

The Dialectics of Polygamy in the Matrilineal System of 20th Century Minangkabau

Mhd. Ilham Armi

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia;
Asosiasi Studi Sosio-Legal Indonesia (ASSLESI), Indonesia
Email: ilhamarmi99@gmail.com

Susiknan Azhari

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Email: susiknan@uin-suka.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study is motivated by the massive phenomenon of polygamy in Minangkabau during the 1920s and 1930s, which was recorded as the highest prevalence in the archipelago. The main issue discussed is the dynamics of the transformation of marriage customs and family structures resulting from the dialectic among three local elite groups. These three elites include: the customs elite, which maintained polygamy as a means of social prestige and the distribution of ancestral property (*pusako*); the religious elite, which provided theological legitimacy through Islamic law; and the modern elite, which advocated monogamy based on the principles of gender equality and modern rationality. This issue is analyzed using a literature review method with a thematic and socio-legal approach to various historical documents and 20th-century media publications. This study reveals how each elite group renegotiated its legitimacy in the public sphere in response to social disruption caused by colonialism and modernization. The results of the study show that polygamy was initially strongly cohesive within the matrilineal system to maintain social status. However, critical reflections from the modern elite, especially through the women's education movement and media publications in the first half of the 20th century, triggered a paradigm shift towards family independence. This dialectic transformed the Minangkabau family structure into two objective realities: a matrilineal-polygamous pattern grounded in customary communalism, and a neolocal-monogamous pattern emphasizing the autonomy of the nuclear family. This transformation resulted in an ideal marriage pattern that integrated customs, Islam, and modernity to achieve more inclusive benefits for women. The neolocal structure ultimately redefined the role of the husband as the fully responsible head of the family, while mitigating the risk of systemic injustice that was previously inherent in customary polygamy practices.

[Kajian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh fenomena masifnya praktik poligami di Minangkabau pada periode 1920-1930-an yang tercatat sebagai prevalensi tertinggi di Nusantara. Masalah utama yang dibahas adalah dinamika transformasi adat perkawinan dan struktur keluarga akibat dialektika yang melibatkan tiga kelompok elite lokal. Ketiga elite tersebut mencakup: elite adat yang mempertahankan poligami sebagai sarana prestise sosial dan distribusi harta warisan adat (*pusako*); elite agama yang memberikan legitimasi teologis melalui syariat Islam; serta elite modern yang mengadvokasi monogami berdasarkan prinsip kesetaraan gender dan rasionalitas modern. Permasalahan ini dianalisis menggunakan metode kepustakaan dengan pendekatan sejarah tematik dan sosio-legal terhadap berbagai dokumentasi sejarah serta publikasi media abad ke-20. Kajian ini mengungkap bagaimana setiap kelompok elite menegosiasikan ulang legitimasinya dalam ruang publik guna

merespons disrupsi sosial akibat kolonialisme dan modernisasi. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa poligami pada awalnya berkohehi kuat dalam sistem matrilineal untuk menjaga status sosial. Namun, refleksi kritis dari elite modern, terutama melalui gerakan pendidikan perempuan dan publikasi media paruh pertama abad ke-20, memicu pergeseran paradigma menuju kemandirian keluarga. Dialektika ini mentransformasi struktur keluarga Minangkabau menjadi dua realitas objektif: pola poligami-matrilokal yang berbasis pada komunalitas adat, dan pola monogami-neolokal yang menekankan otonomi keluarga inti. Transformasi tersebut menghasilkan pola perkawinan ideal yang mengintegrasikan nilai adat, Islam, dan modernitas guna mewujudkan kemaslahatan yang lebih inklusif bagi perempuan. Struktur neolokal pada akhirnya meredefinisikan peran suami sebagai kepala keluarga yang bertanggung jawab penuh, dengan memitigasi risiko ketidakadilan sistemik yang sebelumnya melekat pada praktik poligami adat.]

KEYWORDS

Polygamy, matrilineal, marriage customs, family structure, Minangkabau

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received: 25 May 2025

Approved for Publication: 31 December 2025

TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Mhd. Ilham Armi, Susiknan Azhari, "The Dialectics of Polygamy in the Matrilineal System of 20th Century Minangkabau" *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 18, no. 2 (2025): 291-324, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2025.18207>.



Copyright © 2025 by Author(s)

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Introduction

In the dynamics and structure of the Minangkabau ethnicity, there are two strategic aspects to consider. *First*, the matrilineal kinship system, in which descent is traced through women.¹ *Second*, the institutionalized role of men in the matrilineal system, who lead as *penghulu datuak* (clan leaders) in extended families.² Taufik Abdullah explains that these two aspects serve to distribute traditional property, known as *harta pusako* (traditional property) and *sako* (traditional titles).³ Women play an important role in maintaining family stability, acting as heirs to the *pusako* property, and developing the family lineage.⁴ This condition limits women's ability to form nuclear families (father, mother, and children) in the modern context. The consequences of continuing this matrilineal system depend on individual women, even though they have marital ties, because husbands follow matrilocal residence in

¹ Tsuyoshi Kato, *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 52.

² Joel S. Kahn, *Minangkabau Social Formations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 43–44.

³ Taufik Abdullah, "Studi Tentang Minangkabau," in *Dialektika Minangkabau (Dalam Kemelut Sosial Dan Politik)*, ed. A. A. Navis (Padang: Penerbit Genta Singgalang Press, 1983), 157–58.

⁴ Franz von Benda-Beckmann, *Property in Social Continuity: Continuity and Change in the Maintenance of Property Relationships Through Time in Minangkabau, West Sumatra* (Leiden: Nijhoff Publishers, 1979), 132.

accordance with Minangkabau marriage customs.⁵ J. A. Barnes refers to this as post-marital ethnological interaction.⁶ In Vitri Puspita Sari's study, matrilineal residence undermines the husband's role as the family's head. This residence has a mechanism to protect wives and children, which significantly reduces the husband's financial obligations.⁷

In the 20th century, these two strategic aspects required the Minangkabau ethnic group to maintain the matrilineal system as a socio-customary system grounded in fundamental principles, even amid the tide of modernization.⁸ The discourse of modernity in the matrilineal system highlights marriage customs that intersect with polygamy during the 20th century. As documented in the *Indisch Verslag* (statistical report of the Dutch East Indies Government) at the end of the second and third decades (1920 and 1930) in Minangkabau:⁹

Table 1. Prevalence of polygamy in Minangkabau 1338 H/1920 AD and 1348 H/1930 AD

No	Minangkabau	Two Wives	Three Wives	Four Wives	Total
1	1338 H/1920 M	20.127	2.371	455	22.953
2	1348 H/1930 M	29.742	3.127	605	33.474

Source: Dutch East Indies statistical report (*Indisch Verslag: Statistisch Jaaroverzicht van Nederlandsch-Indie 1941*)

This prevalence led the Dutch East Indies government to draft a marriage regulation, *Ontwerp-Ordonnantie Op De Ingeschreven Huwelijken* (ordinance on registered marriages), in 1355 H (Hijri) or 1937 AD, which aimed to regulate marriage registration and promote monogamy.¹⁰ In the same context, the modern elite understood this as an 'outdated' practice in marriage customs.¹¹ This draft

⁵ F.W. Stapel, "Een Verhandeling Over Het Ontstaan van Het Menangkabausche Rijk En Zijn Adat," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 92, no. 1 (1935): 459; V. E. Korn, "De Vrouwelijke Mama' in de Minangkabausche Familie," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 100, no. 1 (1941): 318; B. Ter Haar, *Adat Law in Indonesia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948), 175.

⁶ J. A. Barnes, "Marriage and Residential Continuity," *American Anthropologist* 62, no. 5 (October 28, 1960): 856.

⁷ Vitri Puspita Sari, "Poligami Di Minangkabau Pada Masa Kolonial," *Historia: Jurnal Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah* 8, no. 1 (February 29, 2020): 6; Vitri Puspita Sari, Wannofri Samry, and Midawati, "Ruang Poligami Dalam Budaya Minangkabau: Tinjauan Historis," *Historia: Jurnal Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah* 9, no. 2 (August 29, 2021): 141.

