



Hamka Thought on Marginalization of Father's Position In Minangkabau Matrilineal System

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Abstract: *Minangkabau already has an established social concept in placing women as the key to its social system, through the matrilineal system. On the one hand, the implication of this kinship system is that it puts women in a strong position, but on the other hand, according to HAMKA, it weakens the position of men, especially as fathers in the household. Therefore, this article aims to discuss HAMKA's view on the marginalization of the position of men in Minangkabau families that apply the matrilineal kinship system. This study uses the content analysis method, where the author looks for HAMKA's thoughts in his writings related to his criticism of the matrilineal concept in Minangkabau, then analyzes how HAMKA views the position of men in the Matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau. The results of this study indicate that the implication of the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau according to HAMKA causes the position of men as fathers to be very weak. This is because the father in the Minangkabau family does not have full power over the household, especially over his children. Therefore HAMKA offers another alternative in adat, namely a parental family system consisting of father, mother, and children, to return the father's position in a family.*

Keyword: Marginalisation, Father, Matrilineal, HAMKA

INTRODUCTION

Customs are one of the bonds to deliver humans towards moral life, strong mentality, more peaceful and perfect. Customs will specialize each human group to its characteristics that are typical of the identity of other groups (Nurdin Ya'kub, 2000). The customs are then manifested in the form of a cultural system which is part of an abstract culture consisting of thoughts, concepts, and beliefs that have values and norms that function to regulate, organize, and determine actions and human behavior as well as becomes a guideline for orientation to the lives of the citizens concerned (Koentjaraningrat, 2005). So that customs become very important in addition to explaining the specific characteristic of a society as well as a guideline of ideal concepts, and being a strong driver to direct the lives of certain citizens.

Minangkabau as a social system also has customs, which is formulated to create life norms that guarantee order, prosperity, and happiness for the Minangkabau community itself. These rules include regulating the relationship between men and women, the rules regarding wealth that become the foundation of humans, norms about the relationship of association and the kinship system (Amir M.S, 2006). So that the most identical thing about Minangkabau is the matrilineal kinship system adopted by its people, namely the kinship system based on the mother's lineage.

In the academic world studies of the matrilineal system in Minangkabau are a study that is always warm to discuss. This is mainly because the matrilineal system in Minangkabau gives the rights and positions to women to speak through the role of the Bundo Kanduang. So that the results of studies and research on the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau that have been carried out highlighted many aspects of women's involvement in the social community of Minangkabau. Among them are Bundo Kanduang in Minangkabau vs. Leadership (Sola, 2020), which tells the story of how the leadership of Bundo Kanduang in the Minang community. This research focuses more on the support of the matrilineal system of women's voice in Minangkabau.

Furthermore, relating to the matrilineal system also emerged research on the role of mamak in protecting children and their nephews. The role of mamak as a child and nephew guard is then associated with the social function of a Minangkabau man in protecting and protecting his community. This means that Minangkabau with the matrilineal system that is adopted not only handed over the function of parenting and control of a child to father and mother, but to the extended family of his mother, especially mamak. So that with this role the child does not only belong to his parents, but also cared for and educated by his mother and the people. This kind of research can be seen from the Hanandini research on changes in the function and meaning of mamak in the Matrilineal System of the Minangkabau community overseas in the city of Madya Surabaya (Hanandini, 2019).

But there is one aspect of the implications of the matrilineal kinship system which according to the author has not been examined in depth, namely about how the role of the father in the matrilineal family system. All aspects of both the matrilineal family system can be seen from the participation of women in the community and also the participation of mamak in the nephews. But on the other hand the role of the father as the head of the family, or Semanda, is only like *Abu di ateh tunggua*, which means it does not have a strong role and function. Studies of the weak position of the father in the Minang family that adheres to the matrilineal family system is interesting to study and also not much studied. So in this study the author will focus on studying the weakening of the father's function in the matrilineal kinship system adopted by the Minangkabau community in the view of the big figure of Minangkabau, namely Hamka.

