

SHEIKH IBRAHIM MUSA PARABEK'S THOUGHTS ON TASHYID AND TAWASSUL IN *HIDĀYAH AL-ŞIBYĀN*¹

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Abstract

*The global reform of Islamic thought had impact of dividing the Minangkabau ulamas (Muslim scholars) into both “kaum tuo” as a traditionalist and “kaum mudo” as a modernist. Even today, the history of Minangkabau ulamas cannot be separated from this category. Ibrahim Musa is one of the ulamas who had unique position because of his affiliation to some groups. He also was recognized as “kaum mudo” due to his involvement in their movement. At the same time, other historical records showed his engagement with “kaum tuo.” His ambiguities in siding among Minangkabau ulamas are worth-investigating. This article seeks to analyze Ibrahim Musa’s thoughts based on his book, *Hidāyah al-Şibyān*. It argues that Ibrahim Musa did not clearly state his stance, except providing two views. Further, he was trying to explain their interpretations which proved that in the history of Islam in Minangkabau there are ulamas who cannot simply categorized as traditionalists or modernist due to the complexity of their thoughts of Islam. In this respect, the study of non-mainstream ulama figures like Ibrahim Musa is scholarly pivotal to construct the historiography of Minangkabau ulama as a whole.*

¹ The preliminary draft of this article was presented at Annual Conference of Islamic Studies (AICIS) 2023 organized by the Directorate of Islamic Higher Education of Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs.



[Reformasi pemikiran Islam secara global pada akhir abad ke-20 berdampak pada terpecahnya ulama Minangkabau menjadi dua kelompok: “*kaum tuo*” yang tradisional dan “*kaum mudo*” yang modernis. Bahkan hingga saat ini, sejarah ulama Minangkabau tidak bisa dilepaskan dari dua kategori tersebut. Ibrahim Musa adalah salah satu ulama yang memiliki posisi unik karena kedekatannya dengan kedua kelompok tersebut. Ia dikenal sebagai “*kaum mudo*” karena ia terlibat dalam gerakannya. Namun di sisi lain ia juga menunjukkan keterlibatannya pada “*kaum tuo*.” Artikel ini menganalisis pemikiran Ibrahim Musa dengan merujuk pada kitabnya, *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān*. Artikel ini beragumen bahwa Ibrahim Musa tidak secara jelas menyatakan sikap keberpihakannya terhadap kelompok mana, kecuali hanya memberikan dua arah pandangannya. Fenomena seperti ini mengafirmasi bahwa dalam sejarah Islam di Minangkabau terdapat ulama yang tidak dapat dikelompokkan dalam tradisional maupun modernis karena kompleksitas pemikirannya. Oleh karena itu, kajian terhadap tokoh-tokoh ulama non-mainstream seperti Ibrahim Musa menjadi penting secara keilmuan untuk mengkonstruksi historiografi ulama Minangkabau secara utuh.]

Keywords: *Minangkabau Ulama, Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān, Modernist, Traditionalist*

Introduction

Minangkabau religious movement was divided into two sides in the 20th century: *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo*. *Kaum mudo* represented modernism and progressive concepts in the history of the renewal movement. *Kaum tuo* is the definition of traditionalism and conservatism. They are the antithesis of *kaum mudo*.² Both have different movements and educational thought patterns in religion. However, it cannot be separated from the issue of global renewal initiated by Muhammad Abduh and the geopolitical problems surrounding him. This issue may have the same pattern as the renewal movement in other regions.³

² Taufik Abdullah, *Sekolah dan Politik, Pergerakan Kaum Muda di Sumatera Barat, 1927-1933* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2018).

³ Haidar Bagir, “Pengantar Penerbit Asal Usul Masalah Konservatisme Islam,” in *Conservative Turn, Islam Indonesia dalam Ancaman Fundamentalisme* (Bandung: Mizan, 2014), p. 4–7.

Issues regarding contestation among *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo* repeat. At the same time, other groups could emerge outside of both of them. However, some data may be overlooked because historical sources are not very well documented. Whereas, a historical approach in this context is important to snapshot of a complete historical phenomenon. Thus, with the lack of historical data, there could be important figures in the issue of contestation among these groups that were ignored.

Thus, this article focused on one important figure in the contestation of Minangkabau religious thought. His name is Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Parabek who is familiarly called Inyia⁴ Parabek. Historical sources argued that he was close to two figures representing *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo*: Sulaiman ar-Rasuli (Inyia Canduang) and Muhammad Rasul (Inyia De-er). Ibrahim Musa is also close to both groups. He became the “mediator” to reconcile both of them.

Some literatures argue that Sheikh Ibrahim Musa classified into *kaum mudo* based on his movement with Muhammad Rasul. Oral history also explained that Muhammad Rasul sent his son (Buya Hamka) to study with Sheikh Ibrahim Musa. This argument confirmed in some literature, such as Deliar Noer and Mahmud Yunus.⁵

However, above hypothesis need to be review again considering the position of Sheikh Ibrahim Musa was never involved in crucial debates between *kaum tuo* or *kaum mudo* such as about *tarekat*, *bidah*, and *khurafat*. Even, in Sheikh Ibrahim Musa journey, he left the *kaum mudo* because this group was out of the primary mission. Therefore, it would be more relevant if this discourse developed based on the Ibrahim Musa Parabek

⁴ *Inyia* is a term that means father, grandfather, or guardian. In the context of the Minangkabau tradition, *inyiak* also refers to the tiger or a respected person. Rahmadi, “Inyia, Budaya Menghormati Harimau oleh Masyarakat Minangkabau,” *Langgam.id*, January 13, 2022, <https://langgam.id/in-yiak-budaya-menghormati-harimau-oleh-masyarakat-minangkabau/>.