⁸ This fundamental principle is embodied in a Minangkabau philosophical aphorism, *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah* (adat is based on religion, religion is based on the Qur'an and hadith) (ABS-SBK). This principle integrates Islam into Minangkabau customs with the formulation *syarak mangato, adaik mamakai* (sharia norms, adat practice). Taufik Abdullah, "Adat Dan Islam: Suatu Tinjauan Tentang Konflik Di Minangkabau," in *Sejarah Dan Masyarakat: Lintasan Historis Islam Di Indonesia*, ed. Taufik Abdullah (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1987), 119–25.

⁹ Abdoel Kareem Pringgodigdo, "Indisch Verslag: Statistisch Jaaroverzicht van Nederlandsch-Indie" (Batavia: Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek, 1941), 34.

¹⁰ Teuku Moehammad Hasan, *Ontwerp-Ordonnantie Op De Ingeschreven Huwelijken* (Batavia: Buitenzorgsche Drukkerij, 1937), 3.

¹¹ Selfi Mahat Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20* (Yogyakarta: Gre Publishing, 2018), iv.

ordinance sparked resistance from four religious organizations in Minangkabau, namely the Indonesian Muslim Union (PERMI) and the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII), which had a political basis in their movements. The other two organizations, Muhammadiyah and the Islamic Education Association (Perti), are religious and educational social organizations. The rejection was based on maintaining the fundamental principles of Minangkabau.¹²

The modern elite had a Western educational background facilitated by the Dutch East Indies government and traditional *surau* education, and were more inclusive on social issues such as marriage.¹³ This elite represented a new class in 20th-century Minangkabau reality, and their role became a catalyst for Indonesian independence in the mid-20th century.¹⁴ The traditional elite consisted of *penghulu* (*datuak*) and *ambtenaar* (Dutch East Indies government officials), while the religious elite consisted of Minangkabau ulama from the *kaum tuo* (conservative) and *kaum mudo* (modernist) circles. Their involvement in the practice of polygamy is a historical fact, such as Yahya Datuak Kayo, a traditional elite who was a member of the *Volksraad* council and had three wives.¹⁵ Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli, a prominent figure from the *kaum tua*, is described by Baharuddin Rusli (his son) as having 17 wives/widows, including his oldest wife (Baharuddin Rusli's mother).¹⁶ Meanwhile, Sheikh Abdul Karim Amrullah, from the *kaum muda*, is described by Hamka as having five wives, including Hamka's mother, who was his third.¹⁷

Studies on the theme of polygamy in Minangkabau are simultaneous with the theme of the matrilineal system, in which these two themes are integral to the custom of marriage. Previous studies discussing polygamy in the matrilineal system in Minangkabau originated from the problematic tradition of *orang jemputan* (invited men), as it was associated with divorce during the 20th century in Minangkabau.¹⁸ Furthermore, in the matrilineal system, men as husbands (*sumando*) are positioned as 'guests' in the matrilineal residential structure, a relationship that indicates how polygamy occurred on a massive scale in Minangkabau in the 20th century.¹⁹

In the discourse of *adat*, Islam, and modernity, responses to polygamy can be found in newspapers such as *Soenting Melajoe* (1330-1339/1912-1921) and *Pedoman Masyarakat* (1354-1360/1936-1942), which published essays by

¹² Audrey Kahin, "Repression and Regroupment: Religious and Nationalist Organizations in West Sumatra in the 1930s," *Indonesia* 38 (October 1984): 40-49; Susan Blackburn and Sharon Bessell, "Marriageable Age: Political Debates on Early Marriage in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," *Indonesia* 63 (April 1997): 125-26.

¹³ Joel S. Kahn, *Constituting the Minangkabau: Peasants, Culture and Modernity in Colonial Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 134.

¹⁴ Elizabeth E Graves, *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), 280.

¹⁵ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 90.

¹⁶ Baharuddin Rusli, *Ayah Kita* (Bukittinggi, 1978), 58.

¹⁷ Hamka, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah Dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama Di Sumatra*, 4th ed. (Jakarta: Umminda, 1982), 262.

¹⁸ Febri Angraini, "Gaya Hidup Modern Perempuan Minangkabau Awal Abad Ke-20," *Perada: Jurnal Studi Islam Kawasan Melayu* 4, no. 1 (June 9, 2021): 9; Moh Atikurrahman, Wahidah Zein Br Siregar, and Shabrina An Adzhani, "Belunggu Maskulinitas Dalam Kultur Matrilineal Minangkabau: Ambivalensi Sitti Nurbaya Dan Beberapa Citra Kolosal Gender Pada Roman Marah Roesli," *Suluk: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Budaya* 4, no. 2 (February 10, 2023): 94-104.

¹⁹ Sari, "Poligami Di Minangkabau Pada Masa Kolonial," 140.

Minangkabau women —as modern elites—in response to opposing polygamy and renegotiating its legitimacy in Islamic law.²⁰ Minangkabau men also responded to polygamy with various answers and platforms, such as:²¹ *first*, Marah Rusli (Minangkabau novelist) rejected polygamy as part of customary practices in Minangkabau. *Second*, Hamka refers to polygamy as ‘customary polygamy’ because it is adapted to the context of indigenous communities. *Third*, Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli justifies polygamy for men who are competent to be fair, as long as it is relevant to the sustainability of the matrilineal system in Minangkabau.

The debate on polygamy calls into question the ideal nature of traditional marriage that has long existed within the matrilineal system. The stigma against polygamy has an impact on the sustainability of the matrilineal system as a socio-customary application that has been cohesive with Islamic law.²² This impact is found in the post-marriage residential segment, which has experienced a disruption in the sustainability of the matrilineal system in the 21st century, which has also contributed to minimizing the practice of polygamy through the transformation of matrilineal residences to neolocal ones.²³ However, in other segments of the matrilineal system, such as maternal genealogy, inheritance of ancestral property, and *sako* titles, remain applicable as characteristics of Minangkabau society in the 21st century.²⁴ The sustainability of the matrilineal system can only be achieved as long as there is structural and functional harmony between traditional and religious elites in the socio-customary order.²⁵ In the national context, the practice of

²⁰ Wannofri Samry and Rahilah Omar, “Gagasan Dan Aktiviti Wartawan Wanita Minangkabau Pada Masa Kolonial Belanda,” *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics, and Strategy* 59, no. 2 (2012): 37, <http://journalarticle.ukm.my/6226/>.

²¹ Dian Nathalia Inda, “Memang Jodoh: Pemberontakan Marah Rusli Terhadap Tradisi Minangkabau,” *Kandai* 11, no. 2 (2015): 127; Saifuddin Herlambang, “Hamka, Social Criticism and The Practices of Polygamy in Minangkabau,” *Al-Albab* 9, no. 1 (June 8, 2020): 82; Ida Kurnia Shofa and Putri Evta Chairinisa, “Polygamy in Minangkabau Tafsir: A Comparative Study of the Thoughts of Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli and Buya Hamka,” *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 10, no. 2 (2022): 364–65; Jonson Handrian Ginting, “Kritik Hamka Terhadap Institusi Adat Minangkabau Melalui Novel: Kajian Analisis Strukturalisme Lévi-Strauss,” *Mukadimah: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sejarah, Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 7, no. 2 (September 10, 2023): 457.

²² Alexander Stark, “The Matrilineal System of the Minangkabau and Its Persistence Throughout History: A Structural Perspective,” *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 13 (2013): 3; Muhammad Taufiq and Busyro, “Marriage System in Minangkabau: Interpreting the Concept of Culture Promoted in the Quran,” *Islam Transformatif: Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (February 23, 2023): 184.

