Christian religious teachers (Observation at SD 07 Sungai Buluh, October 20, 2017).

The idea of tolerance, which emphasises respect for fellow human beings, is in line with the spirit of Surah al-Isra's verse 70. The first paragraph of the verse reads, *walakad karramna bani Adam* which can be translated as "And verily We glorify the children and grandchildren of Adam [including the Nias community]". The word *karramna* has a different meaning from the word *fadhlna*. *Fadhal* means excess, which refers to the addition of what was previously owned equally (sustenance), and *karramna* means 'gift' in the form of internal privileges. Allah bestows these privileges solely upon humanity, endowing human beings with nobility and dignity by virtue of their status as humans.

This gift is for all human beings that they have been born with without discriminating against one another. This is what made the Prophet Muhammad stand in respect for a deceased Jew. When his friends protested, the Prophet replied, "Isn't the dead also human?"⁷⁴ On the other hand, it is considered part of an effort to strengthen *a'yan tsabitah* as one of the important elements in human beings. *A'yan tsabitah* is a white and clear light covering the entire human body, which is believed to originate from the light of Muhammad, where the attributes of Allah reside. Among these attributes of Allah is *Ridha* (contentment), which means generosity, willingness to give, not tightfisted, and compassion for others, including the Nias community. It also means that a follower of the Tarekat Shattariyyah is taught to achieve the qualities of being pleased and merciful and to believe that Allah does not approve of actions that are contrary to these traits.⁷⁵ In an allegorical expression, Asril Tuanku Sutan reported, Allah said, "See me, to those whose hearts are broken." From the *ma'rifa* perspective, it can be interpreted, "Let us suffer first, so long as we don't let others suffer because of us".⁷⁶

Therefore, according to him, Allah the Almighty cannot let people who give alms to distant neighbours while those living next to them are hungry even though they are non-Muslims. While radicalists may label them as infidels for not fulfilling Islamic practices like prayer, followers of the Tarekat Shattariyyah would question: why send aid far away when those nearby are in desperate need? Why not help those close by who are on the brink of starvation? That is what *raso* (being considerate) is all about, one of the attributes of Allah and that is also what is called *ma'rifat* in the domain of the Tarekat Shattariyyah. In the broader context of national and religious life, many conflicts could be resolved if mutual respect were upheld, regardless of individual beliefs. This reflects an affinity between the transcendent qualities of Allah and the immanent respect for fellow human beings.⁷⁷

In practical terms, a similar concept has also developed among the congregation of the Tarekat Shattariyyah order and, in general, at the Minang Community of Nagari Sungai Buluh. Rizaldi, one of the Sungai Buluh Shattari congregation reported as follows:

The Tarekat (Shattariyyah) teachers never teach discrimination against people of different religion, what is mostly done is an invitation for togetherness. The better the relationship with God, the better the relationship with humans. In association with people of different religions, the first thing to look at is the history of humanity itself. We're all humans, we all believe in God. We should unite as one, meaning that the difference is only in the ideology. Second, God has an absolute will. Don't ever think that you will be safe even if you have embraced Islam. In a matter of seconds God easily makes us from Muslims to

⁷³ Andri Ashadi, "Muslim Paruh Waktu Di SMAN 6 Dan SMKN 2 Kota Padang," *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 7, no. 2 (September 10, 2017): 205–36, <https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v7i2.738>.

⁷⁴ M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Musbah Pesan, Kesan Dan Keserasian al-Qur'an*, 1st ed. (Lentera hati, 2017), 150–51.

⁷⁵ Syeikh Ali Amran, *Kitab Tarekat Syattariyyah* (Pariaman: Pondok Pesantren nurul Yaqin Ringan-Ringan, 2013), 13.