⁵ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1924* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1980); Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1996).

thoughts in his works.

One of crucial works of Sheikh Ibrahim Musa is *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān*. In this book he debating issue about *tawassul* and *tasyid* elaborated in short passage of *hadith*. Although it is not explicitly mentioned as a contestation issue, but author's work cannot be separated from the social context surrounding him. It is related to affective historical consciousness developed by Gadamer to understand historical text. Even though it is not directly mentioned by the author, he still cannot separate himself lately from the surrounding historical context.⁶

This article—based on a literature review—seeks to analyze of *tawassul* and *tasyid* concepts in *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān*. In addition to the works of Sheikh Ibrahim Musa, this article uses historical literature to support information and suitable with an intellectual history approach. Intellectual history itself is a process of historical investigation based on various theories regarding how intellect or ideas find their place in history.⁷ In addition to examining how Sheikh Ibrahim Musa “indirectly” addressed the issue of *tawassul* and *tasyid*, this article also seeks to Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Parabek's position in the history of the dichotomy between *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo*.

The Relation of *Kaum Tuo* and *Kaum Mudo*

During the reforms in Minangkabau, induced many horizontal frictions. Khairul Ashdiq argued that these conflicts continued and led to divorce between husband and wife, fights between parents and children, as well as teachers and students.⁸ This debate covers several issues such as *ijtihad* and *taklid*. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and Sheikh Sulaiman

⁶ Sahiron Syamsuddin, *Hermeneutika Pengembangan Ulumul Qur'an* (Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawesca Press, 2009).

⁷ Nyong Eka Teguh Iman Santoso, *Sejarah Intelektual: Sebuah Pengantar* (Sidoarjo: UruAnna Books, 2014).

⁸ Khairul Ashdiq, *Pers Islam Minangkabau, 1 Abad Majalah Al Bajan Sumatera Thawalib Parabek 1919-2019* (Padang: Yayasan Komunitas Surau Parabek, 2019).

ar-Rasuli once debated the recitation of “*usall?*” in *niat*.⁹ Furthermore, this debate did not only revolve around the principle of religion but also manifested in the educational patterns adopted by each of them. *Kaum mudo* then came up with educational reforms in classroom format and a teaching system divided into several levels. Meanwhile, *kaum tuo* maintained the *balaqah* traditional model in the mosque. However in the end, *kaum tuo* also reformed their education system.

Chronologically, the debate about fundamental aspects of Islam began when Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jambek, H. Abdullah Ahmad, Sheikh Abdul Karim Amrullah, and Sheikh Mohammad Thaib Umar back from Mecca. They were influenced by Muhammad Abduh’s reform ideas and brought them to Indonesia. They then attacked the religious practices of traditionalists which were considered not based on Islam. They also put forward reason and called for a return to al-Qur’an and *sunnah*. Thus they are often referred to as figures who promoted the purification of Islam.¹⁰

This contestation continued into an open debate when in 1906, Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad sent a letter to Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi (1860-1916) regarding the validity of the *tarekat* in Islam. Sheikh Ahmad Khatib then answered in a *risalah*, *Izhār Zaghl al-Kādhībīn fī Tashabbuhībīm bi al-Sādiqīn*. This work explains that the *tarekat* has no basis in Islamic law. This *risalah* was then criticized again by Sheikh Muhammad Sa’ad bin Tinta Mungka (1857-1923)—one of the *kaum tuo*—in his work, *Irgām al-‘Unuf al-Muta’annitīn fī Inkāribīm al-Wāshilīn*. In this context, Sheikh Muhammad Sa’ad argues that the *tarekat* has a basis in Islamic law and its legitimacy in the *sunnah*.¹¹

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Surau Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi* (Jakarta: PT. Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003).

¹¹ Ashdiq, *Pers Islam Minangkabau, 1 Abad Majalah Al Bajan Sumatera Thawalib Parabeke 1919-2019*.

In further, the most important movement carried out by *kaum mudo* was the transformation of mosque into schools. This was influenced by the growth of Dutch schools. Thus, several schools emerged such as Anom School, Adabiah, and Diniah. This is in line with Karel Steenbrink's argument that Islamic education system will always adapt to general education system.¹²

The school system model of *kaum mudo* cannot be separated from Sumatera Thuwailib. This movement was first developed by students from *Surau* Jambatan Basi. In Parabek, there was also an association for discussion called Moezakaratul Ichwan. However, the activities of Mozakaratoel Ichwan cannot be separated from students of *Surau* Jambatan Basi. In further, this agreement was reached to unite both of them in 1920 at Surau Haji Muhammad Jamil Jambek was given the official name Sumatera Thawalib in 1921 by Chairman Haji Jalaludin Thaib. This merger occurred because of the closeness of the two *surau* (Jambatan Basi and Parabek) which often exchanged students and the closeness of two main teachers. Furthermore, this movement became the "center" which made more than thirty *surau* also change their names to Sumatera Thawalib.¹³

In 1921, *kaum tuo* also formed Ittihadul Ulama as a "rival" organization of *kaum mudo*: *Pendidikan Guru Agama Islam* (PGAI). However, in the educational system, *kaum tuo* only joined the transformation of *surau* in 1928. In the same year, *kaum tuo* set up a unifying body for *madrasas*, *Tarbiyah Islamiyah*. This institute aim to coordinate the existing schools for *kaum tuo*. Furthermore, in 1930 this organization was expanded to become *Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah* to unite the traditional groups in Indonesia.

¹² Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Moderen* (Jakarta: PT. Pustaka LP3ES, 1986).

¹³ Burhanuddin Daya, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam Kasus Sumatra Thawalib* (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya, 1990).

