



## Relationship Between Customs and Religion in Minangkabau Society Shown in The Works of Hamka

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**Abstract:** The Minangkabau community, known for its devout religiosity, is unique in its adherence to a matrilineal kinship system, which differs from the patrilineal teachings of Islam. This article explains the relationship between customary law, Islam, Minangkabau society in Hamka's works. The findings not only show how the relationship between customs and religion manifest themselves in Minangkabau society, as shown in the works that are the subject of this study, but also include a critique of this relationship. Hamka argues through his works that the relationship embodied in the Minangkabau concept, namely *syarak bersanding adat, adat bersanding kitabullah* (religion alongside custom, custom alongside the Book of Allah), is not yet an ideal concept because it is not dominated by Sharia. As a result, the customary system still leads to discrimination, not only against outsiders but also among community members themselves, regarding the regulation of marriage and inheritance.

**Keywords:** customary and religious relations, Minangkabau, literary works

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## A. Introduction

The discussion of society cannot be separated from its customs (Yusuf & Yusuf, 2014). One of the unique societies among ethnic groups in Indonesia is the Minangkabau, the largest group in the world that adheres to a matrilineal kinship system (Malik, 2018). The Lewurung community in Maluku also uses the matrilineal system, commonly referred to as *adat nenek mama* or “grandmother’s customs” (Lakburlawal, 2014). Other ethnic groups in Indonesia that still maintain descent through the maternal line such as the Doka Niksie in Ngada Regency, East Nusa Tenggara; the Enggano tribe in Bengkulu province; the Sakai and Kerinci tribes; and the Nakhi tribe in Yunnan-Vietnam (Sastra, 2018; Sile, Suwena, & Arjani, 2020).

The kinship system in Minangkabau is unique because of its connection to the Islamic religion. Besides supporting the matrilineal system, the Minang people are known for their migratory nature and devout adherence to Islam. The connection between customs and religion is depicted in the proverb *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*, meaning customs are based on Islamic law, and Islamic law is based on the Qur’an. This development gave rise to a new customary saying, *syarak mangato adat memakai*, with the understanding that Islamic law dictates and customs embody religion. Subsequently, another saying emerged, *syarak bertelanjang adat besesamping*, interpreted to mean that customs generally use metaphors when both commanding and prohibiting, while Islamic law uses “clear and firm” language (Bukhari, 2009).

This customary relationship was achieved through a long and continuous process of Islamization, especially the reform movement developed by the Minang people who returned from Arabic country. They were known as the *Urang Padri*, but later referred to themselves as the *Urang Putih*, in contrast to the *Urang Hitam*, who were the targets of their reform in Minangkabau land. This reform movement caused dynamics and conflicts within the Minangkabau community. With the defeat of the Padri, the radicalized movement came to an end, but its influence on the inclination towards Sharia-oriented Islam is evident in the proverbs mentioned (Azra, 2003).

Nevertheless, the formulation of the relationship between Islam and custom still causes ambivalence. The Minangkabau people adhere to customs oriented towards matrilineality, while Islam is patrilineal. In Islam, men are seen as leaders of women; therefore, they are responsible for providing material and spiritual support for the well-being of their wives and children (Sa’dan, 2016).

In Minangkabau society, many traditional practices persist, including the matrilineal inheritance system, complex status structures, and mechanisms for deliberation among leaders (Rush, 2017). Kato and Oki, cited in Azra (2003), state that the intense Islamization of the Minangkabau people did not alter the matrilineal family system and property ownership amidst the changing social situation.

The customary relationship and religion in Minangkabau society is an interesting subject for study. Previous studies have focused more on the matrilineal principles of society. The customary relationship in such a synthetic form undergoes preservation, adaptation and the creation of new cultures that do not contradict Islam (Aziz et al., 2020). These principles are significant in maintaining relationships with other ethnic groups (Elfira, 2011), and have been the subject of various studies, including marriage (Bahardur et al., 2022); inheritance (Elfia et al., 2023; Malik et al., 2013) and residence (Bahauddin, 2023). These studies used empirical data together with various social theories.