⁷⁶ Asril Tuanku Sutan, "Interview," August 25, 2018, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁷⁷ Idrus Hakimy, *Rangkaian Mustika Adat Basandi Syarak Di Minangkabau*, 5th ed. (PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2001), 36–37.

infidels. It is true that what Allah approves of in the Qur'an is Islam, but don't do it arbitrarily. Don't look down on each other.⁷⁸

Religious views that emphasise human dignity above are promoted in religious lectures with the nuances of the Tarekat Shattariyyah; *sharia, tarekat, hakikat and ma'rifat*. There are nine mosques and twenty-five *suraus* [smaller mosques] that serve as the container, some of which are owned by the main tribes in the Nagari. One of the mosques, namely Nurul Ikhlas, is merely a few meters away from the BNKP church owned by the Nias community and there has never been a rift or conflict between the two groups.⁷⁹ In West Sumatra, the Tarekat Shattariyyah spreads over twenty-four locations and is generally followed by the Padang Pariaman Muslim community. Meanwhile, its competitor, the Naqshabandi Order, is only found in five locations which shows that the Tarekat Shattariyyah has a place in the hearts of the Minang people.⁸⁰

Unquestionably, tolerance for differences has become a characteristic of various *thariqah* groups. The Chishti Order under the coaching of Mu'inaddin al-Chishti (died 633 H/1236 AD), which emerged in the Indian Subcontinent, was characterised by tolerance and openness towards Hinduism.⁸¹ The Dargah Order in Bangladesh was able to establish equality of status, love and brotherhood among the people and taught them to respect each other's emotions and practices.⁸² Similarly, the convergence of the 'Alāwi, Būdshīshi, and Raouf Order movements in France, Algeria and Morocco facilitated interfaith connections among Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This overlap highlighted the correspondence between Islamic values and democratic values such as pluralism and tolerance.⁸³

In Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia, the Tarekat Shattariyyah is believed to have contributed to the local community's acceptance of Islam. The Sufis disguise themselves as traders and use all their intelligence to serve religion instead of venerating themselves and accumulating wealth.⁸⁴ Sufis with a universal soul have made it possible for a plural society in Malaysia to coexist peacefully with a spirit of tolerance that has been proven even today.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, in Fatani, Sheikh Daud, an influential figure of the Tarekat Shattariyyah in the area, sought to find common ground between the esoteric aspects of the *tariqah* and the exoteric aspects of *fiqh* [Islamic jurisprudence], were able to withstand war and nationalism in the borders of Malaysia and Thailand.⁸⁶

The same thing also happened in various practices of the Indonesian Tarekat Shattariyyah. While Sheikh Abdurrauf Sinkel in Aceh, for example, attempted to reconcile the views of Hamzah Fansuri, al-Sumatrani, and al-Raniri regarding the *Wujudiyah* teachings. His student, Sheikh Burhanuddin in the Minang realm, attempted to legitimise the teachings of Shattariyyah with Hadith so that they did not contradict the texts of the Qur'an and Hadith.⁸⁷ A similar attitude was also shown by Tuanku Ulakan who never had a commitment to fight or strongly oppose the infidels, the Dutch. This non-violent attitude is allegedly an implication of the nature of the Ulakan Shattariyyah Order, which emphasises harmony and is not confrontational.⁸⁸ In Bandung, respondents who joined the Tarekat Shattariyyah even claimed to have attained *mutawaiṭ* (moderate), *muṭhmainnah* (tranquility), and *radhiyyah* (contentment) and were very tolerant of other religions.⁸⁹

⁷⁸ Rizaldi Rizaldi, "Interview," May 10, 2018, loc. Sungai Buluh.

⁷⁹ Sefriyono Sefriyono, "Tarekat and Peace Building: A Study of the Inclusivism of the Community of Tarekat Syattariyyah in the Nagari of Sungai Buluh Padang Pariaman Regency," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 20, no. 2 (2020): 211, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v0i0.5807>.

⁸⁰ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis, Dan Sosiologis* (Mizan, 1994), 133.

⁸¹ Hassan Abu Hanieh, *Sufism and Sufi Orders: God's Spiritual Paths Adaptation and Renewal in the Context of Modernization* (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Amman Office, 2011).