Sheikh Ibrahim Musa: A Brief Biography

Sheikh Ibrahim Musa was Minangkabau *ulama* (scholar) who was born in Parabek on 13 Syawal 1301H/1884AD. He was born and raised in a religious family. His mother name is Maryam Ureh and his father Musa bin Abdul Malik al-Qarthawi. His father was a respected *ulama* in Parabek also called Inyiaek Gaek. Ibrahim Musa died on July 25, 1963 at the age of 39.¹⁴

Sheikh Ibrahim Musa has some works in Arabic and Melayu. Compared to *Ijābāt al-Sūl*, *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān* was published first. *Ijābāt al-Sūl* was published in 1934 by a different publisher in Padang Panjang. This *kitab* is also a commentary (*syarah*) on *Hushūl al-Ma'mūl* which was published with funding of Thaib Ibrahim et.al. It is written more systematically than *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān*. This can be seen from the small themes arranged in several chapters. The *matan* is united with *syarah* and given brackets as a separator. However, the footnotes are still separated by a single line and the numbering is not continuous like *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān*.¹⁵ *Al-Hidajah*—on the other hand—is an Indonesian language *kitab* that contains 50 characteristics. It is known that this *kitab* was written in 1912 but was only published by the Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Foundation after his death. The parts that were found is incomplete.¹⁶ Sheikh Ibrahim Musa—in his intellectual tradition—followed the steps of Minangkabau scholars by studying from *surau*. Among his teachers recorded by history are Sheikh Mato Aia Pakandangan, Tuanku Angin in Batipuah Baruah, Sheikh Tuanku Haji Abbas, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, Sheikh Jamil Jambek, Sheikh Mukhtar al-Jawi, Sheikh Yusuf al-Hayyat, and Ali bin Hussein. However, not many biographies can be obtained of

¹⁴ Apria Putra and Chairillah Ahmad, *Bibliografi Karya Ulama Minangkabau Awal Abad XX: Dinamika Intelektual Kaum Tua dan Kaum Muda* (Padang: Komunitas Suluah, 2011).

¹⁵ Ibrahim Musa, *Ijābah Al-Sūl Fī Syarḥ Hushūl al-Ma'mūl* (Padang Panjang: Badizast, 1934).

¹⁶ Ibrahim Musa, *Hidajah Peladjaran Tentang Ilmu Tauhid* (Parabek: Yayasan Syekh Ibrahim Musa, 1964).

his teachers in Minangkabau except for Tuangku Haji Abbas who was indeed a former Kadhi of Landrad.

After studied in *surau*, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa went to haji in Mecca with his brother, and studied in there 1901. After six years, he returned to Parabek in 1908 and started *balaqah* in *surau* Parabek. He returned to Mecca in 1914 with his wife and son to improve his knowledge in Islam. However, in the First World War made him stay for two years before returning to Minangkabau in 1916. After this year he began to organize the Tsamaraul Ikhwan discussion room which has later changed to Jami'atul Ikhwan and finally renamed to Moezakaratul Ikhwan which became the beginning of Sumatera Thawalib Parabek.

In some historical notes, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa has held important positions in many organizations such as, Director of Sumatera Thawalib Parabek School in 1940, Director of Kulijatu-Dinijah Parabek School 1942, Executive Board of the Higher Islamic Madjelis 1943, Chairman of Madjelis Sjuro wal fatwa Sum Tengah 1945, etc.¹⁷

Sheikh Ibrahim Musa had unique affiliation at the time. Although Deliar Noer identified him as *kaum mudo*, he was also considered an individual who was close to *kaum tuo*. Hamka in his book argue that Sheikh Ibrahim Musa is a mediator. In the context of character, Hamka said that Sheikh Ibrahim Musa was an open-hearted, humble, and clear-faced scholar.¹⁸ In teaching, he would answer according to the background of the person being taught. If it is a common person in religion, then he will answer as clearly as possible. However, if the person is a student, he will ask the student's opinion first.¹⁹ So from his personality, it can be seen that he is indeed a natural figure if he becomes the mediator as mentioned by Hamka.

¹⁷ Syahrul Hidayat and Kevin W. Fogg, "Profil Anggota: Sjech Ibrahim Musa," *Konstituante.Net*, January 1, 2018, http://www.konstituante.net/id/profile/MASJUMI_ibrahim_musa.

¹⁸ Hamka, *Ayahku: Rinyat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatra* (Jakarta: Umminda, 1982).

¹⁹ Subhan Afifi, *Syekh Ibrahim Musa: Inspirator Kebangkitan* (Jakarta: NHF Publisihing, 2010).

Hidāyah al-Şibyān

Hidāyah al-Şibyān is a *syarah* on *risālah* written by Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan on *fan al-bayān* or also known as Arabic statistics science. The *kitab* has original title *Hidāyah al-Şibyān ‘ala Risālat Shaykh Syunyūkhina Ahmad ibn Zaini Dahlan fi fan al-Bayān*. Although it is a *syarah*, this *kitab* was once taught in classrooms. The writing model of this *kitab* includes explanations and exercises. The *kitab* was completed in 1348 AH or 1930 AD.²⁰

