



TARIKHUNA: JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND HISTORY EDUCATION

ISSN: 2777-1105 (PRINT), 2797-3581 (ONLINE)

VOLUME 7 NOMOR 2 NOVEMBER 2025

Submitted:
25 Oktober 2025
Revised:
15 November 2025
Published:
30 November 2025

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KEYWORDS

Elders, Modernization,
Islamic Education,
Minangkabau, Islamic
Moderation

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE ELDERLY REGARDING THE MODERNIZATION OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN MINANGKABAU IN THE 20TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

This study reconstructs the narrative of the elders regarding the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau in the early 20th century by revisiting the perception that labels them as a conservative and anti-change group. Using an anthropological-interpretive approach and a literature review, this study traces the social, cultural, and epistemological dialectics between the elders and the youth in the transformation of Islamic education from the traditional surau to the modern madrasah. The results of the analysis show that the elders' resistance was selective and rational, not ideological. They implemented adaptive strategies based on local wisdom through the principle of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (custom based on sharia, sharia based on the Holy Book), which served as a mechanism for filtering values against the influence of Western modernity and Middle Eastern purification. Traditional suraus served as social laboratories where innovations were tested before being institutionalized, while institutions such as Sumatera Thawalib became evidence of creative negotiations between young innovators and the architects of tradition. This study also emphasizes the relevance of ethnopedagogy and the participation of elders in contemporary Islamic education policy to maintain a balance between transformation and the preservation of values. Thus, the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau is the result of a dialectical synergy that combines modern rationality and local spirituality as the basis for the birth of Islamic moderation in the archipelago.

I. INTRODUCTION

Minangkabau, as the term for the indigenous social community of West Sumatra (Syafriada et al., 2025), faced various challenges at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This phase was a period of transition for Minangkabau, which served as one of the key triggers for the renewal movement in the archipelago (Zulman & Samad, 2024). At that time, the Minang community was confronted with various religious deviations, particularly in the application of Islamic law, such as gambling, the consumption of palm wine, idolatrous rituals, and the belief in mystical practices (Fitri et al., 2023). This situation illustrates that Islamic educational institutions, namely the Surau in Minangkabau, faced a moral crisis and a deficiency in the practice of Islamic law. The surau ought to have been a moral fortress and the main source of education in countering various religious problems that arose (Satria, 2019). In response to these problems, an effort at purification was undertaken by the Padri faction, affiliated with Wahhabism, and led by figures such as Haji Miskin, Haji Piobang, and Haji Sumanik (Hamka, 2021). However, this effort did not proceed smoothly, resulting in internal conflict in the Minang region between the Padri faction and the Adat (customary) faction. The Dutch colonists capitalized on this opportunity to intervene in the conflict, pitting the Padri against the Adat. Ultimately, the hollowed land of Minangkabau fell into Dutch hands (Rajab & Putra, 2022). In this situation, the function of the surau as an Islamic educational institution began to decline, but it remained strong as a base for movements. The decline of the surau's function during this phase created a significant opportunity for modernization, accompanied by various structural critiques, and modernization became more systematic in the subsequent period.

The reform movement in Minangkabau occurred due to the entry of two movement camps. First, the influence of Islamic reform from the Middle East brought an understanding of the purification of faith from the perspectives of Haramayn and Cairo, which was brought by scholars who studied there (Yasmansyah & Iswantir, 2021). Second, the influence of Western science and technology, namely the Netherlands, caused the gates of modernization in Minangkabau to open wider through the realms of ethical policy and education (Qadafi et al., 2024). Islamic reformists entered the Dutch East Indies through the network of Minangkabau scholars, particularly those who studied directly under Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Al Minangkabawi. This movement brought the idea of rebuilding Islamic education in Minangkabau with a spirit of modernity that, in some ways, seemed to force the older generation to change their mindset and methods of education. Kareel Steenbrink describes how modern education in Minangkabau rejected while simultaneously imitating, which is certainly a paradox in Minang land (Zulman & Samad, 2024). This suggests to us all that Minangkabau Land is a laboratory, or can also be called the embryo of Islamic education reform in the archipelago.