This paper attempts to depict how the customary relationship and religion in Minangkabau society is portrayed in the works of Hamka, specifically *Di Bawah Lindungan Kabah* (1938) / Under the Protection of the Kaaba (1938) hereinafter referred to as DBLK, and *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijk* the Sinking of the Van Der Wijk (1939), subsequently referred to as TKVDW. Hamka was a prolific writer known as a prominent religious scholar and a representative of Indonesian Islam (Taylor, 2017). He came from a religiously devout family, and the characters in his stories uphold religious principles and values when facing conflicts in their society (Wan Yusof, 2005).

The selection of the novels as data for this research provides an alternative approach, as they are considered a reflection of society (Damono, 2020). Moreover, the works are seen as representative of modern society and civilization. In a broader context, their creation is related to the growth of capitalism, industrialization, Protestantism, and individualistic philosophy (Clavaron, 2015; Reid, 2013). Literary works emerge from the perspective of writers who cannot detach themselves from their existence as members of society (Flipo, 2007; Gómez, 2020). In this context, literature, specifically novels, is an evaluative response of writers to the socio-cultural conditions of society (Mahayana, 2005). They are the result of the writer's reflections in expressing what is seen, heard or felt imaginatively, using language as a medium. In this context, literature, and specifically novels, has imaginative-creative results. Literature is not detached from the empirical reality of its author. As novels are highly personal, to some extent they reflect the author's experiences in society (Botelho & Hoelz, 2016). Through literary works, authors express the problems of

societal life of which they are a part. The society depicted is that experienced by authors in their daily lives. The originality lies in the fact that such society is mixed with the author's emotions, obsessions, aspirations and images.

As members of society, writers undoubtedly hold opinions on various issues, including significant social and political matters that follow contemporary issues (Maulani & Holil, 2022; Wellek & Warren, 2014). The authors' experiences and opinions about life are then internalized, interpreted and given meaning. The results are expressed through language, after being seasoned with imagination, creating literary works such as novels, poetry or drama. In this way, authors can represent a specific society (Purwantini & Bramantio, 2018).

To obtain a representative interpretation, this research uses the sociological literature approach to understand the meaning of the literary works under study. In this case, sociological literature investigates the relationship between literary works and the social structure in the place where they are produced (Alaqwaa, 2020). In sociological literature, writing opens up the possibility to view literary authors as cultural analysts; as social actors whose task is, like that of a seismograph, to detect specific movements, to be in moments of clarity and maturity, and to develop them directly (Marczak-Markowski, 2023).

Methodologically, this allows for a deeper analysis of cultural meaning based on the socially experienced emotional and existential reality, shared and filtered intersubjectively by various groups of readers and cultural intermediaries. In this sense, sociological literature views the process of capturing meaning not as simply passing through literary works sequentially to understand their social truth (Rees, 2022). Instead, the implications lie between the text and the context in which it is created and interpreted. In terms of epistemology, sociologists sometimes look at literature with envy, acknowledging that it can provide testimony about social phenomena beyond the reach of other social sciences (Malinkin, 2022).

One of the main goals of sociological literature is to open up and expand the concept of literary culture, together with an understanding of who produces it (Kriukova & Koval, 2023). In this sense, sociological literature encompasses various approaches based on specific attitudes and theories. It is a reflective branch of library research that views literature as a mirror of society. The basic assumption of sociological literature research is that literature is not born in social emptiness but is triggered by social life. Successful literary works reflect their time.

In this context, literature reflects the socio-cultural environment. It examines the dialectics between the author and the social situation that shapes or explains a

dialectical history developed in literary works. Therefore, sociological literature discusses the relationship between authors and their social life in more depth. The form and content of literary works are shaped by the environmental atmosphere and the forces of a specific period.

## **B. Methods**

This qualitative research uses the content analysis method. The data collection employed document content analysis techniques (read-note-analyze) to obtain complete and accurate data related to the problem being studied. In addition, data were collected from various sources derived from references related to the relationship between customs and religion in the Minangkabau community in order to enhance understanding, explanation and interpretation of the data.