²³ Barbara Lenz, “Matrilinearität, Modernität Und Mobilität. Migration von Frauen Bei Den Minangkabau,” *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie* 130, no. 2 (2005): 245; Aleena Sebastian, “Matrilineal Practices among Muslims: An Ethnographic Study of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra,” *Ethnography*, December 27, 2022, 19.

²⁴ Putiviola Elian Nasir et al., “Minangkabau Matriliney and Gender Equality: Cultural Contribution to Sustainable Development Goals,” *Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS)* 10, no. 1 (May 1, 2021): 29; Gisha Dilova et al., “The Role of Minangkabau Women in Family and Community in Gender Fair Development,” *JCH (Jurnal Cendekia Hukum)* 8, no. 1 (September 30, 2022): 60.

²⁵ Sri Meiyenti and Afrida, “The Inequality of Right and Obligation of Minangkabau Men in Matrilineal System,” *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Mamangan* 7, no. 1 (June 28, 2018): 20; Restia Gustiana, “The Husband Position in Bajapuik Marriage Dynamics in Pariaman,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir’ah* 18, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 13; Dirwan Ahmad Darwis and Nazri Muslim, “Minangkabau Cultural Identity: History And Development,” *International Journal of Religion* 5, no. 10 (June 5, 2024): 803; Lyn Parker, “Matrifocal, Matrilineal, or Matriarchal? Cultural Resilience and Vulnerability Among the Matrilineal and Muslim Minangkabau in Indonesia,” in *Matrilineal, Matriarchal, and Matrifocal Islam*, ed. Abbas Panakkal and Nasr M Arif (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2024), 35–37.

polygamy in Minangkabau was disrupted after the enactment of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (Marriage Law).²⁶

The dialectic of polygamy in the matrilineal system in 20th-century Minangkabau tended towards ideal patterns of marriage and family structure. This was because the Minangkabau elite renegotiated marriage customs dialectically, as was common in other customary practices.²⁷ The convergence and dissonance of ideas in response to massive polygamy in the 20th century can potentially be identified and analyzed in relation to the intellectual basis derived from the discourse of the sacralization of *adat*, Islamic law, and modernity by the Minangkabau elite in formulating solutions to legal problems such as marriage and polygamy.

This study complements previous research by objectively and integrally weaving together fragments of discourse²⁸ on *adat*, Islam, and modernity.²⁹ Historically and sociologically, previous studies such as Puspita Sari (2020) argue that the prevalence of polygamy in Minangkabau during the colonial period was driven by men's freedom from economic responsibility for children and wives due to the *sumando* system. The marginal position of men as 'guests' is also confirmed by Meiyenti & Afrida (2018) and Gustiana (2020), and this position is intertwined with customary leniency that actually perpetuates hegemonic masculinity among the elite, as highlighted by Bahardur et al. (2022).

In response to the massive phenomenon of polygamy, resistance has emerged from various intellectual circles that have been studied partially. The findings of Samry & Omar (2012) and Angraini (2021) focus their thesis on the resistance of modern female elites through the press, which renegotiates the legitimacy of polygamy because it is considered a disease that exploits and causes suffering to women. On the other hand, Inda (2015) and Atikurrahman et al. (2023) posit the existence of a rebellion by modernist writers against the shackles of patriarchal customs disguised as matrilineal traditions. Theologically, the theses of Shofa & Chairinisa (2022) and Herlambang (2020) reveal a hermeneutic debate between religious figures, where Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli justifies polygamy for men who are competent in terms of custom and religion, while Buya Hamka strongly criticizes the practice of 'customary polygamy' because of its social trauma and inability to bring about a peaceful family.

Previous studies have examined this issue separately, from the perspectives of historiography, family sociology, literary criticism, and religious interpretation. Therefore, the thematic historical approach in this study is useful for presenting polygamy as a complete historical legal event in the struggle among these three

²⁶ Iswadi Bahardur et al., "Matrilineal Marriage Traditions and Hegemonic Masculinity in Marah Rusli's Sitti Nurbaya," *Masculinities & Social Change* 11, no. 1 (February 21, 2022): 39.

²⁷ Nancy Tanner, "Disputing and the Genesis of Legal Principles: Examples from Minangkabau," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26, no. 4 (1970): 379; George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, ed. Leo Rauch (Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1988), 21.

²⁸ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966), 183; Shidarta, *Ilmu-Ilmu Empiris Tentang Hukum: Penerapannya Pada Kajian Sosio-Legal* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2024), 249.

²⁹ Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi, *Pengantar Sejarah Muslim* (Yogyakarta: Nur Cahaya, 1983), 67–68.

discourses.³⁰ For depth of study, a socio-legal approach is used to reveal how marriage as a legal subject is simultaneously negotiated in a social context.³¹ This goes beyond the polemic of polygamy itself by highlighting structural transformations, from the shift in the pattern of matrilineal communal housing (*rumah gadang*) to the nuclear family (neolocal) pattern, as observed sociologically by Sebastian (2022) and Parker (2024). Ultimately, it aims to find a convergence point between the ideal pattern of marriage practices and constructive family structure transformation, as well as dynamically harmonizing Islamic law and culture through the strengthening of philosophical aphorism ABS-SBK as elaborated by Darwis & Muslim (2024) and Taufiq & Busyro (2023), amid the crisis of Minangkabau modernization in the 20th century.

This study applies a qualitative library research method by integrating two main approaches: thematic history and socio-legal. The thematic history approach is used to compile fragments of polygamous events in 20th-century Minangkabau, focusing on central themes such as elite discourse, residential shifts, and institutional dynamics. Meanwhile, the socio-legal approach plays an important role in revealing how legal texts (adat, Islamic law, and colonial law) interact with social realities and the practices of elite power to formulate ideal patterns of marriage. The primary data in this research comes from 20th-century historical documentation, including Dutch East Indies government statistical reports (*Indisch Verslag*), colonial marriage regulations (Staatsblad, 1910), and archives of elite thinking in contemporary newspapers such as *Soenting Melajoe* and *Pedoman Masjarakat*.

The data analysis was conducted dialectically through five systematic stages.³² *First*, an inventory of primary literature related to polygamy practices and marriage regulations in Minangkabau throughout the 20th century was compiled. *Second*, information relevant to the dialectic of the three elites (traditional, religious, and modern) was filtered to identify patterns of change in family structures. *Third*, it describes the convergence and dissonance among elites regarding the sacralization of customs, Islamic law, and modernity. *Fourth*, it uses the perspectives of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann to analyze the process of internalization and objectification of marriage values that form two objective realities: matrilineal polygamy and neolocal monogamy. *Fifth*, it formulates a meeting point for ideal marriage patterns that prioritize benefit and justice as the result of this long dialectic.

Polygamy in the Matrilineal System

Tsuyoshi Kato outlines four main characteristics of the matrilineal system as a framework for shaping family structures in Minangkabau.³³ *First*, maternal

³⁰ Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi, *Menguak Sejarah Muslim: Suatu Kritik Metodologis* (Yogyakarta: PLP2M IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1983), 61.

³¹ Reza Banakar, *Normativity in Legal Sociology: Methodological Reflections on Law and Regulation in Late Modernity* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 50.

³² John W. Creswell and J. David Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th ed. (California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2018), 257.