⁸² Vahit Göktaş and Saeyd Rashed Hasan Chowdury, "Freedom Of Religion, Faith and Religious Tolerance in Bangladesh: A Case Study on The Islamic Mysticism/Banglade's Din Özürlüğü, İnanç ve Dinî Hoşgörü: İslâm Tasavvufu Üzerine Örnek Bir Araştırma," *Disiplinlerarası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 5, no. 5 (2019): 41–67.

⁸³ Piraino, "Islamic Humanism": Another Form of Universalism in Contemporary Sufism."

⁸⁴ A. B. Shamsul, "Making Sense of the Plural-Religious Past and the Modern-Secular Present of the Islamic Malay World and Malaysia," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 33, no. 3 (2005): 449–72, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853105775013652>.

⁸⁵ Chandra Mazaffar, "Accommodation and Acceptance of Non-Muslim Communities within the Malaysian Political System," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 13, no. 1 (April 1, 1996): 28–41, <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v13i1.2349>.

⁸⁶ Francis R Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place The Legacy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Bin 'Abd Allāh al- Faṭānī in Mecca and Southeast Asia* (University of Hawai'i Press Honolulu, 2016), 34.

⁸⁷ Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Sattariyyah Di Minangkabau: Teks Dan Konteks* (Prenada Media Group, 2008), 48 & 55.

⁸⁸ Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shattāriyyah Sūfī Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Studia Islamika*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v8i3.681>.

⁸⁹ M. H.M.Wildan Bin Yahya, Fahrudin, and Munawar Rahmat, "Spiritual and Professional Motivation of Indonesian Academics Entering the Shattāriyyah Sufi Order," *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 11, no. 5 (2022): 210–22, <https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2022-0136>.

Minangkabau Local Wisdom, Islamic Humanism and Religious Freedom

The Bodi Caniago custom and Islam with a Tarekat Shattariyyah model adopted by the Sungai Buluh Minang community as local wisdom have, in fact, legitimised the practice of religious freedom in the *nagari*. This is possible because, on the one hand, the Bodi Caniago custom emphasises equality through deliberation for consensus regarding the interests of many parties, including the NK community. This tolerance of values of the Tarekat Shattariyyah emphasises appreciation and respect for humans beyond ethnicity and religion. Both the values of equality and tolerance have underlie the practice of religious freedom for the Nias community in the *nagari*.⁹⁰ Both values align with human rights regarding freedom of religion, namely the freedom to choose and practice religion, as well as the freedom to carry out religious practices, both individually and together, in houses of worship.⁹¹

Theoretically, the values of equality and tolerance above reflect the discourse of Islamic humanism, which is marked at least by the human anthropo-cosmic unity that connects God, nature, and humans and a pluralistic epistemology between tradition, Islam and a sense of responsibility towards society.⁹² Like the Minang people in general, the Sungai Buluh Minang community connects the values of equality in the Bodi Caniago custom and tolerance in the Tarekat Shattariyyah through the ABS-SBK concept. Practically, this concept is further manifested to become *syara' mangato adaik mamakai* (Islam says, custom follows), demonstrating a mutual symbiotic relationship between the two in the life of a Minang individual. Yasrul Huda described it as overlapping identities because, at the time, he was an adherent of Islam and custom.⁹³ Meanwhile, Hamka described it as a mixture of water and oil in milk, an inseparable symbiosis even though its boundaries can be felt in everyday life.⁹⁴

The practice in the Sungai Buluh Minang community is shown in two ways. First, the existence of a *surau* in addition to the mosque, and second, the Tuanku as a representation of both religion and tradition. Before the introduction of the mosque by the *Padris* [Muslim clerics of Sumatera] (Christian Dobbin, 2008), the Minang community, including those in Nagari Sungai Buluh, already lived by the values of *surau*. When the Tarekat Shattariyyah spread around the 16th century, the *surau* acquired a new interpretation. In addition to being a facility for learning the customs of men, it is also used to learn and practice Islam in accordance with the Tarekat Shattariyyah model.⁹⁵ In Sungai Buluh, in addition to nine mosques, twenty-five *suraus* are scattered all over the region as facilities of worship and symbols of Shattari Islam. Needless to say, besides the mosque and *surau*, there are also two churches that symbolise the integration of tradition, Islam, and social responsibility of the Minang Community of Nagari Sungai Buluh.