The reform of the Islamic education movement in Minangkabau was initiated by Abdullah Ahmad and Abdul Karim Amrullah, who became the first pioneers in carrying out the mission of modernizing Islamic education in Minangkabau. They were referred to as the young generation who would confront the older generation. They integrated religious learning with general learning as a form of integration in the modernization mission known as the dual curriculum. The halaqah system was transformed into a structured classical system. They challenged the surau education system, which was considered conservative and involved many unorthodox practices (*bid'ah*) in worship (Hasibuan, 2016). Finally, the youth succeeded in establishing modern Islamic educational institutions such as Sumatera Thawalib as a prototype for the modernization of Islamic educational institutions. This situation required the elders to adapt to the flow of change in implementing Islamic education, which they had initially strongly opposed. Eventually, they eased their stance because they saw modernization as beneficial in preserving and maintaining Islamic education (Zihad Islami et al., 2024). The form of modernization adopted by the elders was marked by the transformation of the *surau* under the PERTI organization, led by Sheikh Sulaiman Ar Rasuli as the PERTI cleric, into the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiah (MTI) in Canduang, which was subsequently followed by other PERTI clerics in stages (Jasmi, 2020). This transformation signifies the success of young scholars in blending modernity with Islam, as well as the openness of the older generation in responding to the demands of the times. This situation eventually shifted the function of the surau, no longer serving as the primary center of Islamic education but rather as a place for worship, meetings, discussions, and debates.

This study was conducted to analyze the validity of accusations leveled at older clerics who were considered resistant to changes in Islamic education in Minangkabau. The study aimed to reconstruct the narrative of accusations that older clerics rejected the modernization of educational institutions and to explore their views on understanding change, or other aspects of the social context that had not been identified in various other studies related to the social context of Minangkabau at that time. However, most previous studies have described the older generation of scholars as a conservative group without considering the socio-political context and traditional philosophy of Minangkabau. This research is crucial in order to provide a scientific perspective that the older generation of scholars had a distinct perspective in accepting modernization. The novelty of this research is that it presents the social context through an interpretive anthropological approach.

II. METHODS

The research methodology in this article uses *library research* with an anthropological and interpretive approach (Hamzah, 2020) (Abdurrahman, 2024). The research describes the situation of the transformation of Islamic educational institutions in Minangkabau in the early 20th century and focuses on a critical analysis of the accusations against older scholars who were considered to

reject modernization in educational institutions in West Sumatra. This study also examines the dynamics of the *surau*, whose function shifted to become a modern school, or modern schools established as a replacement for the *surau* to transform Islamic educational institutions, thereby drastically changing the function of the *surau* as the center of Islamic education. The data sources for this study come from international and national journal articles related to Islamic education in Minangkabau, themes about Surau, and the modernization of Islamic education. The collected sources were then analyzed to examine the case of the modernization of Islamic educational institutions in West Sumatra (Snyder, 2019) .

The data collection technique used in this study was the socio-historical technique, which involves a systematic review of primary and secondary sources followed by a critical analysis of various sources that are mostly biased in explaining the transformation of Islamic education in Minangkabau. These sources legitimize the older generation as a group exclusive to modernization and declare the younger generation as the heroes of modernization in carrying out the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau. The data collection technique used guided the author to data analysis, which was conducted using the ethnographic method aimed at exploring hidden data that seemed biased in explaining information (Hamzah, 2020), then interpreting the data obtained in the context of the historical situation that occurred during the struggle for reform carried out by the young and the old, and then comparing the data sources obtained to test the validity of the previous data.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Social Function of Surau and the Challenges of Modernity

The surau is the oldest Islamic educational institution in Minangkabau. It also functions as a customary institution that was Islamized after the arrival of Islam, with complex functions ranging from a place of learning, residence, deliberation, to a place for resolving various conflicts (Zainimal, 2020) . Furthermore, Zulman & Samad (2024) states that the function of the surau is more than just a venue for social activities; the surau is also used as an Islamic educational institution to transmit the vital and fundamental values of Islam. Entering the early 20th century, the function of the surau began to be threatened due to the influence of Western modernization brought by the Dutch colonialists and the influence of the purification of Islamic teachings from the Middle East. This turmoil caused the function of the surau to begin to shift due to the challenges of the times and the development of ideology (Hasibuan, 2016). Historical analysis shows that Abdullah Ahmad and Abdul Karim Amrullah stood at the forefront of the youth movement to bring about reform by introducing Madrasah schools with a classical system and a dual curriculum, namely a general and religious curriculum. This was done at the Adabiyah School (1907/1909) and Sumatera Thawalib (1919) as prototypes of the Islamic education modernization movement in West Sumatra (Yasmansyah & Iswantir, 2021). The Islamic education modernization movement

carried out by the youth had a very positive impact on Islamic education in West Sumatra, ultimately disrupting the educational patterns implemented by the elders. Eventually, the elders also participated in modernizing Islamic educational institutions, despite their initial resistance. This was marked by the transformation of the older generation's surau into modern madrasahs led and managed by many Perti scholars such as Sheikh Sulaiman Ar Rasuli (Zihad Islami et al., 2024)