Research on Hamka's criticism of the concept of matrilineal in Minangkabau is interesting, because matrilineal customs are part of the *adat babuhua mati* in Minangkabau, or in other word is a costum that can not be changed, in the sense of customs which if moved becomes withered, and if revoked it will die. Therefore Matrilineal custom is the main identity of the Minang community after the Adat Basandi Syarak Syarak Basandi Kitabullah. So that the criticism of the identity of the two Minangkabau people certainly disturbs, because criticism of it can have broken the most famous allegory used in Minangkabau, namely *adat nan indak langkang dek paneh nan indak lapuak dek hujan*, or the customs that can last throughout the ages.

Another thing that makes this research interesting is, because the one who made this criticism was Hamka. Hamka with his capacity as a scholar, author, and moreover as a Datuak. As a Datuak, Hamka did not necessarily close his eyes to the custom which according to his view experienced the imbalance. Referring to such a view, so the writer feels interested in researching deeper about the marginalization of the father's position in the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau, using the perspective of Hamka.

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

This research is a library research. This study uses the method of content analysis where the writer takes Hamka's views on the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau through his works, especially his works that tell about customs in Minangkabau in general. Furthermore, the authors group and analyze Hamka's views, until they pursed only his views about Minangkabau customary imbalances related to the weak position of the father in the family.

RESEARCH RESULTS And DISCUSSION

Socio-cultural and background of Hamka's thoughts

Hamka was born on Sunday, 14 Muharram 1326/17 February 1908 in Kampung Tanah Sirah Nagari Sungai Batang, Maninjau, West Sumatra (HAMKA, 1974). Hamka, is an acronym from Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah. The process of abbreviating his name from Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah became Hamka related to the field of writing he was involved in (Sarwan, n.d.-a).

Hamka was born from an influential family in the community. Hamka descent starts from the blood of Tuanku Pariaman. Tuanku Pariaman was a pioneer scholar of the Islamic Religious Movement during the Paderi War. His daughter was married with a pious student named Tuanku Guguk Katur. As a result of this marriage, Hamka's grandfather was born, Sheikh Muhammad Amrullah, holding Tuanku Kisai. Tuanku Kisai is a Shaykh Tarikat Naqsabandi

who later, incorporated in the old group. While Hamka's father, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, joined in the young group (HAMKA, 1982a).

Like his grandfather and great-grandfather, Hamka's father is also a great scholar and forming a social environment system. His father is a favorite student from Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. The teacher together with his other students, formed cadres to attack the religious understanding that developed at the time. The understanding in question is the practice of tarikat naqsabandi. The opponent of the tarekat is then referred to as a young group, while the group that supports is called the old group. The tarikat is considered to be devastating from the teachings of Islam, especially by his teacher Sheikh Ahmad Khatib. The role of the father in spreading the idea of the new religious thought is very large, so according to Hamka, it has struck the realm of Islamic thoughts at that time (HAMKA, 1982a).

Since childhood Hamka was raised by grandmother. But the basic lesson of religion he received directly from father. At the age of seven years Hamka began to enter school, the lowest level of education whose education period lasted for three years. The school was called a people's school, and at night, he learned to recite the father to his father to Khatam. In addition to father, in Padang Panjang Hamka also learned to read the Koran to his brother Fathimah (Ahmad Tibri, 2006). Then Hamka studied religion in the afternoon to Diniyyah school in the Padang Panjang Olashed Market, which was founded by Zainuddin Lebay El-Yunusi (Sarwan, n.d.-b).

Formally, the education taken by Hamka is not too high, only up to third grade in village schools. Then the religious school he lived in Padang Panjang and Parabek was not long, only three years. Even though he was in class VII, he did not have a diploma. From the school he had participated in, none of them could be completed (Henry Muhammad, 2006).

When Hamka was 19 years old, he left for Mecca to study for 6 months in 1927. After returning from Mecca Hamka did not go straight to the village. He settles first in Medan. In Medan he began to compose and send his writing to several editors. In addition, he was also asked to teach religion to several small traders from the Bajalinggai plantation, North Sumatra. When his brother-in-law, Sutan Mansur picked him up to go home then he returned to the village (Henry Muhammad, 2006).