Such a method was used to understand the symbolic messages in the texts about the depiction of marriage and inheritance linked to customs and religion in the Minangkabau community in the two works by Hamka. These messages include dialogue, characters' views and feelings, and events in the novels. The literary works analyzed in the study are *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (DBLK) and *Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck* (TKVD). The first novel was initially published in 1938 by Balai Pustaka up until the sixth edition. Subsequently, it was published by Bulan Bintang, up until the 32nd edition in 2012. The novel used in this research is the 31st edition dating from 2010. The other work, TKVD, was initially serialized in a magazine entitled *Pedoman Masyarakat (Community Guidelines)* in 1938. A year later, it was published as a novel in Medan and reprinted for the second time in 1949. It was then published by Balai Pustaka from the third to the seventh editions, and the eighth edition (1961) by Nusantara in Jakarta. Subsequently, it was taken over by Bulan Bintang up until the 28th edition in 2002, that used in this research.

The data are described, analyzed, and interpreted through a literary sociology approach, which encompasses both the author and their works as well as reader responses from various references identified by the researcher. This approach was selected for its ability to broaden the understanding of cultural concepts in literature. Literary sociology operates on the premise that literature emerges from social contexts; thus, social conditions can influence the creation of literary works. Successful literature often reflects its era, embodying the socio-cultural environment and illustrating the interaction between the author and the societal conditions that shape or are depicted in the work. Consequently, literary sociology focuses on the

interplay between authors and their social realities, with both the form and content of a literary work being influenced by the environmental and temporal context.

### C. Results and Discussion

Discussed below are some aspects of the matrilineal system found in Hamka's works concerning marriage and inheritance, together with his critiques of these.

#### Marriage

The Minangkabau people adhere to a matrilineal social system, but it is not a matriarchy in terms of power. The word "matriarchy" comes from two words: "mater", meaning "mother," and "archein" (Greek), meaning "to rule." Therefore, "matriarchy" means "power is in the hands of the mother or women." The term is often equated with "matrilineal," although they have different meanings. "Matrilineal" comes from two words: "mater" (Latin), meaning "mother", and "linea" (Latin), meaning "line." Therefore, "matrilineal" means "following the lineage traced from the mother's side" (Yvancos & García-Rodríguez, 2022).

However, power in Minangkabau society is in fact in the hands of men. A complete code of customary law written by Datuk Katumanggungan and Datuk Perpatih states that the deciding power among the population within the scope of "saparurik" (family) is held by the maternal uncles, called "mamaks" (Livholts, 2022; Voshchenko, 2022).

Customary chiefs and leaders see their duty as protecting their nieces and nephews, ensuring the welfare of their community and its customs. The "ninik mamak" (maternal uncles) make decisions about family and kin matters, especially concerning the nieces and nephews under their care. With such authority, their fate depends on their ninik mamak. Members of the clan are not allowed to tarnish the reputation of their relatives or their clan. They claim their customs have never become obsolete and surpass those of other ethnic groups. This belief arises because they feel that in the past, their ethnic group was the earliest in Sumatra and had extensive power from Aceh to Makassar.

In Hamka's two works studied, society is depicted as holding firmly and loyally to its social system. People cling tightly to their customs, much like their traditional houses, which are built solidly, symbolized by the "*pendak bersentak*" below the pointed roof ends, in the context of traditional Minangkabau architecture, "*pendak bersentak*" refers to an architectural element of the roof structure that is pointed or protruding upwards. The traditional Minangkabau house is four-pointed, roofed with "ijuk" (palm fibers), and decorated with additional pointed roofs. Four rice

barns are situated in the spacious yard to store money or precious goods from ancestral property. The yard is typically used for drying rice before milling (Hamka, 1938).

Zainuddin, a main character in TKVD experienced how various customary rules disrupted his happiness, similar to what Pendekar Sutan, his father, felt. Because he did not marry a woman from his clan, his father could not use the title "Datuk Mantari." Pendekar Sutan, after completing his prison term, went to Makassar and intended not to return to Padang. He married a noble girl descended from the King of Bugis. Although not just any woman, Zainuddin's mother was considered a foreigner or outsider.

A person's kinship in Minangkabau is traced from the mother's side. Based on the concept of *alam takambang jadi guru* (nature as a teacher), the lineage based on the mother takes precedence, since women give birth. In reality, to date the Minangkabau community has continued to adhere to the maternal line and has not undergone evolution. In addition, the maternal line is closely related to the inheritance system of "sako" and "pusako" (ancestral property). If the lineage were to change, it would transform the very foundations of Minangkabau customs themselves (Pebriani, 2018).