In the early 20th century, surau educational institutions, as one of the oldest educational institutions in West Sumatra, began to experience a weakening of their function as Islamic educational institutions, a process that faced modernization with structural challenges and internal pedagogical problems (Rajab & Putra, 2022). As the oldest Islamic educational institutions, surau had flexible, systematic, personalistic, and non-formal management. The material taught tended to be dogmatic, referring to the Shafi'i school of thought with subjects such as fiqh, Arabic, and various subjects related to classical texts, with the majority using lectures to deliver learning materials (Rajab & Putra, 2022). Such pedagogical patterns are considered to have failed in preparing a competitive society for the modern world of work, which is full of developments in science and technology, thus causing social dissatisfaction (Rohman et al., 2023). The main strength of surau in fostering personal and spiritual values in the context of Islamic education began to weaken when hit by the wave of modernization, various demands of the times requiring adaptation to the curriculum developed by young people, and competition with schools established by the Dutch colonialists (Satria, 2019) .

The transformation of modern Islamic education carried out by young people continued and had a positive impact on the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra, while the older generation still carried out traditional learning methods such as halaqah, sitting on the floor, and using a classical curriculum or teaching materials from *Turats* books that had not been *updated* in terms of literature (Zulman & Samad, 2024). The younger generation, who had recently returned from performing the Hajj and engaging in intellectual pursuits in Mecca, brought a vision of renewal and new enthusiasm. They accused the educational activities and ritual worship practices of the older generation in the surau of being *bid'ah* (innovation in religion) because they blended worship with Sufism. In the view of the younger generation, Sufism had no valid basis or evidence (Fitri et al., 2023).

Table of Analysis based on Minangkabau local wisdom through proverbs and philosophy:

Local wisdom (Philosophy)	Translation	Meaning
<i>Bak cando manokok ula dalam baniah, ula mati baniah indak lesoh, tanah ndak nyo lubang</i>	hitting a snake in a seed, where the snake dies but the seed is not damaged,	Prudence is essential in addressing contemporary issues, such as the transformation of Islamic

	the ground remains untouched	educational institutions in West Sumatra in the 20th century, ensuring that Islamic education is not harmed due to incorrect steps taken by the elders in responding to modernization of Islamic education
<i>Iyokan Nan di Urang, Lalukan nan di Awak</i>	Agree with what others say, but maintain your own understanding	Accept the opinions or ideas of others as a form of moderation and hold fast to your principles
<i>Sakali Aia Gadang, Sakalai Tapian Barubah</i>	Once the Water Rises, the Banks Will Change. Every change that occurs will have a huge impact	Choosing the wrong changes in implementing education will result in chaos and disorientation in educational institutions that have been built over many years.
<i>Mancontoh Ka Nan Sudah, Baraja Ka Nan Manang, Maniru Ka Nan Pandai</i>	Follow the example of those who have finished, learn from those who have won, imitate those who are smart	Follow the example of the work that has been done by those who came before, learn from those who have won, and imitate those who are smart
<i>Duduak marauik ranjau, tagak Maninjau jarak</i>	Sit down and measure the distance	This proverb was utilized by the elderly to analyze the changes brought about by the younger generation, opting to continue traditional learning amidst the dynamic pressures of modernization while observing the transformations being

		implemented. This strategy signifies that the elders chose to remain outside the movement carried out by the younger generation in order to assess the resulting outcomes of the modernization efforts
<i>Habih Di Nan Sudah, Hilang Nan Tak Ado, Minyak Abih Samba Tak Lamak</i>	Finished in the part that is already done, lost in the part that does not exist, the oil is gone and the sambal is not tasty	A job that is done brings no benefit and is disappointing
<i>Hilang Biso Dek Paneh, Hilang Kaji Dek Lala</i>	Lost because of emotion, lost knowledge because of negligence	change must be preceded by thorough analysis; if change is accepted without question, the knowledge and spirit inherent in Islamic education will be lost.