Sutan Mansur is a person who has a big influence in Hamka's development. He is his brother-in-law and teacher. When Hamka migrated to Java when he was 14 years old, Sutan Mansur had educated and cared for him, so he became Hamka like now. When hanging out with Sutan Mansur, Hamka often listens to the lessons given by her brother-in-law to guests who come. The lesson includes the views, understanding, and investigation of Sutan Mansur about life. For Hamka,

all the words of his brother -in -law were seeping into the spirit of his heart. The teaching also inspired Hamka to write the book of Falisapi Life in 1940. Hamka stated:

"These lessons are attached to my heart. That is the provision for me to fight in the field of life. If what I do should be called the struggle. Lord's lesson is my lamp, when I investigated the others, the short that I extended, the short I found it. Therefore, if there is my souvenir into the community, it is only a part of the last greatness of the master. I compiled this book, as a student's offering to his teacher ... I am grateful, some of the progress that I have achieved, although there are still very few, if seen very far away to be taken. And in all of that my teacher Sutan Mansur gave me a lot of guidance. "(HAMKA, 1983)

Hamka was a great multitalent figure in his time who at the same time was a cleric, writer, philosopher, Sufism expert, historian. All works that Hamka wrote are concrete evidence that can explain the breadth and depth of Hamka's insight. But what is interesting related to his criticism of custom is that Hamka himself is a Datuk. Hamka was 15 years old when he was awarded the title of Datuk Indomo, namely as a candidate for a substitute for the prince of Datuk Rajo Endah if he put his position or died. Since then Hamka officially used the title of Datuk Indomo as a traditional title (HAMKA, 1984). But the title of Datuk he received did not make Hamka close his eyes to the customary inequality he saw in the community.

Hamka's disappointment with Minangkabau customs according to the author's view began with the divorce that befell his mother and father. Hamka suffered very much over the divorce of her parents. He once told his son Rusydi, "How bitter is the child's childhood. Going to the father's house to meet stepmother, go to the house of the mother to meet the stepfather " (Rusydi, 1983). According to Hamka, it is the tradition that caused the divorce of her parents. Because his father's custom was involved in divorce. Marriage in adat is not merely a marriage between husband and wife, but more importantly is marriage between two tribes. The feud between the Father and Mother's tribe, produces the consequences of the divorce of both parents. From the background of the incident, many Hamka's works emerged which implicitly mentioned inequality in the Minangkabau custom.

Matrilineal Kinship System in Minangkabau

The most identical thing when mentioning the word Minangkabau, besides Adagium Basandi Syaria 'Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, as a characteristic that the Minangkabau people are Muslim, is the kinship system that is adopted, namely the kinship system according to the mother's lineage or matrilineal. Matrilineal is the oldest line of lineage on this earth, which in the process develops towards patrilineal.

In the hereditary system according to the father's line contained today in Indonesia, there are still remnants from the mother's offspring system. Which is proven among the words "Sabatuha", in the Batak land which means "like", people who are descendants of the same as Seibu, whereas in the Batak land today applies the father's descendant system. Based on the importance of the position of "bone", the brother of the mother (mamak), in Mandailing also proves that the mother's offspring was applicable, before the father's offspring system now applies. So the kinship system according to the mother's lineage is the older than the kinship system according to the father's lineage (Idrus Hakimi, 2004).

In addition to the oldest form of kinship, this system is also the rarest in the world. Menurut Sanderon, only 14% of the world community using this matrilineal system (Atmazaki, 2002a). In Indonesia only Minangkabau is the one who uses a matrilineal system, even in the world only in one place in India and around one of the lakes in Africa (Zainuddin, 2010). So thus the matrilineal system in addition to unique is also rare.

To get to know more closely about this matrilineal system, the following is mentioned some characteristics of the community with a matrilineal system according to some figures. Atmazaki in the Dynamics Book of gender in the context of customs and religion mentions the characteristics of matrilineal as follows:

1. Using kinship based on female lineage.
2. A father will never be a part of the matrilineal group of his wife and child.
3. The child of a woman will be included in his tribal group, while the son of a boy is not included in his tribal group.
4. Wife and husband are not part of the same matrilineal group.
5. Individuals have never diverted membership of their descendants after marriage.
6. Women become the successor to the matrilineal group.
7. Men control not as a husband/father but as a brother to his sister, so he has a big role and responsibility for his sisters.
8. There is a biological attitude and there is a sociological abilities (Atmazaki, 2002b).