Even if a person has a Minangkabau father, if the mother is from elsewhere, even if from nearby regions such as Tapanuli or Bengkulu, they are still considered outsiders, as they are deemed clanless and thus not entitled to an honorary title. If they are wealthy, they can buy a title by paying a debt to the state through a ceremony involving the sacrifice of cows and buffaloes and inviting the *ninik mamak* and religious scholars. However, the title is only a loan and cannot be passed on to their descendants.

Due to marriage outside his clan, Zainuddin was considered an "anak pisang" (outsider) and thus did not receive a warm welcome from his father's family. While in Batipuh, he stayed at the house of Mande Jamilah, his maternal uncle's family. This hospitality was due to the regular monthly allowance sent by Mak Base from Makassar. At night, Zainuddin slept in the "surau" (prayer house) with other young men according to custom, and during the day, he helped with farming tasks. To stay with his grandfather, Zainuddin had to wait for consensus from the entire family, which meant he visited his grandfather only once.

Zainuddin also faced difficulties due to customs when choosing a partner. In a deliberation led by Datuk Garang, Hayati's *ninik mamak* rejected Zainuddin's proposal. They preferred Azis over Zainuddin for their niece. Although Azis came

from a prominent Minangkabau family, he was of bad character; his outward charm was merely a facade. He indulged in entertainment every night, squandering money to satisfy his desires. He used his father's savings because the office cash register was already in deficit. He mistreated many women, and he had already faced life-threatening situations two or three times. Azis always refused marriage proposals, arguing that it would restrict his freedom to enjoy life. His proposal to Hayati was due to his sister Khadijah's persuasion and his attraction to Hayati's physical beauty. Hayati's father could not defend his daughter, who loved Zainuddin more. In Minangkabau society, husbands do not participate in deliberations and must accept the outcomes, even if the person being proposed to or married is their child. They are considered "orang semenda" (outsiders) to their wife's clan. However, from an Islamic perspective, a father is more responsible for nurturing and finding a match for his child, not the mamak (Thahar, 2016).

Azis was chosen because of his clear Minangkabau lineage, which Zainuddin lacked. Additionally, Azis and his family received other privileges that were agreed upon by customs. "These noble people do not pay the dowry required by religion but only one or two ringgits mentioned before the kadi. It is the woman's side that pays the dowry, according to the man's noble status" (Hamka, 1938).

Zainuddin was rejected and slandered for using magic to win Hayati's affection. Before the deliberation, he had already been expelled from Kampung Batipuh by Hayati's ninik mamak without support from Mande Jamilah and his grandfather Datuk Paduka Emas or other maternal relatives.

Despite being driven out of Kampung Batipuh, Zainuddin succeeded as a writer in Surabaya. His departure from his father's birthplace was likened to a "hijrah" (migration), which has three implications, First, the act of avoiding things that must be shunned; second, things that must be upheld should be established; and third, set boundaries should be consistently adhered to. Operationally, hijrah can be defined as an effort to set aside difficulties for the purpose of ease, while remaining within the boundaries set by sharia, both outwardly and inwardly (Chamorro & Alías, 2022; Kemple, 2022; Rossi, 2022).

In Surabaya, Zainuddin achieved material success and gained recognition from the Minangkabau community in the diaspora, including Azis and Hayati. He became known throughout Indonesia because his books were distributed in various cities. His social circle extended beyond his ethnic community to various groups, including activists. Besides in Surabaya, numerous political organizations were formed to defend the nation's and homeland's interests to achieve prosperity.

Apart from Zainuddin, another young man who faced hardships due to custom was Hamid, in TKVD. He could not fulfill his desire to be with Zainab because, after the death of Haji Jafar, Zainab's father, the *ninik mamak*, took over the arrangement of his niece's affairs. Although Zainab shared feelings for Hamid, she was to be betrothed to her father's nephew who was studying in Java. The marriage would take place upon the nephew's graduation; through it, Haji Ja'far's property could be guarded by his own family, as Zainab was the only child.