The Dialectic Between the Old and the Young: Continuity that Filters Change

The transformation of Islamic education in Minangkabau should not be viewed merely as a clash between the young and the old, but rather as a dialectical process that shapes the face of local scientific civilization. The young do indeed appear as pioneers of institutional and pedagogical reform, but the embryo of ideas for renewal often has its roots in the traditions of the old, who from the outset practiced a selective strategy towards the tide of modernization. Azyumardi Azra asserts in Kibtiyah (2022) that the dynamics of Islam in the archipelago have always been “transformative-dialogical,” where modernization is accepted through a framework of local values and the authority of traditional scholars who function as moral filters (K2). In this context, the older generation's attitude of "waiting and observing" reflects cultural rationality, not resistance, as they seek to ensure that every innovation does not negate the spiritual values and social order that support traditional Islamic education (Hanani et al., 2024). Thus, intergenerational relations in Minangkabau illustrate a productive form of institutional negotiation between progressive impulses and the obligation to maintain continuity of values.

The careful and selective approach of the older generation can be understood as a social adaptation strategy rooted in the philosophy of *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (custom is based on sharia, sharia is based on the Holy Book). This principle contains the understanding that renewal must not sever the epistemological continuity that binds society to Islamic values and local wisdom (Firdausi et al., 2024). In practice, the *surau* as a traditional institution plays an important role as a space for negotiation between classical teachings and modern discourse, where the *ulama* function as mediators who weigh the benefits of change based on considerations of *syarak* and *adat* (Hanani et al., 2024). These findings show that the dynamics of Islamic renewal in Minangkabau are closer to the evolutionary reform model than to structural revolution, because change occurs gradually through cultural testing and social legitimization. This means that the continuity of values and educational innovation exist in a complementary relationship: young people bring the energy for change, while older people maintain moral direction and social integrity so that the transformation of Islamic education remains rooted in local values.

The Prudence of Elders as an Institutional Practice: From Proverbs to *Ijtihad*

The prudence of the elders in responding to the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau is not merely an expression of conservatism, but reflects an institutional strategy based on protective rationality. Through Minangkabau proverbs and local *ijtihad* practices, they have developed a mechanism for selecting values that allows for adaptation to change without losing cultural roots and morality. In the colonial and post-colonial contexts, this strategy has become a form of cultural filtering that weighs the relevance of each innovation against the resilience of religious institutions, such as the traditional *surau* and *madrrasah* (Hanani, 2015). Azra reiterates that this pattern is part of the “dialectic of tradition and modernity” in the Islamic world of the archipelago, where traditional scholars play an important role in negotiating change to remain in harmony with the values of *ta’dib* (education) and *akhlak al-karimah* (noble character) (Kibtiyah, 2022). Thus, the caution of the elders is not resistance, but rather an expression of social rationality that serves to maintain a balance between institutional modernization and the spiritual continuity of Minangkabau society.

The older generation's selective attitude towards change is also rooted in Minangkabau social epistemology, which places Islamic education in a dual space: a means of knowledge transmission and a mechanism for maintaining social order (Musyahid & Kolis, 2023). Within this framework, historical reasoning and customary norms become instruments of legitimacy before accepting institutional transformation, ensuring that modernization through local channels is more likely to maintain institutional capacity in shaping social ethics and solidarity. Interpreting this caution as a form of social *ijtihad* that seeks to balance religious authority and cultural rationality in facing the challenges of modernity. This approach is in line with the idea of

Civilizational Continuity proposed by Azumardi Azra (Firdausi et al., 2024), in which the modernization of Islam in Indonesia proceeds through a process of internalization of values, rather than radical external adoption. Thus, the caution of the elders is an epistemological response that ensures that structural changes in Islamic education do not cause social disorientation or moral degradation.