From this description, it appears that in Minangkabau the position of women is very high. The gender difference in Minangkabau does not result in a

gender bias, or the assumption that one is better than the other. This means that in Minangkabau men and women do have different characteristics but the difference does not mean that men are higher than women, which in the general view of women is only as a secondary creation (complementary creatures), instead Minangkabau gives the same opportunity for Men and women to be active in social, religious, and customary institutions. Even on a certain side women are higher than men (Atmazaki, 2002b). Eventhough in reality, women in Minangkabau are still placed in the shadow of men, both gender experience some involvements in the community (Saputri et al., 2024).

Refer to the points formulated about the characteristics of matrilineal above, the point that mentions the position of Minang men is the problem. On the one hand, women are appointed, and that is a big luck for women born in the land of Minang, but on the other hand the role of men in Minangkabau is marginalized. He is only as Abu in Ateh Tunggua. He fostered a household with a woman to build under his control, it turns out that in Minangkabau he has no authority for that, the authorities are her wife's brother, while he plays a role in his mother's house to protect people's children, not his son.

This is what received criticism from Hamka as a Minang ulama as well as a honorable degree stakeholder in Minangkabau with the title of DT Indomo. According to Hamka, matrilineal in Minangkabau resulted in Minang men to be submitted to the law of mothers. In the custom of the origin of the husband is not obliged to provide a living for his wife, even though he tries, is farming, farming, occupying, but the result is not for his child, but for his nephew. As mamak, he only has the power to maintain and maintain a relationship out. Mamak has no right to bring the results of his property to his wife's house. Thus every person or husband to his wife, father to the child, according to the Matrilineal Minangkabau customs, there is no responsibility. In Minangkabau, 90% men think about the affairs of their siblings who are female and nephew (HAMKA, 1984).

The position of men in the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau

In the Minangkabau indigenous people the position of boys in the gadang house is less stable and somewhat marginal. At his mother's house there is no bedroom for him and also does not have heirlooms. Although he has the authority to take care of the heirloom, but the result is for brothers and sisters who are female or for the nephews (Suardi Mahyuddin, 2009). Men in Minangkabau have several functions and positions: men as the father of their children, men as Sumando people in his wife's family's home, and men as mamak for the nephew and in his mother's house. Each has a different role from each other.

1. The position of Semanda

What is meant by Semanda people in the Minangkabau Matrilineal System is a man who marries a daughter in the house of one Kaum. Family ties were formed because of a marriage with one member of the people. That is why a father and son-in-law in one people are called Semanda people.

The position of Semanda in the matrilineal system is said to be *abu diateh tunggua*. According to the customary term that a Semanda is likened to ash that is stretched out in a wooden tree that has been stuck. If the wind comes blowing, the ash above it will fly by itself. This phrase seems rather rough. However, according to the matrilineal legal system, which is a Semanda person, the father and son-in-law of the male in the people are drawn nothing. They have no responsibility towards their wives and children. Every time they could leave his wife's child (Suardi Mahyuddin, 2009).

Staying side by side with several other families in one house makes Urang Sumando not feel convenient at home. This then encouraged them to break away by building a house on the land of his wives. At home people Semanda and their children's children can feel more free and independent. Relationships with other Semanda will be better because they do not have to be involved again in an unhealthy competition in the gadang house.

2. Mamak position

According to the Minangkabau traditional kinship line the understanding of mamak can be distinguished: first mamak house and mamak tribal. Mamak home is the brother of the mother's house in the gadang. According to Minangkabau customary law the existence of a mamak is very important as a consequence of matrilineal law itself. The oldest mother's brother is referred to as *Tungainai*. He only functions as a person who holds the rights and obligations in taking care of the inheritance of *saparuik*, so that this mamak is also called mamak head of inheritance.

The function of men, in this case mamak, in Minang is to maintain the integrity of people to maintain the safety of children and nephews. In this connection, it must be seen a correlation between Minang men and heirlooms. Because heritage is a hereditary legacy that is said to be a foreign expert as a social fund, it is the task of mamak to maintain and develop it. Mamak has a function to maintain the nephew in addition to raising her children. According to the Minangkabau custom based on its function, the people are responsible for all actions both regarding the heirloom, maintenance of the nephews, pawn-pawn and so forth. He is also responsible for the implementation of his nephew marriage. While the nephew's father played behind the scenes (Suardi Mahyuddin, 2009).