³³ Kato, *Matrilineal and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 69–70.

genealogy, where each birth inherits the tribal identity of their mother.³⁴ *Second*, ownership of ancestral property (*pusako*) for women and the title of *sako* for men.³⁵ *Third*, a matrilineal residence structure in the formation of families after marriage.³⁶ Although migration (*merantau*) has brought new dynamics, such as neolocal residence,³⁷ matrilineal residence remains the preferred customary instrument for supporting wives and children through inheritance.³⁸ The position of the *sumando* in this context is dilocal, having two matrilineal residences after marriage.³⁹ *Fourth*, the *mamak* is the head of the family (*tungganai*).⁴⁰ He structurally leads the matrilineal residence and aims to provide for family members by distributing ancestral property. This authority also ensures the *mamak's* role as the 'traditional guardian' in marriage, determining the *sumando* based on social prestige.⁴¹

The qualifications of the *sumando* consist of their intelligence and leadership in their own matrilineal residence.⁴² With this preference, the *mamak* does not consider how the marriage pattern is formed, which allows a *sumando* to practice polygamy.⁴³ Although Islamic law allows men to practice polygamy in Surah An-Nisa verse 3,⁴⁴ this provision is not in line with the social structure of society in the early 20th century, which did not emphasize the husband's responsibility for his wife and children.⁴⁵ In the social structure, these *sumando* were commonly from the traditional, religious, and economic elite, referred to in customs as '*orang jemputan*' (invited people).⁴⁶ Among this elite, polygamy was a means of establishing the social

³⁴ J.V. Maretin, "Disappearance of Matrilineal Survivals in Minangkabau Family and Marriage Relations," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 117, no. 1 (1961): 195; Joanne C. Prindiville, "Mother, Mother's Brother, and Modernization: The Problems and Prospects of Minangkabau Matrilineality in a Changing World," in *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, ed. Lynn L. Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann (Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985), 37.

³⁵ Benda-Beckmann, *Property in Social Continuity: Continuity and Change in the Maintenance of Property Relationships Through Time in Minangkabau, West Sumatra*, 160–61; Agusti Efi Marthala, *Penghulu & Filosofi Pakaian Kebesaran: Konsep Kepemimpinan Tradisional Minangkabau*, 2nd ed. (Bandung: Humaniora, 2014), 118.

³⁶ Muhamad Radjab, *Sistem Kekerabatan Di Minangkabau* (Padang: Center For Minangkabau Studies, 1969), 51.

³⁷ Evelyn Blackwood, "Big Houses and Small Houses: Doing Matrilineality in West Sumatra," *Ethnos* 64, no. 1 (January 1999): 32.

³⁸ Zainal Arifin, *Politik Perkawinan: Dualitas Praktik Sosial Masyarakat Minangkabau* (Yogyakarta: Histokultura, 2018), 6.

³⁹ Tsuyoshi Kato, "Change and Continuity in the Minangkabau Matrilineal System," *Indonesia* 25 (April 1978): 153.

⁴⁰ Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Transformation and Change in Minangkabau," in *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, ed. Lynn L. Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann (Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985), 245.

⁴¹ A. A. Navis, *Alam Berkembang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1984), 199.

⁴² Umar Junus, "Some Remarks on Minangkabau Social Structure," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 120, no. 3 (1964): 188.

⁴³ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 4.

⁴⁴ Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar Jilid 2* (Jakarta: Pustaka Nasional PTE LTD Singapura, 1993), 1061–62.

⁴⁵ Joke van Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau* (Netherlands: Research School CNWS, Leiden University, 1996), 227.

⁴⁶ Emeraldy Chatra, *Orang Jemputan: Regulasi Seksualitas Poligami Di Minangkabau* (Padang: Laboratorium FISIP Universitas Andalas, 2005), 1–5.

prestige of their clan, residence, and themselves.⁴⁷ This fact supports polygamy as an instrument for forming inter-clan relations in the socio-customary order of Minangkabau.⁴⁸

In the first half of the 20th century, the *mamak* authority married off female nieces to polygamous husbands, which undermined the matrilineal system itself, such as selling or pawning heirlooms for '*uang jemputan*' (invitation money) as a sacrifice to perpetuate marriage with the elite.⁴⁹ Such *mamak* were indifferent to the psychological and biological impact on their nieces.⁵⁰ This practice was prevalent in small areas, but not in cities such as Padang and Bukittinggi.⁵¹ The modern elite dominated these two cities. They practiced monogamy in marriage, but were hampered in building a nuclear family structure due to the matrilineal residence requirement in the matrilineal system.⁵²

The modern elite also had the opportunity to become '*jemputan*' in the practice of polygamy. However, the discourse of modernity leads them to reject these customs progressively.⁵³ Their different perspectives on marriage aim to replace the authority of the *mamak* in matrilineal residence with the authority of the husband in neolocal residence.⁵⁴ The modern elite understand marriage practices based on Islamic law, which advocates monogamy,⁵⁵ as emphasized by H. Agus Salim (a Minangkabau figure), the second leader of SI (*Sarekat Islam*) at the SI congress (Banjarnegara, 1352/1934), proposed the nuclear family structure as an instrument to prevent mass polygamy in Minangkabau.⁵⁶

Sociocultural Reality: Polygamy in 20th Century Minangkabau Society

The fundamental principle of Minangkabau custom, expressed in the ABS-SBK aphorism, is the refinement of the Islamization of indigenous communities after the Padri War (1803-1838). Azyumardi Azra states that this aphorism originated from the *adat basandi alua jo patuik* (custom based on suitability and propriety).⁵⁷ The refinement of the aphorism after the Padri War facilitated broader social transformation, with ABS-SBK becoming the single aphorism adopted in every nagari in Minangkabau.⁵⁸ The Padri took the stance of building an authoritative Islamic discourse through this aphorism in Minangkabau. This effort stemmed from

⁴⁷ Muhamad Radjab, *Semasa Kecil Di Kampung* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1950), 221–24.

⁴⁸ Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 228.

⁴⁹ Reenen, 57.

⁵⁰ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 89.

⁵¹ Taufik Abdullah, *School and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra 1927-1933* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971), 97.

⁵² Chatra, *Orang Jemputan: Regulasi Seksualitas Poligami Di Minangkabau*, 125–31.

⁵³ P. E. De Josselin De Jong, *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan: Socio-Political Structure in Indonesia* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff Uitgeverij, 1980), 86.

⁵⁴ Cora Vreede-De Stuers, *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*, trans. Elvira Rosa, Paramita Ayunigtyas, and Dwi Istiani (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2017), 19.

⁵⁵ Kato, *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 246.

⁵⁶ Maretin, "Disappearance of Matriclan Survivals in Minangkabau Family and Marriage Relations," 194.

⁵⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003), 45.

⁵⁸ Taufik Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2021), 8.

their criticism of the hegemony of customs towards the decline of 'ideal behavior' in the socio-customary order in Minangkabau. Previous aphorisms were inadequate in their attempt to restructure the socio-customary order through the *cupak nan duo* formula.⁵⁹ Hence, the Padri group's radical response was to engineer ABS-SBK Islam as a normative instrument for the ethical evaluation of customary practices: the ABS-SBK formulation, sharia norms-*adat* practices.⁶⁰ Thus, the Padri redefined social norms and ensured the parity of religious and customary authority by institutionalizing social institutions across every spatial structure of Minangkabau.⁶¹

The Padri simultaneously succeeded in promoting ABS-SBK in the 19th century and lost to the Dutch East Indies, leading to social transformation in Minangkabau through Islamization and early modernization.⁶² The challenge in the transition to the 20th century lay in the political classification of the Dutch East Indies, which privileged the traditional elite over the religious elite in Minangkabau. The Dutch East Indies sought to construct an expression of customary exclusivity centered on the traditional elite. The Dutch East Indies' partiality towards the traditional elite is believed to have been a form of political resistance to the success of the religious elite in forming the integrative-ideological framework of the ABS-SBK aphorism.⁶³ Other forms of political resistance were also identified in the context of education, imposed by the Dutch East Indies through the implementation of a secular (Western) education system that was contrary to the traditional *surau*-based education system previously in place in Minangkabau.⁶⁴

In the early 20th century, the socio-political order maintained the Dutch East Indies government by appointing traditional elites as leaders at the *nagari* level and above. The defeat in the Belasting War (anti-tax) in 1325/1908 only affected the religious elite. This complex reality institutionalized land taxes on ancestral property, forced labor, and the establishment of banks with high interest rates compared to the maximum credit limit.⁶⁵ Social changes and the economic monopoly of the Dutch East Indies government strengthened the authority of the traditional elite until the second decade of the 20th century.⁶⁶ Conversely, the

⁵⁹ *Cupak nan duo* serves as a reference in assessing social behavior in Minangkabau society. *Cupak*, a naturally segmented piece of bamboo, symbolizes different frameworks that guide social behavior. *Cupak usali*, naturally segmented bamboo segments, metaphorically represent social norms that are organically passed down in society. In contrast, the artificial *cupak*, or 'artificial segments,' are boundaries created by the Minangkabau traditional elite to engineer and regulate social behavior. The difference between natural and artificial norms highlights the role of traditional authorities in shaping Minangkabau social dynamics. Benda-Beckmann, *Property in Social Continuity: Continuity and Change in the Maintenance of Property Relationships Through Time in Minangkabau, West Sumatra*, 115.