Second, the granting of religious titles and customary titles to Tuanku as graduates of Islamic boarding schools managed by the Tarekat Shattariyyah figures. A certain graduate named Andi and his tribe agree on the title Sutan. Then, the person concerned will have the title Andi Sutan, followed by the title Tuanku as a religious title, so his full name will be Andi Tuanku Sutan. The *penghulu*, *iman*, *khatib* and *labai-labaiserve* as an extension of the tuanku in customs and religion in the *nagari* and also signed a customary land agreement with the Nias community.⁹⁶ It was stated that "...We, the *penghulu*, *iman*, *khatib* and *labai-labai* with *ninik mamak*,.... in Sungai Buluh Lubuk Alung *nagari*, give decisions and provisions to the Nias ethnic group who have participated in filling the customary land they own and are not related to other people or tribes, have fallen into their respective rights and property..."⁹⁷

Islamic humanism in the wisdom of Bodi Caniago and the Tarekat Shattariyyah of the Sungai Buluh Minang community provides an example of how the values of equality and tolerance can be practised in a communal society without clashing with the practice of religious freedom. This finding is similar

⁹⁰ Jeniffer Pelupessy-Wowor, "The Role of Religious Education in Promoting Religious Freedom: A Mutual Enrichment Between 'My Story,' 'Your Story,' and 'Our Stories'†," *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 14, no. 4 (2016): 98–106, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2016.1248527>.

⁹¹ Evans, "Freedom of Religion or Belief."

⁹² Piraino, "'Islamic Humanism': Another Form of Universalism in Contemporary Sufism."

⁹³ Yasrul Huda, "Contesting Sharia : State Law, Decentralization and Minangkabau Custom" (Leiden University Repository, 2013).

⁹⁴ Hamka, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau* (PT Pustaka Panjimas, 1984), 137–44.

⁹⁵ Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Sattariyyah Di Minangkabau: Teks Dan Konteks* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2008).

⁹⁶ Sefriyono, "Tarekat and Peace Building: A Study of the Inclusivism of the Community of Terekat Syattariyyah in the Nagari of Sungai Buluah Padang Pariaman Regency."

⁹⁷ Tim, "Agreement on the Sales or Pawning of Land between the the Sungai Buluh Minang Community and the Nias Community."

to the findings of Sudarno Shobron and Suhaimi Ab Rahman, Jonathan Benthall, S. A. Zainal Abidin Usman dan A. H., Shaharuddin who assert that the core values of Islamic humanism, such as justice, dignity, and human rights are in line with humanism. These values dignify humans and maintain mutual relationships. Islamic humanism, especially Sufism, is considered a way out of the dilemma of secular modernism that turns humans into a mere set of biological functions.⁹⁸

Since the values of Islamic humanism are based on Minangkabau local wisdom for religious freedom, the Minang Community of Nagari Sungai Buluh emphasises the matrilineal system (compassion), village community (harmony) and consideration of justice.⁹⁹ It is proven that local wisdom is embedded in the hearts of the people, manifested in the form of practical wisdom, a way of life, rituals and customs, preserving religious freedom for hundreds of years in the *nagari*. The population census conducted by the Dutch in 1852 showed that the population of Nias people in Pariaman was 151, while in Padang city it was 2,277,¹⁰⁰ although a church was only built in Sungai Buluh in the early 19th century. As Bherta Sri Eko & Hendar Putranto reported, the concept of humanity grows and develops, unity is embraced and manifested, the common good is organised by the principles of "wisdom and prudence", and the concept of justice is applied in everyday life.¹⁰¹