Educational Moderation: Integration of Custom (Urf) and Sharia as the Foundation of Practice

The elders' narrative of Islamic educational moderation in Minangkabau cannot be understood merely as a compromise between tradition and modernity, but rather as an integrative concept that combines customary values ('urf) with sharia principles to build contextual education. For the elders, moderation is an epistemological synergy that places the spiritual, moral, and intellectual dimensions in a unified educational praxis. In Azyumardi Azra's perspective, the character of moderation in *Islam Nusantara* was born from a historical dialectical process between local values and global scientific networks, so that Islamic education always combines rationality and spirituality without losing its traditional roots (Firdausi et al., 2024). The older generation's approach is a form of social *ijtihad*, in which educational policies are designed to be adaptable to the social context without negating Islamic principles. Therefore, every form of educational modernization must go through a Value Adjustment mechanism, a process of value alignment that ensures continuity between scientific progress and the moral integrity of society (Mohammed et al., 2024).

Moderation in the view of the older generation is not a neutral or passive position, but an active strategy in maintaining a balance between intellectual openness and spiritual steadfastness. The principle of *tawassuth* (the middle way) is the ethical foundation for Islamic education to remain responsive to change without being trapped in the extremism of modernity or traditional conservatism (Afwadzi et al., 2024). In institutional practice, traditional *surau* and *madrasah* in Minangkabau serve as integrative forums that balance the transmission of religious knowledge and the development of social rationality, affirming that moderation is a historically proven cultural trait of local Islam. Moderate Islamic education based on local values has the transformative power to foster critical, tolerant, and civilized character amid the tide of globalization. Thus, the narrative of the elders presents a context-sensitive model of Islamic education that combines tradition, reason, and revelation as the foundation of a dynamic and civilized moderation (Musyahid & Kolis, 2023).

Surau as a Laboratory of Local Wisdom and Filter of Modernity

Traditional *surau* in Minangkabau function as cultural "laboratories" where modern educational ideas, methods, and content are first tested within the framework of local values before being integrated into formal institutions (Hirzulloh & Annadhif, 2024). Within this framework,

suraus are not only places for the transmission of religious knowledge, but also arenas for epistemological selection of educational innovations to ensure they remain in harmony with the social and spiritual norms of the community. This process makes the *surau* act as a value filtering system, where adaptation to renewal is carried out gradually through testing for compatibility with *maqashid al-syariah* (the goals of Sharia) and Minangkabau customs based on the principle of *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (Custom is based on Sharia, Sharia is based on the Book of Allah). Thus, the transformation of Islamic education in the Minang region is not the result of direct adoption from colonial or modern Western systems, but rather the result of local experimentation controlled by the moral authority of the elders (Hanani et al., 2024). This mechanism demonstrates institutional rationality that places caution as a form of epistemic wisdom, rather than resistance to change (Wahdi et al., 2024).

The position of the *surau* as an experimental space explains why changes in the Minangkabau education system are gradual and based on social evaluation. New pedagogical models are tested at the community level, then selected through normative assessment by the elders to ensure their consistency with the spiritual and social goals of the community. This approach shows that the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau is a form of adaptive modernization, in which foreign elements are processed through assimilative mechanisms that maintain cultural independence (Wahdi et al., 2024). In this context, the *surau* becomes a meeting point between tradition and innovation, mediating transnational values with local realities to produce a resilient and contextual educational model. Such modernization is not merely a transfer of curriculum or technology, but a process of social reconstruction that ensures the sustainability of local Islamic cultural identity amid global trends (Satria, 2019).

Historical Traces: Sumatera Thawalib and Evidence of Traditional Participation in Reform

The history of educational institutions such as Sumatera Thawalib shows that Islamic educational reform in Minangkabau did not arise solely from external pressure, but was deeply rooted in the internal dynamics of the local ulama community (Zamroni et al., 2025). Innovations in the curriculum and teaching methods were the result of a dialectic between classical Islamic scholarly traditions and the rational needs of a modern society facing colonialism and Western modernity. In this context, the elders played an important role as guardians of values and preservers of the epistemological continuity of the scholarly tradition, while the younger generation became the driving force in expanding the orientation of education to be more adaptive to social change. This shows that reform is not antithetical to tradition, but rather a recontextualization of Islamic values in a changing historical situation. This process confirms that Islamic education in Minangkabau is built on a historical awareness that rejects the dichotomy between orthodoxy and modernization (Rajab & Putra, 2022).