⁶⁰ Abdullah, "Adat Dan Islam: Suatu Tinjauan Tentang Konflik Di Minangkabau," 119.

⁶¹ Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 26-27.

⁶² Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, 109; Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 15.

⁶³ Hamka, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1984), 106.

⁶⁴ Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 38-44.

⁶⁵ Abdullah, 174.

⁶⁶ Abdullah, 45-53.

marginalized religious elite and their followers spread out and contributed actively to the dissemination of social structures within Minangkabau society.⁶⁷

The Dutch East Indies government's strategies created a new elite with modern cognitive abilities. However, the paradox is that this modern elite was affiliated with the religious elite in their efforts to disseminate traditional social structures.⁶⁸ The modern elite recognized the traditional elite as an instrument that facilitated the succession of Dutch East Indies rule in Minangkabau.⁶⁹ The matrilineal system, which was previously under the authority of the traditional elite, has changed due to external factors (the Dutch East Indies), such as marriage, because the reconfiguration and marginalization of the elite in Minangkabau have had an impact on the pattern of marriage practices, resulting in a duality of matriarchy and patriarchy.⁷⁰ In addition, polygamy was then justified and reinforced by the matrilineal residence structure. The limitations of this residential structure legitimized the prohibition of female migration in the early 20th century.⁷¹ Polygamy and simultaneous mass divorce due to the succession of marriage dowries with male social prestige and economic deterioration in the early 20th century, this adaptation was the result of Dutch East Indies colonization.⁷²

The Dutch East Indies government recognized that this pattern of marriage resulted from the legitimization of the disproportionate authority of the traditional elite, as explained by the Customary Law Committee (*Commissie voor het Adatrecht*).⁷³ In response, the Dutch East Indies government established special regulations for marriage in Minangkabau, as set out in Staatsblad 1910 Number 695, concerning Marriage and Divorce among Muslims. Article 4 of this law imposed a fine of five to fifty guilders for divorce under Islamic law. Furthermore, Article 5 stipulated that marriages in Minangkabau must comply with Article 4, which required a written statement confirming that there were no objections to the marriage being conducted according to custom, emphasizing the autonomy of the individuals involved.⁷⁴ Cora Vreede-De Stuers also adds that the specificity of the marriage clause in Minangkabau is due to the previous absence of legal mechanisms such as *taklik talak*, as noted in the findings of Snouck Hurgronje (1906), Van Vollenhoven (1918), and Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1925) in the archipelago.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, "Myth and Reality: Minangkabau Institutional Traditions in the Rantau," in *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, ed. Lynn L Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann (Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985), 121–22.

⁶⁸ Kato, *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 29; Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 99.

⁶⁹ Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 61.

⁷⁰ Maretin, "Disappearance of Matriclan Survivals in Minangkabau Family and Marriage Relations," 175; H. M. Asril, "Hukum Adat Minangkabau Dalam Perkembangan," in *Dialektika Minangkabau (Dalam Kemelut Sosial Dan Politik)*, ed. A. A. Navis (Padang: Penerbit Genta Singgalang Press, 1983), 29–30.

⁷¹ Kato, *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 242; Graves, *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century*, 194–95.

⁷² Commissie voor het Adatrecht, ed., *Adatrechtbundels XXVII: Sumatra* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1928), 269; Taufik Abdullah, "Modernization in the Minangkabau World: West Sumatra in the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century," in *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. Claire Holt (Singapore: Equinox Publishing, 2007), 244–45.

⁷³ *Adatrecht, Adatrechtbundels XXVII: Sumatra*, 270.

⁷⁴ Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie, 1910, no. 695.

⁷⁵ Stuers, *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*, 31.

Women became objects in the socio-customary structure in this reality. Their opposition was classified as the modern elite. In 1329/1911, inclusive education was introduced, and women were given access to the first non-formal education.⁷⁶ This educational institution was founded by Siti Roehana (Roehana Koeddoes). She founded the *Kerajinan Amal Setia* institution in Koto Gadang, Bukittinggi. This institution provided skills education in textiles and basic education, including reading, writing, and foreign languages, for women.⁷⁷ In addition, Siti Roehana and Zoebaidah Ratna Djoewita became editors of the *Soenting Melajoe* newspaper.⁷⁸ The purpose of this establishment was to serve as a public platform to discuss gender justice and women's rights in the early 20th century.⁷⁹ The essays written in this newspaper promoted gender equality in education. These educational ideas can be found in the *Soenting Melajoe* essays, such as the inequality of educational rights for women and the urgency of their role as educators for their own children.⁸⁰ *Soenting Melajoe* influenced all elite circles in formal and non-formal educational institutions in Minangkabau. Subsequent essays dealt extensively with education, polygamy, and marriage customs, providing diverse perspectives on these social phenomena until 1339/1921.⁸¹

Social phenomena and debates in the public sphere regarding marriage customs that had been contaminated by the negative norms of divorce and polygamy began to be reformulated. In 1334/1916, six customary marriage regulations in Luhak Agam were harmonized with Staatsblad 1910 Number 695.⁸² *First*, marriage could occur only if neither party coerced the other. *Second*, the minimum marriage age for women was 15. *Third*, women who were pregnant within marriage could not be divorced. *Fourth*, divorce was only permitted if the marriage had lasted one year and the couple had had sexual relations. *Fifth*, divorce requests required a written application submitted to the village chief. *Sixth*, the penghulu is obliged to facilitate reconciliation efforts before granting a divorce. These efforts guide the integral entities of custom and Islam in the matrilineal system.⁸³ In these two discourses, only the *ulama* are the authority issuing binding *fatwas*, while the *penghulu* carry out the *fatwas* after discussing them with the *ulama*.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 120–21.

⁷⁷ Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 51.

⁷⁸ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 51.

⁷⁹ Evelyn Blackwood, "Representing Women: The Politics of Minangkabau Adat Writings," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 1 (February 26, 2001): 144; Abdullah, *School and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra 1927-1933*, 17.

⁸⁰ St. Sampono, "Iboe Jang Paling Oetama," *Soenting Melajoe*, February 20, 1913; Amna, "Pada Menjatakan Perempuanen," *Soenting Melajoe*, March 27, 1913; Navels, "Goenanja Anak Perempuanen Bersekolah," *Soenting Melajoe*, December 31, 1914.

⁸¹ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 66.

⁸² Putri, 103.

⁸³ Stark, "The Matrilineal System of the Minangkabau and Its Persistence Throughout History: A Structural Perspective," 11; Parker, "Matrifocal, Matrilineal, or Matriarchal? Cultural Resilience and Vulnerability Among the Matrilineal and Muslim Minangkabau in Indonesia," 16.

⁸⁴ Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 219; Deliar Noer, *Aku Bagian Ummat Aku Bagian Bangsa: Otobiografi Deliar Noer* (Jakarta: Penerbit Mizan, 1996), 444.