That being the case, the values of Islamic humanism, local wisdom and religious freedom are inseparable from communal societies such as the Minang Community of Nagari Sungai Buluh. Prioritising the values of Islamic humanism within the framework of local wisdom for the continuation of religious freedom will, in turn, maintain harmonious relations between groups in the *nagari*. Conversely, emphasising purely (secular) humanism in the form of defending individual rights will, in fact, harm minority groups as it gives more value to a privileged social identity, namely the Sungai Buluh Minang community.¹⁰²

Islamic humanism in the practice of religious freedom in the Minang Community of Nagari Sungai Buluh also questions the stigma that, in principle, Indonesian Muslims are conservative and even tend to be fundamentalists. This is related to the recent weakening of the social basis of liberal and progressive (modernist) Islamic discourse.¹⁰³ A trend marked by the strengthening of past traditions (*salafu al-shalih*), prioritising the interests of the majority, and allegedly anti-equality.¹⁰⁴ In fact, various existing studies, as mentioned above, show similar symptoms, including in West Sumatra. But does such a phenomenon really show the fading modern-inclusive Islam that originally started in West Sumatra?

It is important to note that West Sumatra was the first region to embrace the Islamic reform movement, democracy, freedom, pluralism, and secularism rolling out of the Middle East.¹⁰⁵ In 1922, a famous cleric from Padang Panjang, Zainuddin Labay Elyunusiah, sent three graduates of Sumatra Thawalib to study the model and teaching materials at Anjuman Ishaat-i-Islam in Lahore, India.¹⁰⁶ Even communism and atheism were present in West Sumatra. Communism spread in Padang Panjang through Sumatera Thawalib teacher Datuk Batuah along with Djamaludin Tamin, Arif Fadillah, and Nata Zainuddin who

⁹⁸ Lenn Evan Goodman, *Islamic Humanism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 115; Haggag Ali, "Abdelwahab Elmessiri's Islamic Humanism," *International Sociology Reviews* 33, no. 5 (2018): 568–76, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580918791969>.

⁹⁹ Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka*, University of Hawai'i Press (University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 89, <https://doi.org/10.1355/sj26-2j>.

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth E. Graves, *Asal Usul Elit Minangkabau Modren Respon Terhadap Kolonial Belanda Abad XIX/XX Terj. Novi Andri Dkk* (Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007), 92–93.

¹⁰¹ Bherta Sri Eko and Hendar Putranto, "The Role of Intercultural Competence and Local Wisdom in Building Intercultural and Inter-Religious Tolerance," *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 48, no. 4 (2019): 341–69, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2019.1639535>.

¹⁰² Myrto Dragona-Monachou, "Humanism, Secularism and Embryos," *Reproductive BioMedicine Online* 14, no. 1 (2007): 32–39, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1472-6483\(10\)60723-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1472-6483(10)60723-7).

¹⁰³ Martin Van Bruinessen, "What Happened to the Smiling Face of Indonesian Islam? Muslim Intellectualism and the Conservative Turn in Post-Suharto Indonesia Martin Van Bruinessen S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies Singapore About RSIS," *RSIS Working Paper No. 222*, no. January (2011): 1–45.

¹⁰⁴ Hairunnas Hairunnas, Afrizal Afrizal, and Asrinaldi Asrinaldi, "Demokrasi Dan Praktik Konservatisme Ormas Keagamaan Di Sumatra Barat," *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-i* 8, no. 6 (2021): 1825–34, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sjsbs.v8i6.23082>; Zuly Qodir et al., "The Formalization of Sharia in Aceh to Discipline the Female Body," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* - 60, no. 1 (2022): 63–90, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.601.63-90>.

¹⁰⁵ Luthfi Assyaukanie, "Islamic Reform Movement in Indonesia and Beyond: Progress and Regress," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 2, no. 1 (June 1, 2008): 129–50, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2008.2.1.129-150>.