The decision, of course, came after Zainab's mother, Mak Aisyah, deliberated with her relatives. Since her husband's death, they had taken over much of her family affairs. Therefore, if they disagreed, Zainab's prospective husband would be rejected. Besides being a relative, the husband must be of equal status and rank. As the daughter of a wealthy man with rental properties in Padang and Bukit Tinggi, and extensive fields in Payakumbuh and Lintau, Zainab would be looked down upon not only by her relatives but by the community if she accepted Hamid's love, who was of unequal standing. In the view of Hamid's mother, she and her son were,

“...People like us (who) have been labeled as 'lower class' or 'commoners,' while they are called 'upper branch,' sometimes due to rank or wealth. A gold ring is too precious to have a glass stone; it must be an emerald or sapphire. People are reluctant to make gold or to bind an already polished stone with a chain that holds back the heart, having long endured in prison.” (Hamka, 1938)

Therefore, before passing away, Hamid's mother urged him to forget his feelings for Zainab before the love grew more assertive. She did not want her son to be shamed or to despair over being rejected by Mak Aisyah's relatives as a husband for Zainab. To show respect and devotion to his mother, Hamid forgot Zainab. He even fulfilled Mak Aisyah's request to persuade her daughter to marry her cousin. Meanwhile, Zainab herself had feelings for Hamid.

“As you know, when we graduated from school, customs separated us from meeting men who were not our mahram, not brothers or close family, and at that time, I felt an astonishing loneliness. Circumstances separated me from him, and I could no longer realize that a strange feeling had struck me. I felt empty and quiet, my thoughts occasionally returning only to Hamid.” (Hamka, 1938)

## Inheritance

Another custom that governs the Minangkabau people is inheritance. In their tradition, *sako* and *pusako* inherited from ancestors are passed down to maternal uncles, nieces, and nephews. These are hereditary legacies according to the maternal

line or blood kinship. Therefore, maternal uncles and nieces/nephews have rights and obligations (Bahauddin, 2023). The matrilineal system adhered to by Minangkabau society traces lineage from the mother. Likewise, the system of dividing ancestral properties and rice fields is based on this lineage (Ismail, 2017).

Due to this rule, Pendekar Sutan in *Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck* cannot use his mother's inheritance, even though he is the sole heir to her assets. He intended to mortgage the ancestral property of rice fields for household expenses, but this was always thwarted by his uncles and nephews. Meanwhile, all the income from the ancestral property was always enjoyed by his nephews. His protest to his uncle, Datuk Mantari Labih, was met with insults and a challenge to fight, which resulted in Datuk Mantari Labih's death, leading to Pendekar Sutan being exiled for 15 years.

Similarly, his son Zainuddin was unable to freely use his grandmother's assets as a descendant. This was because Zainuddin's father had no sisters to manage his ancestral property. The property fell into the hands of his uncle, Datuk Mantari Labih, who used it for his children's needs.

In Minangkabau society, a man without sisters is considered unfortunate. He is regarded as an outsider because no one oversees his assets. After his mother's death, only he and his uncle managed the property, which included tiered rice fields, an artificial canal, and a large house. In Minangkabau society, there are rules for using ancestral land,

"According to a Minangkabau proverb, the ancestral property cannot be disturbed or pawned unless for four reasons: "A large house with leaks, customs and inheritance not upheld, a corpse lying in the middle of the house, a grown girl without a husband." If one of these reasons occurs, then "if there is no wood, a staircase is made of planks; if there is no gold, a nugget is polished." (Hamka, 1938)

The same situation is experienced by Zainab in *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah*. After the death of Haji Jafar, Zainab's father, all the properties, including rental houses in Padang and Bukit Tinggi, and the vast rice fields in Payakumbuh and Lintau, were guarded by her relatives. They not only managed the assets and all household matters, but also Zainab's life. Zainuddin, who was previously adopted by her father, had no rights whatsoever.

### **Critique by Hamka**

The matrilineal practices involving marriage and inheritance are still generally prevalent in Minangkabau, especially in rural areas, even though the patrilineal-

oriented penetration of Islam continues. As Kato and Akiran (cited in Azra, 2003) conclude, the Minangkabau matrilineal system remains alive during times of change, although it has accommodated certain elements. As an open society that readily accepts new external elements, the harmonization of custom and religion achieved thus far is considered incomplete.