In 1341/1923, formal education specifically for women was established by Rahmah El-Yunusiah, namely Madrasah Diniyah Putri in Padang Panjang.⁸⁵ These three institutions contributed to the institutionalization of women in Minangkabau. Women were prioritized as important subjects in social change at the macro and micro levels.⁸⁶ Women were enabled to offer self-critical ideas on social phenomena in Minangkabau in the second decade of the 20th century.⁸⁷ These social changes provided opportunities for women to migrate for education, career advancement, and to follow their husbands.⁸⁸ Thus, women's rights, grounded in self-critical ideas, aimed to criticize customary norms that had previously restricted women in the public sphere.⁸⁹

One of the customary norms that is often criticized is the customary norm of marriage, which resulted in the prevalence of polygamy during the 20th century. This criticism can be categorized into two points: *first*, the coercion and determination of the *mamak* in the marriage of their nieces and nephews. The qualifications of a *mamak* determine marriage partners, leading to forced marriages and even polygamy. Women's criticism of this is based on the impact on reproductive health, the large age gap between spouses, the impact of economic deterioration, and divorce in the practice of polygamy.⁹⁰ The *mamak's* limitation in forcing marriage only exists in the prohibition of the *mamak* 'marrying' two of his nieces and them being polygamous with one man.⁹¹ Such motives need to be curtailed in the *mamak's* initiation in determining their nieces' partners under the pretext of the prospective husband's social prestige. Women's criticism in the early 20th century identified this as a latent danger arising from women's inequality in traditional Minangkabau marriage.⁹²

Second, matrilineal residence imposes restrictions on women in post-marital family relations. In Minangkabau custom, this residence serves to regulate women's role as the driving force in maintaining the matrilineal system.⁹³ They are entitled to ancestral property as a financial resource because husbands are not required to provide for their wives and children.⁹⁴ Such customs are problematic, allowing men to practice polygamy with other women. The criticism that arises against this residency is the rejection of the opportunity for polygamy. Joke Schrijvers and Els Postel-Coster explain that this criticism marks a shift in the family structure during modernization in Minangkabau, requiring the formation of a nuclear family common in modernity's discourse.⁹⁵

⁸⁵ Stuers, *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*, 89.

⁸⁶ Zoebaidah Ratna Djoevita and Siti Roehana, "Keoetamaan Istri Minangkabau," *Soenting Melajoe*, October 20, 1916; Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 95-96.

⁸⁷ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 57.

⁸⁸ Nancy Tanner, "The Nuclear Family in Minangkabau Matriliney: The Mirror of Disputes," *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 138, no. 1 (1982): 130-33.

⁸⁹ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 5.

⁹⁰ Blackburn and Bessell, "Marriageable Age: Political Debates on Early Marriage in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," 140-41; Jennifer Krier, "The Marital Project: Beyond the Exchange of Men in Minangkabau Marriage," *American Ethnologist* 27, no. 4 (November 7, 2000): 891-92.

⁹¹ Tanner, "Disputing and the Genesis of Legal Principles: Examples from Minangkabau," 55.

⁹² Stuers, *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*, xii.

⁹³ Blackwood, "Representing Women: The Politics of Minangkabau Adat Writings," 143.

⁹⁴ Tanner, "Disputing and the Genesis of Legal Principles: Examples from Minangkabau," 386.

⁹⁵ Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 86.

Women's criticism of these two issues became an issue for two large organizations outside Minangkabau. *First*, in 1344/1926, the *Jong Sumatranen Bond* (JSB), a youth organization in Batavia (Jakarta), responded to this issue as an obstacle to women's modernization and to social change for the people of Minangkabau. *Second*, the reasons for economic deterioration and massive polygamy were correlated in the early 20th century, as explained in a women's congress held by Aisyah Muhammadiyah in Bukittinggi in 1348/1930.⁹⁶

This pattern of marriage also grew among the religious elite, where cross-marriage between the descendants of clerics and traditional leaders was found.⁹⁷ Religious elites who were polygamous with up to four wives would even divorce one of their wives (because they already had four wives) to marry another woman. However, the widow of a cleric was reluctant to be married by someone else, out of respect for the religious elite. This practice shows that polygamy encompasses social and religious dimensions, but it is detrimental to the women involved, who face social stigma and challenges in rebuilding their lives after divorce.⁹⁸ In 1353/1935, Rasoena Said and Rasimah Ismail, with the support of the youth, voiced their opposition to the Dutch East Indies government, which had worsened economic conditions and ignored divorces resulting from polygamy.⁹⁹

The Dutch East Indies government responded with a draft regulation, the Registered Marriage Ordinance (1355/1937), which established voluntary registered marriages. *Second*, registration served as a declaration of monogamy for men. *Third*, if a man practiced polygamy, his wife could file for divorce in court. This draft ordinance was rejected by religious and traditional organizations, which are authorities in Minangkabau social history.¹⁰⁰

Their rejection of polygamy and customary marriage norms that put them at risk stemmed from educational facilities for women that fostered awareness of the gender bias they had been facing.¹⁰¹ Education enabled women to redefine their roles in social change. Education and careers became grounds for delaying marriage under customary law. At the same time, they negotiated the values of equality in the discourse of modernity with their *mamak* and families in matrilineal residences to form their ideal pattern of marriage.¹⁰² The female figures in Minangkabau mentioned above provide a reference for women in responding to social change. They advocate for justice, discuss equality, and are independent of rigid customary practices.¹⁰³ Thus, education not only serves as a means of acquiring skills but also

⁹⁶ Stuers, *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*, 149.

⁹⁷ Kato, *Matriline and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 66–68.

⁹⁸ Radjab, *Semasa Kecil Di Kampung*, 117–18.

⁹⁹ Abdullah, *School and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra 1927-1933*, 117–18.

¹⁰⁰ Hasan, *Ontwerp-Ordonnantie Op De Ingeschreven Huwelijken*, 5; Stuers, *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*, 152.

¹⁰¹ Maretin, "Disappearance of Matrilineal Survivals in Minangkabau Family and Marriage Relations," 186; Nancy Tanner, "Disputing and Dispute Settlement among the Minangkabau of Indonesia," *Indonesia* 8 (October 1969): 38–39.

¹⁰² Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 107–27.

¹⁰³ Junus, "Some Remarks on Minangkabau Social Structure," 188; Azizah Etek, Mursjid A. M., and Afran B. R., *Koto Gadang Masa Kolonial* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), 41.

as a medium for gender equality, reducing dependence on customs, and promoting more inclusive social reform in Minangkabau.¹⁰⁴

Polygamy and Monogamy in Minangkabau in the 20th Century: A Comparative Analysis of Marriage Patterns and Family Structures

According to Shidarta, custom refers to habits, which can be understood as ‘nomos’ in the sense of global law. This is characterized by individuals functioning as legal subjects within small cohesive groups—such as the elite—influencing the wider community.¹⁰⁵ When communities that have been influenced and involved in customs similar to those of the elite become part of the elite, they become part of the elite. According to Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, this process is called internalization, in which accumulated nomos is the result of objectification in a dialectical arena that is socialized into objective reality.¹⁰⁶ This objective reality explains the two variations of marriage customs in 20th-century Minangkabau. *First*, the custom of matrilocal marriage is the primary reality. This matrilocal residence structure is led by the *mamak*, not the husband, as the *sumando*. The position of the *sumando* is explained in the Minangkabau idiom: *langau di ikua kabau, abu di ateh tunggaa* (fly on the tail of a buffalo, dust on a tree stump). The *mamak* who leads the residence is called the *tungganai*, who is a male in the maternal genealogy, either the mother’s brother or the wife’s brother.¹⁰⁷ The husband is given only the status of a ‘guest’, with no authority or involvement in the structure of his wife’s residence.¹⁰⁸

In this matrilocal residence structure, the dwelling used is the *rumah gadang*, a traditional house that can accommodate two to seven married couples. Husbands in this residence are only there at night to rest. However, in the husband’s matrilocal residence, he also becomes a *mamak*. Therefore, a man in Minangkabau strives to navigate this dual role as a *sumando* in his wife’s matrilocal residence and as a *mamak* in his own. The mobility of this residence will be efficient when the marriage is an ideal exogamous marriage between tribes, but becomes difficult when the distance between *nagari*’s is greater.¹⁰⁹

One of the *mamak*’s authorities in this matrilocal residence is to determine a partner (*sumando*) for his niece, the neglect of which is legitimized as a disgrace in the matrilocal residence structure.¹¹⁰ The *mamak*’s concern that this could damage his prestige, even though he relies on indicators of piety, influence, or wealth to determine the *sumando*, is often reckless.¹¹¹ This combination of rashness and

¹⁰⁴ Tanner, “The Nuclear Family in Minangkabau Matriliney: The Mirror of Disputes,” 134; Hamka, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau*, 41.