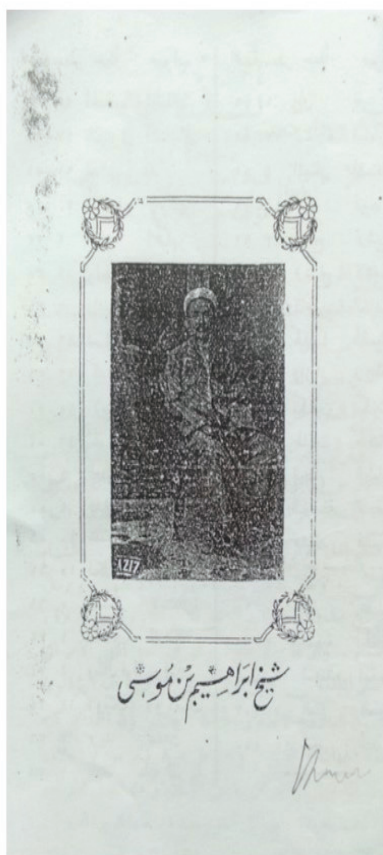
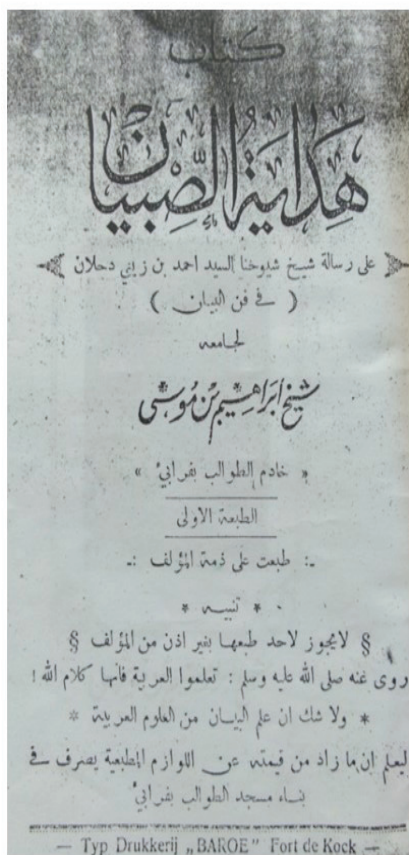
Sheikh Ibrahim Musa’s *syarah* on Zaini Dahlan *risālah* indirectly indicates his position. Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan himself is an *ulama* who is widely referred to by Indonesian traditionalists in general. He is also one of the charismatic *ulama* who has full attention to education. Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan not only focused on education in affordable places such as *Masjidil Haram* but also went to remote areas around Mecca to teach the Qur’an and basic Islamic sciences.²¹

The discussions in this *kitab* are grouped into small chapters. After some discussion, there will be a question chapter. The number of questions in this chapter depends on the amount of material, the more material has been studied, the more questions will be provided. The *Hidāyah al-Şibyān* begins with a cover page that contains some general information in addition to the title and author’s name.

In the author’s description, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa tell himself as a *khadim* thawalib rather than a *shaikhul* madrasa. In addition, the cover page says that the *kitab* printed using author’s personal funds. The profits from the distribution were used for construction of the Thawalib Mosque in Parabek—known as the Jami’ Parabek Mosque now. He added a *hadith* on the cover page about the prophet’s recommendation to learn Arabic.

²⁰ Ibrahim Musa, *Hidayat al-Shibyan ‘ala Risalat Syekh Syunyukhina al-Sayyid Ahmad ibn Zaini Dahlan fi Fann al-Bayan* (Bukittinggi: Baroe, t.t.).

²¹ Amin Farih, “Paradigma Pemikiran Tawassul Tabarruk Sayyid Ahmad Ibn Zaini Dahlan di Tengah Mayoritas Teologi Mazhab Wahabi,” *Theologia*, Vol. 27, 2016, pp. 279–304.



On the next page we will find correction page and biography of Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan. This correction page not known yet as his works or just publisher requirements. Unlike the biography page written by Sheikh Ibrahim Musa himself. From the biography page we can concluded that Sheikh Ibrahim Musa has focus on Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan education stories. He also mentions some Zaini Dahlan' works, one of them is focus on rejecting of Wahabism.

There are some crucial points to understand this *kitab*: *first*, after these page will be found a page contains original *matan* plus closing author. *Second*, in after pages, *matan* will be written in short term and then explained by author.

Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān also used paragraph. Although the paragraphs used are still long and contain various main idea. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa added simple punctuation such as comma and period. This is more modern than classical *kitab* in *pesantren* such as *Fathul Mu'in*.

Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān is not divided into major themes then detailed but rather divided directly according to small themes following the discussion of *matan*. However, if the reader looks at the *kitab*, they will confuse by the marks affixed to the title. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa put a dash “-” or no sign at all. Some examples can be seen in the table below.

| Number | Theme | Sign |
|--------|--------------------------------------|------|
| 1 | تعدد المجاز اجمالاً | Star |
| 2 | تفصيل المجاز المفرد | Star |
| 3 | الأولى للمصنف | Star |
| 4 | شرط القرينة | Star |
| 5 | انقسام (القرينة اللفظية الى القسمين) | Dash |
| 6 | القرينة المانعة | Star |
| 7 | القرينة المعينة | Star |
| 8 | المعينة ليست بشرط | Dash |
| 9 | الخارج بقيد المانعة | Star |

| | | |
|----|--|---------|
| 10 | وجه التسمية بالمجاز | Star |
| 11 | اسئلة | Dash |
| 12 | تقسيم المجاز المفرد | Star |
| 13 | المجاز المرسل | Star |
| 14 | ضابط (في معرفة كون العلاقة سببية او غيرها) | No sign |
| 15 | وجه التسمية (بالمجاز المرسل) | Strip |
| 16 | المجاز المركب | Strip |
| 17 | الاستعارة التمثيلية (قد تصير مثلا و الامثال لا تغير) | Star |
| 18 | اسئلة | Dash |
| 19 | التشبيه مبنى الاستعارة | No sign |
| 20 | انقسام (طرفي التشبيه بالنظر الى الافراد و التركيب) | Star |

Tawassul and Tasyid as Crucial Issues

Tawassul is one of a crucial issue in intellectual debates now day. Hamka explains that this issue was an early debate. When he was traveling to Padang, he was invited to a meeting with *kaum tuo* Padang. In this assembly, Haji Rasul emphasized his opinion about *Tarekat* Naqshabandiyah. Thus, this was Haji Rasul's first assembly that caused controversery between *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo*. In addition to *tarekat* in general, this assembly also discussed about *suluk*.²²

At the end of *Hidāyah al-Şibyān* there is a final chapter containing a *doa* (prayer) and its *syarah*. This *doa* is not found in the original *matan*.