The case of Sumatera Thawalib and similar institutions reinforces the thesis that the older generation is not a monolithic entity that is anti-change, but rather institutional actors who participate in designing the direction of modernization by maintaining traditional references (Yasmansyah & Iswantir, 2021). Their strategy is rooted in the view that innovation must depart from a solid foundation of Islamic values, not from the instant adoption of Western systems without epistemological criticism. Thus, successful modernization in Minangkabau is the result of creative negotiation between young innovators and architects of tradition who both understand the importance of value continuity in social change (Zamroni et al., 2025). This dialectic confirms that the renewal of Islamic education in Indonesia always takes the form of “Cultural Reformism,” namely modernization that is rooted in local morality and not merely a project of structural rationalization. Thus, the success of educational models such as Thawalib is concrete evidence of the success of combining intellectual *ijtihad* and social *ijtihad* in a balanced manner.

Policy Implications: Integrating Local Wisdom into Islamic Education Reform

The pragmatic implications of this historical and sociological analysis suggest that Islamic education modernization policies should not interpret local wisdom as an obstacle to progress, but rather as a mechanism for filtering values that can maintain a balance between innovation and identity (Jamaluddin, 2024). In the Minangkabau context, the integration of ethnopedagogy into the curriculum not only enriches the substance of learning but also strengthens the social legitimacy of educational institutions because it is rooted in the cultural and religious values of the local community. Local value-based education strategies help Islamic educational institutions maintain their social resilience and relevance amid the pressures of global homogenization, which often ignores local historical and cultural contexts (Wahyu Ningsih et al., 2025). Thus, contextual Islamic education is not only a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge but also an instrument of social engineering that strengthens community integration within the framework of universal Islamic values.

A participatory approach is key to sustainable Islamic education reform. Involving elders in planning and decision-making on modernization policies creates a social control mechanism that prevents value disorientation when changes are made too quickly (Jamaluddin, 2024). In practice, *surau* can function as pilot projects for the implementation of modernization based on local values, serving as places where pedagogical innovations are tested culturally before being applied more widely. This process emphasizes the importance of intergenerational and institutional collaboration in maintaining the continuity of an adaptive and inclusive *Nusantara* Islamic identity (Wahyu Ningsih et al., 2025). Furthermore, local value-based evaluation needs to become a policy instrument to ensure that modernization is not only structurally efficient but also culturally and spiritually meaningful. Thus, the direction of Islamic education reform should

ideally be both transformative and preservative, capable of renewing the system without negating its social roots.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study confirms that the older generation's narrative regarding the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau cannot be understood within a dichotomous framework of traditionalism and modernity. The older generation actually plays a central role as guardians of continuity of values and moral architects who select each form of innovation so that it remains rooted in the principle of *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (custom based on Sharia, Sharia based on the Holy Book). The modernization that occurred in the 20th century was not the result of an ideological clash between the elders and the youth, but rather a historical dialectic that gave birth to a distinctive model of Islamic education: traditional in values, modern in approach, and moderate in vision. The *surau* functioned as a social laboratory where innovations were tested culturally before being institutionalized, while institutions such as Sumatera Thawalib became proof that transformation took place through a process of internalization of values and intergenerational negotiation. Thus, the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau is a model of reform rooted in local tradition but still open to the currents of globalization, making it a prototype of a moderate, rational, and civilized Islam Nusantara.

This research has several limitations that should be noted: First, the historical and cultural analysis primarily relies on secondary literature sources, thus it may not fully capture the nuanced dynamics of praxis in contemporary *surau* environments. Second, the study's temporal limitations have caused a focus on the 20th century, meaning the recent transformation of Islamic education in Minangkabau, especially in the digital era, has not been fully explored. Third, this study has not utilized a field ethnographic approach that would allow for a deeper exploration of the perceptions and actual practices of the elders in the current context. Therefore, further research is recommended to combine historical approaches with qualitative field methods (such as interviews, participatory observation, and analysis of local Islamic education policies) to enrich the understanding of the continuity of values and adaptation of traditions in the ongoing modernization of Islamic education in Indonesia.

This study has several limitations that must be acknowledged. The approach used is still limited to a literature study, so that the historical and social analysis is only based on secondary data without the support of empirical field findings. Limited access to colonial archives and early 20th century primary sources means that the interpretation of the position of the older generation in the modernization of Islamic education in Minangkabau is still textual and interpretative. The focus of the research on the Minangkabau context also limits the generalization of findings to other regions in the archipelago with different social and cultural characteristics. Nevertheless, these

limitations open up space for further research with an interdisciplinary approach to explore the continuity of traditional values and modernity in the Islamic education system in Indonesia in greater depth.

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