¹⁰⁵ Shidarta, *Ilmu-Ilmu Empiris Tentang Hukum: Penerapannya Pada Kajian Sosio-Legal*, 26–27.

¹⁰⁶ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, 79.

¹⁰⁷ Kato, *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 45.

¹⁰⁸ Kato, “Change and Continuity in the Minangkabau Matrilineal System,” 7; Jeffrey Hadler, *Muslim and Matriarchs: Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 64.

¹¹⁰ Chatra, *Orang Jemputan: Regulasi Seksualitas Poligami Di Minangkabau*, 58–59.

¹¹¹ Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 223–24.

materialism has an impact on her nieces, who tend to be polygamous. Therefore, polygamy is driven by anxiety about the status of single women, the lack of independence of women, variations in social prestige, and significant age gaps between spouses. These factors create an ethical dilemma in the custom of matrilineal marriage.¹¹² The idealism of polygamy in Islamic law does not form the legal basis for this practice. Paradoxically, the main justification for polygamy lies in the tendency to prevent sexual scandals (adultery) outside of legal marriage.¹¹³ Far from this idealism, polygamy only contributes to 'mitigating' adultery.

Second, the modernization of marriage customs with neolocal residence (secondary reality), which is a progressive change for women, especially as a rejection of polygamy in matrilineal residence. However, this change poses challenges for women who struggle to adapt to individualistic household life. They are expected to manage household responsibilities independently.¹¹⁴ The transition to this residency structure is evident across communities, from small areas to urban centers.¹¹⁵ In this context, the husband becomes the household's primary financial source. Tsuyoshi Kato highlights that this financial dependence has become an incentive for husbands to migrate for economic stability, as Kato's analysis established in 1348/1930 and continues to this day. They bring their wives with them during migration, marking a new dynamic in which women also participate in the habitus of migration.¹¹⁶

The neolocal residential structure provides justice and equality for women by establishing a nuclear family structure in which the husband serves as the family head.¹¹⁷ This change limits the authority of the *mamak* in the previously dominant matrilineal residential structure and creates a new intensity for family relationships. In the transition to a neolocal residential structure, the challenge of limiting relationships with the *mamak* in the matrilineal residence has led to the loss of customary rights to receive inheritance.¹¹⁸ This residential structure ultimately creates a pattern of monogamous marriage that contrasts with the matrilineal system's characteristics. However, the Minangkabau people's habit of *merantau* overcomes this challenge.¹¹⁹ *Merantau* serves as a means of regaining honor and influence, which is then reintegrated into the matrilineal residence.¹²⁰

Quoting De Josselin De Jong, J. V. Maretin explains that the relationship between fathers and children became more intense starting in the mid-20th century (second half) in Minangkabau, with fathers also responsible for financing education,

¹¹² Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 79–94.

¹¹³ Chatra, *Orang Jemputan: Regulasi Seksualitas Poligami Di Minangkabau*, 163–93.

¹¹⁴ Putri, *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*, 130–31.

¹¹⁵ Kato, *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 30.

¹¹⁶ Kato, 147–84.

¹¹⁷ Chatra, *Orang Jemputan: Regulasi Seksualitas Poligami Di Minangkabau*, 130.

¹¹⁸ M. Joustra, *Minangkabau Overzicht van Land, Geschiedenis En Volk* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 95.

¹¹⁹ Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, 37.

¹²⁰ Nancy Tanner and Lynn L. Thomas, "Rethinking Matriliney: Decision-Making and Sex Roles in Minangkabau," in *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, ed. Lynn L. Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann (Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985), 55.

which underscores that the neolocal residence structure facilitated this responsibility.¹²¹ In this structure, the husband, as head of the family, was more accommodating, contributing to a decline in polygamy during the first half of the 20th century in Minangkabau.¹²² Other factors, such as the Marriage Law, which restricted polygamy, and the limited availability of ancestral property as a financial resource, reinforced the neolocal residence structure.¹²³ The deficit in meeting the financial needs of wives and children in this matrilineal residence became a catalyst for change toward a neolocal residence structure.

Elite Responses to Polygamy: Ideas of Modernity and Evaluation of Marriage Customs in 20th Century Minangkabau

Interaction with modern values has introduced new perspectives for certain individuals in Minangkabau society. For those with new insights, freedom of expression coexists with the need to preserve traditional norms in Minangkabau. This trend seeks to balance personal beliefs with the need to maintain social harmony, as previous generations upheld traditional norms.¹²⁴ Although a more open perspective is gradually being accepted, customary ties remain strong as norms that frame the lives of the Minangkabau people.

Responses to polygamy and how Minangkabau marriage customs ‘condone’ this practice expand the discussion in various discourses. Responses from the third and fourth decades of the 20th century were preceded by similar discussions in the second decade, which were published in the *Soenting Melajoe* newspaper. The following are the two main categories in the essays written:

Table 2. Criticism of polygamy and marriage customs, 1330-1339/1912-1921

No	Year	Title	Author	Total
1	1330/1912	<i>Kebiasaan Kita jang Koerang Baik</i>	Zahara	4
		<i>Oleh Zahara</i>	Kamisah	
		<i>Djawab Pertanjaan Zahara</i>	Rafiah	
2	1332/1914	<i>Roedingan dari Hal Bermadoe</i>	Djoeriah	1
		<i>Perkawinan</i>	Zoebaidah Ratna Djoewita and Siti Roehana	
3	1333/1915	<i>Gobahan Sedikit tentangan Perkawinan</i>	Staalyzer P. W.	2
		<i>Nasihat bagi Orang Jang Mempoenjai Anak Perempoen</i>	A. B.	
4	1334/1916	<i>Toeroet Mempertimbangkan Beristeri Seorang atau Lebih</i>	Zoebaidah Ratna Djoewita and Siti Roehana	3
		<i>Boeah Pikiran Seorang Perempoen Anak Pasaman</i>	Rinaldo	
		<i>Berbini Seorang atau Lebih</i>		
5	1335/1917	<i>Soemando dan Mendjoedjoer</i>		1

¹²¹ Maretin, “Disappearance of Matrilineal Survivals in Minangkabau Family and Marriage Relations,” 195; Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 59.

¹²² Mochtar Naim, “Merantau: Causes and Effects of Minangkabau Voluntary Migration,” Occasional Paper (Singapore, 1971), 194–95.

¹²³ Kahn, *Minangkabau Social Formations*, 47–48; Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 171–85.

¹²⁴ Gregory M. Simon, *Caged in on the Outside: Moral Subjectivity, Selfhood, and Islam in Minangkabau, Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2014), 51.