Hamka's criticism of the father's position in the Matrilineal kinship system

Household is a new life for couples who have just built it. From the household everything began. The life of the state also starts with behavior in the midst of a family monitored by parents and brothers and sisters. In Islam, a household is led by a husband. The husband would control how his family would be brought, in which direction, and was educated in what way his children were. The father also has control and the peak of the decision. Thus the authority of the husband in the eyes of Islam. The Koran also explained about this, that men are leaders for women.

But in Minangkabau with its matriline system, the husband has no fangs in the eyes of his wife. The husband is not responsible for anything in the middle of the family as in Islam. This is because in Minangkabau who holds the power in the Gadang house is mamak. To match girls, you must also ask permission from Mamak first. Mamak has a big role in this matrilineal kinship system. Mamak also feeds and shopping for the nephews.

According to Hamka, marriage or household in the Minangkabau customary view is not the relationship of affection between two humans, but more important is the relationship between two tribes (HAMKA, 1974). The size of the survival of a family is very dependent on the relationship between relatives in the community, brothers and sisters and their mams. The important thing from Hamka's note, that the husband who has several wives and if there is a wife who is more loved by her husband, then the wife will be hostile to the male family. Men as a husband must be able to maintain a balance between his family and his wives.

Furthermore Hamka said that the custom of origin who gave a living to the wife was the brother of the wife. Very ashamed of the family and people if the wife asks for shopping to her husband, because the one who gives the child's spending is the mother not his father (HAMKA, 1974). At the wife's house, a husband must not intervene in the house at all. Sometimes if the biological child himself will be married by Mamak and his barrier, the Semanda is only told and has no right to argue. Thus Hamka said, each semanda or each husband to his wife, father towards the child, according to the main principal of Minangkabau there is no responsibility (HAMKA, 1984).

In essence in Minangkabau men are very miserable. He did not have a place to stay only for a moment he lived in his mother's house, which was until the age of 6 years. After that he had to sleep in the mosque, together with his friends while learning to recite the Koran. Shame is true if the original Minangkabau child, sleeps at home when he is good at stepping into the mosque. After his wife should become Semanda at his wife's house and he had no power in his wife's house. If he divorced from there, he was the one who had to bring the package and leave. The man who was not very wife was also despicable because he had to go back to sleep in the mosque until he was married again.

According to Hamka, it is a disgrace if an adult male sleeps in his mother's house or at his sister's house. If he is old there is no place for him in his home home. Some tribes make the mosque of residence of parents who are no longer useful in their children's home, because their strength to find money is up. The man's parents were very despicable in his son's house, he did not have wealth because his children were in power. In the nephew's house, his power has run out, because the young nephew has also replaced its place (HAMKA, 1984).

Hamka emphasized that the household is a pillar of peace, the face of human life is not the same, some are rich, there are poor, but peace in the household is an unseamful wealth. A father dares to challenge the waves of life even though how powerful, if he is surrounded by a faithful wife and a devoted child. In the Koran, God was ordered so that his wife was given a place to live by her husband in his own residence, so that the souls of the child and his wife became a form of course. That is the pillar of education. It was in that household 7 years old children taught praying and at the age of 10 if leaving the prayers were beaten. In the association of life, it is also called that the household is the art of the establishment of a society. From the household to a hamlet, nagari, city, country and nation. Thus what is used throughout the world except according to the Minangkabau custom. In the Minangkabau traditional pole that was torn down. In essence according to Hamka, the household is not in the Minangkabau traditional order (HAMKA, 1984).

Hamka criticized in the novel *Merantau ke Deli* about Minangkabau's traditional views on the existence of a household that was built through marriage. According to him in Minangkabau the wife is the owner of the household . The husband is only a while, meaning that other people who come to the wife's house because they are picked up by customs. The child of the family did not enter the tribe of his father but followed the mother tribe (HAMKA, 1982c).

Although a family has long migrated, the wife did not fall into her husband's power but in her mother's power. If the wife is destitute in an overseas, *mamak* can tell the wife to return to the village. If the wife is brought to migrate, the husband's property is not their property with a family but belongs to the male relatives. The woman brought to migrate only hopes the profit from the husband's gift. If divorce occurs, women are not entitled to a part of the husband's search assets. The woman only functions as a cook and care for children. Women don't feel that their husbands are their life partners, but other people. Widia Fithri said that Hamka in explaining the Minangkabau traditional concept emphasizes the views of others, by calling a while of men, a metaphor to show that men are migrants in a Minangkabau household (Fithri, 2013).