In light of this, Hamka believes that the Islamic elements in customs, such as the Minangkabau proverb *adat bersendi syarak, syarak bersendi kitabullah* (customs based on religious law, religious law based on the Quran), while giving a place to Islamic law, do not dominate. According to Hamka, this accommodation is an Islamic structure according to the Minangkabau worldview (Reid, 2013).

Islam considers that customs and habits in society, together with good deeds, can be established as law, as stated in Q.S. al A'raf verse 199. Regarding its position, when observing the guidance in the use of arguments, the four imams (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'I and Hambali) appear to use customs. However, in the order, they are placed last (Zainuddin, 2018). The sequence is found in the Qur'an Q.S. An-Nisa; 59 and the Prophetic tradition narrated by Imam Tirmizi and Abu Daud, containing a dialog between the Prophet and Muaz bin Jabal.

Therefore, Hamka believes customs should not contradict the main Islamic sources, namely the Qur'an and Hadith. He considered that many rules in his society were based on customary views rather than Islamic law, such as marriage and inheritance issues.

Therefore, the young characters in Hamka's works, Hamid and Zainab (*Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah*), and Zainuddin, Hayati and Pendekar Sutan (*Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck*), protest against the matrilineal system. They experience injustice from the ninik mamak as custodians of Minangkabau customs, described by Mak Base, Zainuddin's adoptive mother, as "very different customs." Custodians of customs should act justly, especially towards their customary community. In the Migou Pa' Tulangbawang community, Lampung, the higher the customary title a person has, the greater the risk he will face. The punishment received by customary title holders is greater than that of ordinary people (Khaliq, 2017).

As a follower of Ibn Taymiyyah, Hamka intended to reform societal practices that did not align with Islam, particularly in Minangkabau. His grandfather, Sheikh Muhammad Amrullah, was a respected and revered follower of the Naqshbandi mu'tabarrah tariqah and was believed to have spiritual powers, often called wali. However, Hamka's father, Sheikh Abdul Karim Amrullah, commonly known as Haji

Rasul, had a different understanding than his predecessors. Although both attended school in Mecca, Haji Rasul was known to firmly reject the religious practices of his father and grandfather. He was a reformer (al-tajdīd) (Yusuf & Yusuf, 2014). Therefore, Hamka disagreed with Al Ghazali's Sufism, which he considered to be a rejection and fear of life, and self-isolation from what was occurring around him (Kemple, 2022; Madjid, 2010).

According to al-Ghazali, the goal of knowledge is noble morals, love of God, *fana* (refers to the concept of spiritual annihilation or self-extinction) in Him, and happiness. Therefore, knowledge is directed towards moral goals because knowledge depends on the cleanliness and purity of the heart. This is a sign of guidance; whenever knowledge increases, noble morals and purity of heart increase. Al-Ghazali viewed love for Allah as a fruit of knowledge, because one cannot imagine love except with knowledge and understanding, as one cannot fall in love except with something one already knows. There is nothing more worthy of love than Allah. Therefore, if someone loves something other than Allah, unless it is attributed to Allah, then it is due to his ignorance and lack of knowledge about Allah (Sukirman, 2016). Thus, the style of al-Ghazali's Sufism (*tasawwuf*) is psychomoral, emphasizing moral development through self-discipline and purification of the soul, allowing it to reach *ma'rifah* (spiritual knowledge) and *mushahadah billah* (witnessing God) without any notion of self-unification (*al-Ittihad*). The means of *ma'rifah*, according to al-Ghazali, is not the mind, senses or taste, but the heart. The heart (*qalb*) is not in the sense of a lump of flesh located to the left of the chest, as commonly thought, but describes the heart (*qalb*) not as a physical organ but as a divine spark or spiritual essence that represents the true nature of a human being, connecting them to God (*latifah rabbaniyyah*) which is the ultimate truth of man. al-Ghazali likens the soul to a mirror that can be exposed to dirt and damaged by neglect; if it is cleaned of impurities, it will reflect the realities of the spiritual world, with the achievement of *ma'rifah* being the method employed (Rohmanan, 2021).