²² Hamka, *Ayahku Riwat Hidup*...

Some of the words in the *doa* elaborated by using *hadith*. The themes of *tamassul* and *tasyid* in this *kitab* are closely related to the debates that took place at the time. Even though Sheikh Ibrahim Musa does not mention the historical background of the debate, these two themes are still relevant to the context surrounding him. Because the author cannot be separated from the historical context of him.

In the discussion of *tasyid* there are two *hadith* that be mentioned by truncated word. The first *hadith* speaks about the permission of using *tasyid* to Allah as follows:

فان قلت: كيف قال: سيدنا: مع أنه صلى الله عليه وسلم نهى عن ذلك في قوله: لا تقولوا سيدنا، انما السيد الله. و معنى النهي طلب الترك، قلت: النهي محمول على التواضع منه صلى الله عليه وسلم او على السيادة المطلقة...²³

The underlined is a part of the *hadith*. After searching with *Jawami al-Alkalem* V4.5 with keyword *al-Sayyid* Allah, the redaction of the *hadith* is as follows:

حَدَّثَنَا مُسَدَّدٌ حَدَّثَنَا بِشْرٌ يَعْنِي ابْنَ الْمُفَضَّلِ حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو مَسْلَمَةَ سَعِيدُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ عَنْ أَبِي نَضْرَةَ عَنْ مُطَرِّفٍ قَالَ قَالَ أَبِي انْطَلَقْتُ فِي وَفْدِ بَنِي عَامِرٍ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقُلْنَا أَنْتَ سَيِّدُنَا فَقَالَ السَّيِّدُ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى قُلْنَا وَأَفْضَلُنَا فَضْلاً وَأَعْظَمُنَا طَوْلاً فَقَالَ قُولُوا بِقَوْلِكُمْ أَوْ بَعْضَ قَوْلِكُمْ وَلَا يَسْتَجِرُّكُمْ الشَّيْطَانُ²⁴

This *hadith* is also narrated in Musnad Ahmad b, Hanbal: 15872, 15881,²⁵ al-Ahādīṣ al-Mukhtār: 3279, 3280, 3282,²⁶ An-Nasa'i: 10003,

²³ Ibrahim Musa, *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān*..., p. 122

²⁴ Abu Daud al-Sijistani, *Sunan Abu Daud* (Suria: Dār al-Fikr, t.t.).

²⁵ Ahmad bin Hanbal, *Musnad Ahmad Bin Hanbal* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turaṣ al-ʿArabī, t.t.).

²⁶ Al-Dhiya' al-Maqashidi, *Al-Ahādīṣ al-Mukhtār* (Saudi: t.p., t.t.).

10004,²⁷ Sunan al-Baihaqi: 538,²⁸ Musnad ibn Ja'd: 3290,²⁹ Ittihāf al-Maharah: 7207,³⁰ Dalāil al-Nubuwwah lil Baihaqi: 318,497,³¹ Tārikh Dimsiyiq:70, al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr li al-Thabrānī: 4597, al-Kāmil fī Dhu'afā' al-Rijāl: 425, al-Thabaqāt al-Kubrā Ibn Sa'd: 20, al-Khamis min al-Qawāid al-Muntaqāh al-Hasān: 7.

This *hadith* narrated by Abdullah ibn al-Shikkir and has some variation. But it's not much different from Abu Daud's narration. Such as the addition of the word *mub* which was said by Prophet Muhammad as a form of dislike for being called *sayyid*. Then the word al-Syaiṭān is replaced by its *jama'* form, *al-syayāṭin*. Or the addition “*huwa*” between *al-sayyid* and Allah for emphasis. The *hadith* narrated by Abu Daud is classified as *sahih* because all the narrators are qualified as *thiqah*. The *hadith* is also *muttaṣil* because each level is connected and reached Rasul (*marfu*).

‘Aunul Ma'būd in his *syarah* explained that the word *sayyid* is an *isim* that essentially attributed to Allah to show His majesty. However, it may also indicate modesty. For example, when Umar attributed the word “*sayyid*” to Abu Bakar and Bilal by saying:

أَبُو بَكْرٍ سَيِّدُنَا وَأَعْتَقَ سَيِّدَنَا يَغْنِي بِلَالٌ

That was an example of Umar's gratitude by elevating the degrees of Abu Bakar and Bilal. Even though they are equally noble *sahabat*. Umar's *hadith* is a comparison when the prophet was praised by the word *sayyid*.³²

²⁷ Nasa'i, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā Li al-Nasa'i* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'alamiyyah, t.t.).

²⁸ Abu Bakar Ahmad bin al-Husain bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Musa al-Baihaqi, *Sunan Al-Baihaqi* (t.t.p: t.p., t.t.).

²⁹ Ali bin Ja'di al-Jawharī, *Musnad Ibn Ja'd* (Beirut: Muassasah Nādir, t.t.).

³⁰ Ibnu Hajar Al-Asqalani, *Ittihāf Al-Maharah* (Madinah: Majma' al-Malk Fahad Wa Markaz Khidmah Al-Sunnah Wa Sirah Nabawiyyah, 1996).