¹⁰⁶ Ismatu Ropi, "Sisi Yang Terlupa: Peran Historis Ahmadiyah Dalam Wacana Gerakan Modernisasi Islam Di Indonesia," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 15, no. 2 (December 31, 2020): 211–36, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v15i2.7323>.

simply integrated communism and Islamic teachings.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, atheism entered through Alexander Aan, a West Sumatran civil servant who publicly announced atheism on his Facebook page and received the support of nearly 1,000 Facebook users.¹⁰⁸

For the Nias Community and other minority groups, the Islamic humanism ideology of the Sungai Buluh Minang community demonstrates the cultural basis for guaranteeing religious freedom. The concept of equality of Bodi Caniago adat and tolerance of the Shattariyyah Order made them free from economic discrimination. In addition to providing land for the construction of the church, they have also obtained land for farming and cemeteries, including selling and using it as collateral after obtaining approval from all the penghulu in the *nagari*. Some of them have also been appointed as neighbourhood association heads and even staff in the Nagari government. Thus, it is clear that Islamic principles regarding humanist precepts such as justice, honesty, humanitarian solidarity, and tolerance, create obligations for every Muslim community member and individual. These principles have also contributed to a climate of mutual respect and care, which are civilised practices based on religion.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

The practice of religious freedom among the people of the Indonesian Archipelago is made possible due to their local wisdom encompassing the values of Islamic humanism. Similar to liberalism and humanism, which place an emphasis on freedom and equality, the Bodi Caniago custom and the Tarekat Shattariyyah of the Sungai Buluh Minang community as communal values have proven the legitimacy of local wisdom towards religious freedom. The legitimacy is not only due to their emphasis on equality and tolerance but also because it is deeply rooted in Islamic humanism, which connects humans, nature and God. Islamic humanism in the local wisdom of Bodi Caniago custom and the Tarekat Shattariyyah not only shows an interesting example of the roots of religious freedom in a community bound by communal values but also shows the inseparable practice of religious freedom derived from religion, which has been transformed into local wisdom.

These dynamics have accommodated and become a middle course between individual, communal and religious rights or between liberalism, humanism and communalism (local wisdom) based on Islamic humanism. This accommodation has allowed the BNKP and the GKKB churches to exist for hundreds of years in the *nagari*, long before Indonesia's independence (1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. In a similar fashion, long before the Joint Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of Religion Number 8 of 2006 and Number 9 of 2006 was issued. They are free to practice their religious teachings such as commemorating Christmas, church religious teachers get an honorarium, burial grounds are provided, their children wear school uniforms without headscarves and get religious education from teachers of the same religion.

This study has several limitations. The sample is limited to one *nagari* on the coast that has long been familiar with the nature of openness, such as trade with different nations. Research conducted in other *nagari* located in the Darek or inland, which are relatively culturally homogeneous in the context of religious freedom, may produce different findings. In addition, because the *nagari* in West Sumatra recognises cultural autonomy (*adat salingka nagari*), expanding the sample to *nagari* that adheres to a more aristocratic Koto Piliang custom in the issue of religious freedom is likely to show restrictions on the practice of religious freedom. The same applies to different *tariqahs*, such as Naqsabandiyah, which are primarily located in the interior. Future research could explore other *nagari* on the coast or inland with different *adat* systems and different *tariqahs*, influencing practices and responses to religious freedom.

¹⁰⁷ Sovia Nelisia, Siti Fatimah, and Azmi Fitriisa, "Sarekat Rakyat Padang Panjang 1923-1926," *Science and Environmental Journals for Postgraduate* 1, no. 1 (2018): 63–75.

¹⁰⁸ John Postill and Leonard Chrysostomos Epafra, "Indonesian Religion as a Hybrid Media Space: Social Dramas in a Contested Realm," *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 5, no. 1–2 (2018): 100–123, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22142312-12340086>; Saskia Schäfer, "Forming 'Forbidden' Identities Online: Atheism in Indonesia," *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016): 253–68.

¹⁰⁹ Muthoifin, Sudarno Shobron, and Suhaimi Ab Rahman, "Humanist Islam in Indonesia Ahmad Syafii Maarif Perspective," *Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews* 7, no. 6 (December 19, 2019): 780–86, <https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2019.76118>.

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