To sum up, in the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck*, Hamka, through his character Zainuddin, fights back by leaving his village to go to Java to become a writer and create a drama club for the Minangkabau people. Through his writings and performances, he criticizes the people in the village who still used the old customs. His books reached various cities in the archipelago and were read by many, including Hayati. Reading the books, Hayati was awakened and intended to apologize to Hamid, but Hamid only accepted her apology when Hayati breathed her last.

Nevertheless, Hamka still greatly appreciated al-Ghazali's works and esoteric Islamic teachings in general. In *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah*, Hamid left his hometown to go to the holy land, where he died. While there, he studied and practiced Al Ghazali's teachings. His life was devoted to worship until he died under the protection of the Kaaba. Nonetheless, his flight to Mecca was Hamid's protest against the societal norms in his village. He was asked to suppress his love for Zainab due to differences in social status; she came from the 'upper branch,' while Hamid was from the "lower status" or ordinary people.

Their meeting would have occurred upon the arrival of Saleh, his village friend. Unfortunately, death claimed them before they could reunite. They no longer cared about the upper and lower classes. Indeed, the revolution in Islam is about fighting for equality and liberating society from discrimination based on factors such as religion, race and social status. This is why Islam continues to grow today (Huang et al., 2021; Kirby, 2021).

Hamka continued to strive for reform to uphold Islam in *Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck*. Buya Hamka explained that reform (modernization) is important in all fields. The struggle must be like that of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, who united the Arab nation into one that was aware of self-esteem and had a holy mission. The Prophet educated the people to respect and elevate the status of women, who were then highly despised. He forbade the exploitation of human beings for personal gain, abhorred injustice, and advocated the upholding of trust and justice (Malinkin, 2022).

Many verses of the Qur'an invite Muslims to practice justice (Q.S. An Nisa; 135; Al Maidah: 8; Al An'am: 114; Al A'raf; 54; an-Nahl: 90; and Al Hadid: 25) and treat all people equally (Q.S. Al Hujarat: 13; Az-Dzariyat: 56; and Al-An'am: 165). Likewise, the Prophet's traditions widely discuss justice. Among these are those narrated by HR. Muslim, "(Among) the inhabitants of heaven are three people: a just ruler who is an expert in charity and has the guidance of Allah; a person who has a loving and gentle nature towards his immediate family and every Muslim; and a person who does not want to beg while he is carrying the burden of a large family".

Although the religious injunction to practice justice is very strict, Hamka sees the two young men in his novels, Hamid and Zainuddin, helplessly humiliated by the traditional rulers because of their social status. Hamid is not wealthy, while Zainuddin's mother is not from Minangkabau. Likewise, the women, Zainab and Hayati, are differentiated from the men in terms of marriage, education and their role in society.

Therefore, Hamka considers the principle of the relationship between adat and religion expressed by Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah (adat based on religious law, religious law based on the Qur'an), only as a temporary compromise when the Padri group surrendered. Efforts to harmonize adat and religion were considered to be unfinished. Hamka stated that this accommodation was an Islamic structure, whose formation was based on the Minangkabau worldview (Hayashi, 2022).

With this spirit, through his characters Hamka questioned the Minangkabau people's steadfast adherence to their customs, even though many young people were victims of these. With his religious background, Zainuddin questioned not only discrimination against other ethnic groups, but also the kinship system, marriage and inheritance, courtship methods, and the significant role of ninik mamak toward their nephews and nieces.

Besides being a religious reformer, Hamka was also politically active. His political involvement began in 1925 with the Islamic Union Party. In 1945, he contributed to the fight against colonial powers through speeches and guerrilla activities in the jungles of Medan. He was then appointed head of the Indonesian National Defense Front (1947) (Yusuf & Yusuf, 2014). For his efforts, the Indonesian government, under Presidential Decree No. 113, Th. 2011, awarded Hamka the title of National Hero (Bahar & Hamid, 2019).

## D. Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that the relationship between adat (customary law) and Islamic law in Minangkabau society, as portrayed in the works examined, still faces significant issues. According to Hamka, the concept of *syarak bersanding adat, adat bersanding kitabullah* (Islamic law complementing custom, custom complementing the Quran) is not ideal because Islamic law has not thoroughly dominated it. As a result, this lack of dominance leads to discrimination against outsiders and within the community, particularly concerning marriage and inheritance regulations.

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