³¹ Abu Bakar Ahmad bin al-Husain bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Musa al-Baihaqi, *Dalāil Al-Nubuwwah Lil Baihaqi* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Alamiyyah, t.t.).

³² Abu al-Tayyib Muhammad Syams al-Haq, 'Aunul Ma'Būd (t.t.p.: t.p., t.t.).

In *Hidāyah al-Ṣibyān*, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa explained the situation with question of prohibition by using the word *sayyid* to the Messenger. The question is modeled in *mukhabat* who ask if using term *sayyidinā* is acceptable for the messenger, while he forbade using the word on him. To support his argument, the *mukhabat* added *hadith* as evidence. He argued that the prohibition contained in the *hadith* meant *ṭalab al-tarkī*. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa replied that the prohibition in the *hadith* means something else, its *tawaḍu'* and possibly *al-siyādah al-muṭlaqah*.

While explaining the *hadith*, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa use dialogue or question and answer. This is common method used by *ulama* in writing *kitab*. The explanation by Sheikh Ibrahim Musa was his own decision to add the material. This may be the influence of the development of Islamic thought occurred at the time. In the previous chapter (*bukmu shalawat ilā an-nabī wa al-ikhtilāf fī waqti wujūbihā*) Sheikh Ibrahim Musa explained the meaning of *sayyid* is *al-mālik*. However, the use of the word in the *doa* on final chapter does not mean this, but rather implies that the prophet is the most “*afḍal*” human being. Or the most perfect being, or the most perfect Muslim.

...و السيد معناه الحقيقي المالك. لكن هنا ليس بمراد, بل المراد أفضلنا
معاشر الادميين و قيل معاشر المخلوق- و قيل معاشر المسلمين. و
كله صواب.

Sheikh Ibrahim Musa gives several variations of the definition, but in the end stresses that all of them are correct. He goes on to explain the different meanings of these definitions in a chapter. The first one explains that the Messenger the most *afḍal* of all human beings without the need to examine them one by one. While humans are the noblest of all creatures as Allah says. The second expression means that the messenger is the most perfect creatures. While the third means the most perfect of all Muslims.

Second, the *hadith* that permits using *sayyid* for creatures with the following narration:

...بدليل أنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أطلق لفظ السيد على سيدنا معاذ حيث قال صلى الله عليه وسلم للأنصار: قوموا لسيدكم.

This *hadith* found in Abu Daud's narration number 4539:

حَدَّثَنَا حَفْصُ بْنُ عُمَرَ حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ عَنْ سَعْدِ بْنِ إِبرَاهِيمَ عَنْ أَبِي أَمَامَةَ بْنِ سَهْلٍ بْنِ حُنَيْفٍ عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ أَنَّ أَهْلَ فُرَيْظَةَ لَمَّا نَزَلُوا عَلَى حُكْمِ سَعْدٍ أَرْسَلَ إِلَيْهِ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَجَاءَ عَلَى حِمَارٍ أَقْمَرَ فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قُومُوا إِلَى سَيِّدِكُمْ أَوْ إِلَى خَيْرِكُمْ فَجَاءَ حَتَّى قَعَدَ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشَّارٍ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ عَنْ شُعْبَةَ بِهَذَا الْحَدِيثِ قَالَ فَلَمَّا كَانَ قَرِيبًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ قَالَ لِلْأَنْصَارِ قُومُوا إِلَى سَيِّدِكُمْ

In '*aunūl ma'būd*, it is explained that the *hadith* shows that using *sayyid* to honor other than Allah is allowed. The *hadith* talked about Ibn Mu'az who was sent back after being sent to the Jews about punishment for prisoners of war. When he arrived and was about to get off his donkey, the Prophet Muhammad ordered the Anshar to stand up and help Ibn Mu'az of his donkey. This is a form of honoring and showing there is no hate. So the command (*al-amr*) means permission (*al-ibāḥah*).

The *hadith* is in accordance to Sheikh Ibrahim Musa previous opinion about *al-siyādah al-muṭlaqah*. The *hadith* is also a counterpoint to the previous *hadith* which confirms the prophet has told the Anshar to stand up in honor of Mu'az by the word *qūmū li sayyidikum*. So the meaning of *sayyid* in the *hadith* is leader.

As the discussion of *tashid*, *tawassul* also includes two narrations of *hadith*. The first is blessing to the Messenger in every *doa* with the following words:

...لقوله صلى الله عليه وسلم: لا تجعلوني كقدح الراكب، اجعلوني في أول دعاء وفي وسطه وفي آخره. رواه الطبرني عن جابر.

This narration found in Mushannaf Abd Razaq:

لَا تَجْعَلُونِي كَقَدَحِ الرَّكَّابِ، فَإِنَّ الرَّكَّابَ إِذَا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَنْطَلِقَ عَلَّقَ مَعَالِقَهُ، وَمَلَأَ قَدَحًا مَاءً، فَإِنْ كَانَتْ لَهُ حَاجَةٌ فِي أَنْ يَتَوَضَّأَ تَوَضَّأَ، وَأَنْ يَشْرَبَ شَرَبَ، وَإِلَّا أَهْرَاقَ، فَاجْعَلُونِي فِي وَسْطِ الدُّعَاءِ وَفِي أَوَّلِهِ وَفِي آخِرِهِ³³

Sheikh Ibrahim Musa explain that Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan began this *doa* with *salawat* and *salam* written in verbal sentence. This sentence sometimes indicates *al-dawām* and *istimrār*. In Arabic grammar, verbal sentence mean *tajaddud istimrārī*. So, it means continuous renewal of *salawat*. Because it will increase good deeds and abundant rewards. While nominal sentence does not have such as *faidah*.

