

Datar and Limapuluh Kota in the Minangkabau highlands were experiencing a major economic revival caused by European and American demand for coffee and cassia. Overcome by booming demand, the society exhibited an inability to organise a secure trading network to the coastal ports or a suitable method of settling disputes in the marketplace. It was the *surau* which was able to offer an alternative to the existing mode of regulation, especially in commercial affairs. Both the Syattariyah and Naksyabandiyah *tarekat* had instigated "back to the *syariat* (*shari'ah* [q.v.])" movements in other parts of the Islamic world, and now for the first time in central Sumatra conditions became ripe for a similar movement: for Minangkabau Muslim *surau*, such as those of the Syattariyah *syekh* (*shaykh*) Tuanku Nan Tua in Agam, to challenge further accommodation with society, and to couch this challenge in terms of elevating Islamic law, including the commercial provisions of the *syariat*, to a position of pre-eminence.

It was against this background that in 1803 there returned to Minangkabau three pilgrims who had observed the Wahhābī conquest of Mecca [see WAHHĀBIYYA]. They were well aware of the difference between "back to the *syariat*" and a return to the fundamental tenets of the Prophet and his Companions. The most distinguished of these three Padri was Haji Miskin, who had worked with Tuanku Nan Tua prior to his departure for Mecca. He now settled in the coffee village of Pandai Sikat in Agam and worked to improve the state of the marketplace and to rationalise commerce. He gained the support of certain lineage heads and in fact during the Padri movement a number of religious teachers and *adat* [see ĀDA] leaders worked together to introduce a new commercially favourable régime where cockfighting would disappear from the market and bandit villages would be eliminated. It is certainly misleading to see the Padri movement as an uncompromising attack on the *adat* leadership.

Ultimately driven out of Pandai Sikat, Haji Miskin joined the religious teacher Tuanku Nan Rinceh in the coffee- and cassia-rich hill area in the north of Agam. Also a pupil of Tuanku Nan Tua, Tuanku Nan Rinceh had been trying to put his master's ideas into practice, but piecemeal action no longer seemed adequate when Haji Miskin was able to indicate another way. Tuanku Nan Rinceh now concluded that each village must be turned into an Islamic community as rapidly as possible, using the simplicity of the Wahhābī system as a model along the lines of which such new communities were to be organised. He proclaimed a *djihād* and announced to his own village the régime of extreme puritanism which must henceforth be followed. The outward signs of a revivalist village were to be the abandonment of cockfighting, gambling and the use of tobacco, opium, *sirih* and strong drink; white clothes symbolising purity were to be worn, with women covering their faces and men allowing their beards to grow; no part of the body was to be decorated with gold jewellery, and silk clothing was to be eschewed. Needless to say, prayer five times a day was obligatory. A system of fines was instituted for infringement of these rules.

How successful the Padri were at imposing a Wahhābī-style administration on the villages they conquered is difficult to say. It seems that the village traditional leaders in their council continued to play an important role, although each conquered or converted village was obliged to appoint a *kadi* (*kādī* [q.v.]) who functioned side by side with the village council. The village was also required to appoint an *imam*, to

be occupied with expounding the Qur'an and carrying out religious ceremonies in the newly-built mosque. Apart from this, the most characteristic mark of the Padri village was its participation in organised violence against villages which would not submit to the Padri notion of an Islamic community.

Violence was particularly marked among the Padri of Tanah Datar, the home of Tuanku Lintau, who became notorious for his slaughter, in 1815, of many members of the Minangkabau royal family at a meeting arranged for negotiations. He went on to pursue a career of raiding and burning of opposition villages. In fact, throughout the Padri period all villages were heavily fortified and their male population kept almost constantly on a war-footing.

Just as a Padri victory over the whole of Minangkabau seemed certain, the Dutch returned to the chief Minangkabau coastal port of Padang in 1819. Invited into the highlands by anti-Padri *adat* leaders and remnants of the royal family, in February 1821 they signed a treaty in which these suppliantly surrendered Minangkabau to Dutch sovereignty. So began the Padri War of 1821-38, in which, despite strong Padri resistance, the colonial forces were ultimately victorious. Prominent among the Padri war leaders was Tuanku Imam Bonjol. Having established his village at Bonjol, north of Agam, in 1807, like other Padri leaders he tried to build up a trading network to the west coast, away from outside control. The Dutch after their return in 1819 were a threat to this, and Bonjol launched its first attack on Dutch forces in the interior in 1822. From this period until 1837, Dutch and Bonjol forces were periodically engaged despite Bonjol's attempt to expand away to the north into the Batak country. Bonjol finally fell to the Dutch in 1837, Tuanku Imam Bonjol was exiled and Dutch victory over the last Padri remnants took place at Daludalu in 1838.

During this period, the Padri movement itself altered in character. Mecca had been lost to the Wahhābīs since 1813, and by the 1820s Minangkabau began to pay attention to the reports of returning pilgrims and the rigours of the original Padri system began to soften. The returning *hajis* were aided by the fact that no Padri leader had ever been able to acquire unchallenged dominance over a wide area and there was no monolithic Padri political system to break down. Nevertheless, the Padri left a lasting mark on Minangkabau and their legacy was powerful enough to be revived as occasion demanded.

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PAHANG [see MALAY PENINSULA].

PAHLAWAN (P.), from *Pahlaw*, properly "Par-

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