Hamka then in the same novel compares the concept of households in Javanese customs. The view of family in Javanese society is a husband and wife relationship as a life partner, both trying, both difficult and happy. All property

rights are shared. If there is a divorce, the property rights are divided into two. If a woman has a husband, the husband is a place to depend on the wife physically and mentally. Husband becomes a leader and wife becomes a driver in the household (HAMKA, 1982c).

Hamka indeed emphasized that Minangkabau was a great culture. But that was in historical records. Hamka called for Minangkabau to change to follow the times, nothing remains except the change itself. Minang customs that are not weathered because of rain and timeless because the heat is no longer there, like that is stone, and the stone is now mossy. So that stones are stored and still valuable should be put into the museum (HAMKA, 1984).

Hamka directed the renewal of the understanding of Minangkabau customs to modern Indonesian life, towards a household that binds the father, child, and wife in one family. The concept of the gadang house has run out, the composition of the matrilineal community will disappear sooner or later. Hamka asserted that it all started with Pusako's property which originated from the matrilineal adopted by the Minangkabau custom (HAMKA, 1984).

From the criticism conveyed by Hamka it was seen that in Minangkabau the household was not in its existence. Because the power of men does not exist at all. Men are only rancak in Labuah, beautiful outside even though inside destroyed. Let him be a mamak ninik who holds the institution's customs, holding the title Datuk shaking nature, his power to his own biological children does not exist. He has a tribe with his son that is the cause. The person who has the right to the child is his mother and who is as well as him (HAMKA, 1982c).

Hamka criticized the matrilineal system which in the household order placed a husband or father as a guest or migrant in his wife's house. He has no authority to his wife. Hamka said that in the Minangkabau family a father was not authorized to his child. A husband also has no power to his wife, who has the power is mamak from his wife. Furthermore, Hamka directs and offers a more modern family system used in all places except in Minangkabau, which is a parental kinship system, where the family only consists of fathers, mothers and children. So that the father or husband has full power towards his child and wife. According to Widia Fithri, Hamka then directed the renewal of the Minangkabau customary understanding to a more modern life, towards a household that binds the father, child and wife in one family (Fithri, 2013). So in his view, Hamka wants an overhaul of the matrilineal system into a parental system.

Bring Back the father's position in the household with a parental system

Hamka through his criticism of the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau requires changes from matrilineal to parental, the kinship system is only based on both parents. Where fathers play an important role in a family. To

restore the role of a husband according to Islamic teachings, the system that should be used is parental instead of matrilineal.

Hamka's view of this parental system can also be seen from one of his novels entitled *Merantau ke Deli*, namely when he compared the concept of the household in Minang and in Java. Household in Javanese society is a husband and wife relationship as a life partner, both trying, both difficult and happy. All property rights are shared. If there is a divorce, the property rights are divided into two. If a woman has a husband, the husband is a place to depend on the wife physically and mentally. Husband becomes a leader and wife becomes a driver in the household (HAMKA, 1982).

Parental family system is a family system that is drawn from the lineage of the father and mother at once. In other words the family of the father and mother are equally important. The implication of this family system is that the father has a complete control over the household, as the mother also has a part in the household. Conditions like this closed the possibility of the entry of people or other parties to interfere in all rules that are applied within the family with a parental system. Unlike the matrilineal which gives a very large gap for *mamak* to regulate the life order of married in the family of his sister, so that the father's position as a marginalized family. Then with a parental system the father's position can be returned as the head of the family and leader in the household.

The author views that what Hamka said about Minangkabau custom is a kind of prediction in the future, which is today. In fact today matrilineal is no longer running as the real theory. *Mamak* no longer holds the role of a child on the lap of *Kamanakan* in a strong embarrassment. Or the *Sumando* people no longer lose power to his wife and child. *Mamak* today is a symbol. The symbol that Minang culture still exists. But the essence of *mamak* is no longer running as it should. Likewise the nephew no longer sat at the door to pay when *mamak* stood at the debt door.

Many things that resulted in the shift occurred. Wander is one of the causes. Migrating makes the Minangkabau people get a new picture of how the life system is overseas. The system was then wonged into him and carried away when he arrived at his hometown. Many people also migrate and do not go home until they don't know anymore with their customs and culture. Included in this case the role and function of the matrilineal customs. The role of the people contained in this kinship system is no longer running according to the actual concept. What Hamka said was a form of desire to change. According to him using the Matrilineal *kababaatn* system is something that is irrelevant for today. Because the matrilineal system on the one hand has marginalized the position and role of men in Minangkabau.