Sheikh Ibrahim Musa elaborated that *salawat* means *doa*. If this comes from Allah then it means grace accompanied by majesty. If it comes from angels then means *istighfar*. Then if it comes from human and jinn it means *doa*. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa stated that this is the opinion of al-Aḥarī. While the interpretation of *salam* is to be saved from disgrace.

At the next chapter Sheikh Ibrahim Musa discusses various *ulama's* opinions about the ruling of *salawat* and the differences of time to recite it. He states it is an obligation by *ijma'*. The first opinion states that *salawat* in every *doa*. Shafi'i chose the final *tashahud* of every prayer. Second is in the *umrah* once and third is in every *zikir*. This is opinion of al-Halamī of Shafi'i, at-Thahawi of Hanafi, al-Lakhami of Hanafi, and Ibn Battah of Hanbali. The fourth opinion is *salawat* is obligatory in every assembly. The fifth it is in every beginning and ending of *salat*.

The second *hadith* is about *salawat* to the prophet and his *sahabat*, by the following narration:

³³ Abdurrazāq al-Ṣanʿanī, *Muḥannaḥ Abdurrazāq* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-Islāmī, t.t.).

...رعاية للحديث و هو قوله صلى الله عليه و سلم: قولوا اللهم صل على محمد و آله: جوابا عما قيل له: كيف نصلي عليك يا رسول الله...

This *hadith* is found in *Musnad* Ahmad by the following narration:

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ فُضَيْلٍ، حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ أَبِي زِيَادٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي لَيْلَى، عَنْ كَعْبٍ، قَالَ: لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ: فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ، قَالُوا: كَيْفَ نُصَلِّي عَلَيْكَ يَا نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ؟ قَالَ: «قُولُوا: اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ، كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ، وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ، كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ». قَالَ: وَنَحْنُ نَقُولُ: وَعَلَيْنَا مَعَهُمْ. قَالَ يَزِيدُ: فَلَا أُدْرِي أَشَيْءٌ زَادَهُ ابْنُ أَبِي لَيْلَى مِنْ قَبْلِ نَفْسِهِ، أَوْ شَيْءٌ رَوَاهُ كَعْبٌ

In *Fathul Bārī* explained that this question comes from a group of *sahabat* that asked the Messenger. They were Ka'ab bin 'Ajzah, Bashir bin Sa'ad, Zaib bin Kharijah, Talhah bin Ubaidillah, and Abu Hurairah. They asked about the way to do *salawat* to the messenger of Allah when they already knew. Then the prophet Muhammad replied by adding “*ālihī*” as a respect to *ahlul bait*. A group of Maliki suggest doing *salawat* and *salam* in the same way, not separated. This question mentions that there is a special way to do *salawat* to Rasul as he replies by *lafaz* in the *hadith*.³⁴

The chapter contains Sheikh Ibrahim Musa's discussions of using sayyid to the Prophet Muhammad and the story of the name of Muhammad. Muhammad is *isim maf'ūl mudba'af 'ain fi'il*. The name was chosen directly by Allah. The meaning is that there will be a lot of praise for him from all creatures. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa also included a narration from *Sirah Nabawiyah* (but did not mention any specific source), about the story of a man who asked Muhammad's grandfather about the name. Because there was no such name before in their clan

³⁴ Ibnu Hajar Al-Asqalani, *Fath al-Bārī* (t.t.p.: t.p., t.t.).

and ancestors used the name. Then he explained so that all the spirits in heaven and earth praise him. Allah has also made sure his wish as it has been established in the knowledge of Allah. Then in the *doa*, the family and communities of Rasulullah are included because they follow this hadith. The term “*‘ala’*” is for rejection to those who believe that is not acceptable to put the word between “*nabi’*” and “*alibi’*”.

The word *shabbibi* is *isim jama’* of *shāhib*. That means who mingle and in one assembly with you. While in terminology means people who gathered with the prophet in a state of faith during his lifetime and knowing each other. Although the person is blind, still a child, and in state of sleeping (unconscious). And the addition “*ajma’in*” is a *ta’kid* to state rejection to those who glorify some or deny some of companions.

Ibrahim Musa’s Position between *Kaum Tuo* and *Kaum Mudo*

Even in in historical data discussed earlier, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa was involved in reconciliation efforts. He also did not hesitate to separate himself when the institution not in accordance with the original purpose. As when Sumatera Thawalib no longer suitable with the original goals, he resigned from the organization. In some point, Sumatera Thawalib which is runned by Sheikh Ibrahim Musa and Muhammad Rasul has curriculum different. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa allowed learning foreign language, art, and soccer, whereas Thawalib Padang Panjang did not. This is related to the character of Haji Rasul who was quite strict and firm in religious issues. some point, Sumatera Thawalib which is runned by Sheikh was not much affected by politics during the struggle for independence. While schools in Padang Panjang had temporarily closed and sent their student home. This does not happen in Parabek.

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Sheikh Ibrahim Musa's relationship with *kaum tuo* must be considered. Not only his close relation to Inyiaik Canduang, but also Parabek became the place where the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association produced the agreement, strengthening his position as a figure who was also heard in *kaum tuo* side. Even in some traditions nowadays, Parabek still adopts practice in accordance to traditionalist. For example, collective *doa* after *salat*, *qunut*, *tablil*, and *taramih* with 20 *raka'at*. Although it cannot be proven directly that this tradition takes place in accordance to what Sheikh Ibrahim Musa taught. However in *tablil* tradition, there is *doa* that contains *tawasul* to the Messenger, *sahabat*, and *tabi'in*. This *doa* was passed down by Inyiaik Katik Muzakir, from Sheikh Mukhtar Sa'id, from Inyiaik Imam Suar, from Sheikh Khatib Janan. With the following editorial:

أفضل الذكر فاعلم أنه لا اله إلا الله

---...---

أثبنا اللهم على جميع ما عملناه بمحض فضلك وجودك وكرمك يا أكرم الأكرمين، أوصل اللهم ثوابا مثل ثواب ذلك إلى روح نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، ثم إلى أرواح آبائه وإخوانه من الأنبياء والمرسلين ، صلوات الله عليه وعليهم أجمعين

ثم إلى أرواح أئمة المجتهدين والخلفاء الراشدين الذين قضوا بالحق وبه كانوا عاملين. ثم إلى أرواح التابعين وتابع التابعين وتابعيهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدين

ثم أوصل اللهم ثوابا مثل ثواب ذاك إلى من كانت القراءة / التحليل ههنا بسببهم وتلونناها / وحللناه من أجلك وعلى نياتهم من أنت الذي أعلى وأعلم بهم وبأسمائهم مولانا يا رب العالمين، وخصوصا إلى روح أبائنا وأمهاتنا وأولادنا وأزواجنا يا الله يا رب العالمين

ثم اجعل اللهم ثواب ذاك فداءً لنا ولهم من عذاب القبر ومن عذاب النار، وفكاكا لنا ولهم من عذاب القبر وعذاب النار، وسترا لنا ولهم من عذاب القبر وعذاب النار، وسببا لدخولنا ولدخولهم جناتك دار القرار يا عزيزُ يا غفار ثم في صحائفنا جميعا ووالدينا ولمن حضرنا ولمن غاب عنا وكافة المسلمين عاما، عُمّ الجميع برحمة ورضوان

Tablil is a traditional funerary ceremonies held on the third, seventh, twenty-first, fortieth, and hundred days after death.³⁵ This tradition also known as *manigo hari*, *manijuah hari*, *manduo puluah satu hari*, *maampeke puluah hari*, and *manyaratuih hari* in Minangkabau. This procession combined tradition and religion. The homeowner will serve the guests with the most delicious dishes. It is common for wealthy people to serve cow, buffaloes, and goats. The religious procession starts in the middle of an event by reciting the Qur'an and *zikir*. This procession will emphasize the aesthetic element by reading according to the rhythm. This will be led by ulama or *urang siak* who is invited and given some money as gratitude. In Javanese tradition, *tablilan* is a major concern of many Javanese new year events, and *salawatan al-barzanji*, traditional Javanese chanting of praises to Allah and prophet Muhammad, and *kasidahan*, traditional religious singing accompanied by hand drums, were performed during the heart of the ceremonies.³⁶

The modernist (*kaum mudo*) claimed that *tablil* is *bid'ah makruhah*. Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad stated that nothing in *tablil* is related to the

³⁵ Timothy Daniels, *Islamic Spectrum in Java* (USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), p.105.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 22

command of the prophet. He mentioned everything in *tablil* is contrary to the *sunnah*. Even the modernist explained that *tablil* is a *makruh*, for certain reason, could lead to *haram* because the meal is burdensome for the mourning houseowner.³⁷

However, to position Sheikh Ibrahim Musa in the midst of the modernist and traditionalist debate requires more data. However, this article can be used as a first step in exploring this issue. This can also reaffirm that objectification by grouping figures is no longer relevant. Renewal is needed by exploring data that has been marginalized in history.

In conceptual, Martin van Bruinessen divides the response of Muslim communities to the renewal of globalization into modernist, traditionalist, fundamentalist, and Islamist. Modernist is defined as those who adopt a positive attitude towards various aspects of modernization, especially in terms of contextual understanding and reasoning. Fundamentalists are described as those who reject modern understanding and agree with the slogan of coming back to the sources and claim that the original sources need to be understood literally. Islamist is defined as political ideologies that offer social, economic, and political alternatives based on Islamic principles. Traditionalists are those who give a different response to modernization.³⁸ Aydin Baram also stated that modernists call for religious instruction to be reexamined by giving new meaning to classical Islamic concepts. On the other hand, traditionalist is the majority of Muslims who give less priority to modernization and focus more on strong beliefs and practices that have been inherited.³⁹

³⁷ Zaim Rais, *Against Islamic Modernism The Minangkabau Traditionalist Responses to the Modernist Movement* (Jakarta Selatan: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001).

³⁸ Martin van Bruinessen, "Ghazwul Fikri or Arabisation? Indonesian Muslim Responses to Globalisation" (Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute (JICA-RI), Tokyo, 2013).

³⁹ Aydin Baram, "Modernity and The Fragmentation of the Muslim Community in Response: Mapping Modernist, Reformist, and Traditionalist Responses," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2014.

Thus, based on Martin van Bruinessen's argument about classification above, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa is a modernist. It is based on his argument about *tawassul* and *tashyid*. However, he is not reformist. He did not do any action like *kaum mudo* did. He is not declare any debates.

The classification among *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo* came from their movements in the group. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa is an individual who joined both sides and participated in the movement. So, it is difficult to fully place him between both of them. Individual is more flexible than groups. Nevertheless, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa still has a unique position because he is also acceptable to both of them.

Conclusion

The movement both of *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo* is a reflection of Minangkabau's historical trajectories. The claim of Sheikh Ibrahim Musa as a reformist is not true. He was stand among *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo*. By seeking to analyse *tashyid* and *tawassul* this article argue that Sheikh Ibrahim Musa is a modernist, not a reformist.

The unique position—being equally close to both opposing groups—make Sheikh Ibrahim Musa an unpredictable individual. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa can be described as a figure who beyond a communal barrier. Sometimes he acts as a peacemaker between both of them. At other times, he also becomes a driving force for them. Essentially, he aims to maintain the diversity of religious expressions without getting caught up in justifying any one group.

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