However, as mentioned earlier that although Minangkabau adheres to a matrilineal system but is not matriarchal. Moreover, what happens today is basically not damaging the concept of custom itself. Only because of the changes in the times there was a shift in social functions where at first the biggest power or authority was in the hands of Mamak, but today it is father who has more power for his small family. So that what happens is only a shift in function that does not damage the matrilineal system itself. So according to the author of Hamka's discourse about converting matrilineal into parental cannot be maintained. The author actually sees that what is maintained and fought for by the matrilineal system in Minangkabau is one of the Rasul's commands about respecting women. Especially when Rasul mentioned Ummuka three times as a person to be respected. According to the authors of the Matrilineal traditional is a custom that is in line with the command of respecting the woman taught by the Prophet, and is worth maintaining.

Islam with the concept of rahmatan lil alamin through the Prophet Muhammad came with the teachings to be fair and respect for women. If at first women in the past did not have the right to the distribution of assets, but after Islam entered, Islam actually explained and gave inheritance rights to women. This is also what is done by the Minangkabau custom. Minang customs even respect women by giving greater inheritance rights to Perempuan from men, in this case Pusako's property is high. So according to the author, similarities like this will not occur if the Minangkabau culture does not adhere to matrilineal. Matrilineal respects women's ownership rights such as Islam who also respect and protect women's rights. This is the characteristics of Minangkabau culture. This uniqueness must be maintained without having to change it fundamentally even though some shifts occur. Like the proverb of Minang Usan-Usang is updated.

Besides all of that it is also necessary to remember that what Hamka said was indeed a reality that Hamka witnessed and experienced as long as he lived. But on the other hand, after knowing Hamka from the history of his life, what he said about the marginalization of the fate of men in Minangkabau was like a subjective opinion of Hamka who was motivated by childhood experiences. And the event certainly does not apply to everyone so that it cannot be generalized. However, even though Hamka gave a sharp criticism to the Minangkabau custom, it did not make him denounce and was not proud of the custom itself. Even in my father's book, Hamka actually defended the Minangkabau custom. According to him, customs and religion are interdependent integration, not like water and oil that cannot be put together (HAMKA, 1982b).

CONCLUSION

Hamka is a figure from the Minangkabau realm. The journey of life he experienced inspired him to write a lot of works until the end of his life. Hamka in his essay in addition to praising the wisdom of Minang cultural but on the other

hand also criticized one of the Minang customary order itself, the matrilineal kinship system. Hamka is very firmly suspending how miserable the position of men in the Minangkabau custom, which is only useful when he is young but miserable when he is old. Hamka through his criticism of Minangkabau customs aimed at sharply to the matrilineal kinship system, calling out that the matrilineal kinship system is out of date, and the family in Minangkabau in the future must be aimed at the formation of a family consisting of fathers, mothers and children.

Hamka mentioned that the existence of men in the concept of matrilineal kinship does not exist. In his household he was like a guest at his wife's house or like an inn room tenant, where the wife functions as a servant and the owner but does not rule full of his house, the ruling is Mamak. He added that in the matrilineal kinship system, the nature of the household also does not exist. The father has no right to his own child, because he has a different tribe with his son. The concept of family aspired to Islam, as the first place of education for children, or as a place of peace for fathers, mothers and children cannot be achieved by matrilineal customs. Hamka firmly said that the matrilineal Minangkabau custom actually destroyed the nature of the household which should be a place of peace.

The author argues that related to the position of men who according to Hamka are not guaranteed his welfare in Minangkabau, especially because he does not have physical property and authority to his biological children, perhaps can be reviewed from the other side to be more balanced. The author actually views that men also have great authority in a society in Minangkabau. Minangkabau as mentioned, despite the pitting to the mother or using a matrilineal kinship system, but the social system is not Matriarchat. The point is that in Minangkabau is not a woman who holds full power. The formal legal power in the Minangkabau community is actually held by men. While women do not occupy such formal legal roles. Women is Bundo Kanduang, as a place to ask, but does not have the authority to decide.

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