6	1336/1918	<i>Laki-Isteri</i> <i>Banjak Djanda Tjelaka Hidoep</i>	Sjah Damran Izinar Rosmawarna	2
7	1338/1920	<i>Mentjari Isteri</i> <i>Hal Soeami Isteri</i>	Bintalamauer	2
8	1339/1921	<i>Tanah Air Kita Minangkabau</i>	A. Latif	1
Total: 16 Essays				

Source: Recapitulation of essays from *Soenting Melajoe* 1912-1921

Polygamy tended to be the result of reciprocity between the authority of the woman's *mamak* and the desire of men—such as Dutch East Indies government officials—who autonomously intended to practice polygamy.¹²⁵ This practice did not take into account the age of the couple involved and ultimately subjugated women.¹²⁶ The only restriction on polygamy that is prohibited by custom is that wives are not allowed to come from the same tribe.¹²⁷ In another essay, the desire to marry for love cannot be fulfilled, but rather forced marriage becomes a pressing issue in marriage customs, which can even lead to divorce.¹²⁸

The customary approach to marriage that reconstructs polygamy in Islamic law reflects that the authority of the *mamak* does not allow for negotiation of the matrilineal residential structure. Marriage customs also ignore the reasons for polygamy that have been outlined in accordance with Islamic law, because Minangkabau women do not depend on the justice of a husband, which is the foundation of the patrilineal residence structure. For them, finding a husband is only to bear children.¹²⁹

Under Dutch colonial rule, women, in particular, only had limited rights, and as wives, they faced challenges from the tide of modernity. Education became the answer to women's modernization and to building strong, ideal bonds in marriage.¹³⁰ Education was also linked to economic empowerment; educated women had the potential to marry economically stable husbands, thereby providing financial benefits to their wives and their matrilineal residences. However, the wife's family exploited the husband's wealth to prevent divorce, even using mystical practices (shamans) to create strong bonds between the *sumando* and his partner, in order to prevent infidelity or intentions of polygamy.¹³¹ This condition provides an understanding related to polygamy and divorce, because the matrilineal residence

¹²⁵ Djoeriah, "Perkawinan," *Soenting Melajoe*, January 30, 1914; Rinaldo, "Berbini Seorang Atau Lebih," *Soenting Melajoe*, December 15, 1916; Sjah Damran, "Laki-Isteri," *Soenting Melajoe*, January 4, 1918.

¹²⁶ Zahara, "Kebiasaan Kita Jang Koerang Baik," *Soenting Melajoe*, November 9, 1912; A. B., "Toeroet Mempertimbangkan Beristeri Seorang Atau Lebih," *Soenting Melajoe*, August 4, 1916; A. Latif, "Tanah Air Kita Minangkabau," *Soenting Melajoe*, January 28, 1921.

¹²⁷ Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 62.

¹²⁸ Staalyzer P. W., "Nasihat Bagi Orang Jang Mempoenjai Anak Perempoen," *Soenting Melajoe*, July 23, 1915; Izinar Rosmawarna, "Banjak Djanda Tjelaka Hidoep," *Soenting Melajoe*, May 10, 1918.

¹²⁹ Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 228.

¹³⁰ Zahara, "Oleh Zahara," *Soenting Melajoe*, November 30, 1912; Zoebaidah Ratna Djoewita and Siti Roehana, "Gobahan Sedikit Tentangan Perkawinan," *Soenting Melajoe*, January 29, 1915.

¹³¹ Zoebaidah Ratna Djoewita and Siti Roehana, "Boeah Pikiran Seorang Perempoen Anak Pasaman (Tentangan Berbini Seorang Atau Lebih)," *Soenting Melajoe*, August 25, 1916; Rafiah, "Roedingan Dari Hal Bermadoe," *Soenting Melajoe*, December 21, 1912.

structure took measures to prevent this from happening.¹³² In addition, there is also intervention from the husband's matrilineal residence, which sometimes dislikes his wife and pressures her to divorce or practice polygamy with a new wife.¹³³ Thus, social status—whether based on religious knowledge, honorable traditional titles, intellectual stature, or wealth—is not sufficient to guarantee ideal polygamous practices. Furthermore, inheritance issues, both traditional and Islamic, add to the complexity.¹³⁴

A man's qualifications for practicing polygamy are repeatedly evaluated based on his social prestige, even though the majority of the Minangkabau people are farmers or small landowners.¹³⁵ Prestige becomes a 'showcase' of a *mamak's* success in obtaining a high-caliber *sumando*.¹³⁶ A.A. Navis categorizes practitioners of polygamy as generally occupying one of three professions: religious scholars, traditional leaders, or successful traders.¹³⁷

In response to the Dutch East Indies government's rejection of the recorded marriage ordinance (1335/1937) promoting monogamy, there was a growing collective awareness among the community of the impact of polygamy and divorce as a form of unfair treatment of women. This highlighted the need for legal protection for women. However, the draft ordinance did not fully address or prevent the stigmatization of polygamy, so it was rejected because it failed to take into account Islamic law as the customary formula for marriage in Minangkabau.¹³⁸

Since the early 20th century, young people and the modern elite have advocated for women's education and emancipation in response to the prevalence of polygamy in Minangkabau. This focus on education and emancipation has encouraged Minangkabau society to emphasize the nuclear family as a socio-economic unit that can support a more adaptive matrilineal system.¹³⁹ Modern elites such as Rahmah El-Yunusiyah (1341/1923), Bahder Djohan (1344/1926), and Mohammad Sjafei (1347/1929) opposed polygamy as a form of injustice against women in Minangkabau.

Rahmah El-Yunusiyah established the first girls' madrasah in Minangkabau in 1341/1923, focusing on a modern and religious curriculum. The establishment of this school was a direct response to marriage practices in Minangkabau in the early 20th century, after she divorced her husband for refusing to be part of a polygamous marriage. Meanwhile, Bahder Djohan and Mohammad Sjafei openly rejected polygamy in the *Jong Sumatranen Bond* (JBS) forums, arguing that polygamy reduced women's rights and endangered family welfare.¹⁴⁰ Conversely, Saadah Alim, in a report in *Indisch Vrouwen Jaarboek* (1354/1936), supported polygamy,

¹³² Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 233–34.

¹³³ Kamisah, "Djawab Pertanyaan Zahara," *Soenting Melajoe*, December 7, 1912; Simon, *Caged in on the Outside: Moral Subjectivity, Selfhood, and Islam in Minangkabau, Indonesia*, 132.

¹³⁴ Tanner, "The Nuclear Family in Minangkabau Matriliney: The Mirror of Disputes," 137–47.

¹³⁵ Bintalamauer, "Mentjari Isteri," *Soenting Melajoe*, December 10, 1920; Bintalamauer, "Hal Soeami Isteri," *Soenting Melajoe*, December 17, 1920.

¹³⁶ Rinaldo, "Soemando Dan Mendjoedjoer," *Soenting Melajoe*, November 16, 1917.

¹³⁷ Navis, *Alam Terkembang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*, 164.

¹³⁸ Rasoena Said, "Akibat Ordonansi-Kawin Terhadap Masyarakat," *Pedoman Masyarakat*, September 1, 1937.

¹³⁹ Kato, "Change and Continuity in the Minangkabau Matrilineal System," 10–11.

¹⁴⁰ Stuers, *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*, 147.

arguing that Minangkabau customs facilitated the practice by transferring family responsibilities to the *mamak* from the woman's side.¹⁴¹

Support for polygamy was also proclaimed by Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli (1356/1938) and Datuak Paduko Alam together with Sutan Pamuntjak (1370/1951), who stated that they did not prohibit husbands from practicing polygamy in accordance with Islamic law. They argued that a husband marrying another woman at the request of the prospective wife's *mamak* was a sign of honor and social prestige.¹⁴² Meanwhile, in critical discourse, Hamka referred to such marriages as 'customary polygamy' because of the tendency for marriage customs to be applied.¹⁴³

Joke van Reenen explains the correlation between polygamy and women's social status, as widowhood is a common reason for women to accept polygamy. This condition continued until 1358/1940. Polygamy was not viewed negatively, either towards the men or women involved in successive marriages, whether they were widowers or widows. However, women in this situation would be referred to as 'popular or in demand' among men and the wider community. As a result, many divorced women or widows preferred to remarry men who were widowers or already had wives.¹⁴⁴

Treatise on the Dialectics of Polygamy: The Customary Paradigm of Marriage in Transitional Minangkabau Society

Berger explains that the discourse of modernity represents an attitude that prioritizes ego autonomy (independence) and chooses individual freedom over the rigid rules of traditional society as a more rational and organized choice.¹⁴⁵ The articulation of the discourse of modernity plays a role and empathizes with the experiences of others who share the same background, ethnicity, or region.¹⁴⁶ Together with Luckmann, Berger explains that the cognitive power to engage in dialectics arises only when there is stability in the concepts being debated.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, the validity of the modern elite in Minangkabau is proven by formulating the idea of rejecting polygamy in their marriage customs. Thus, modern Minangkabau serves as an arena for dialectics, raising important questions and ideas for its society.

¹⁴¹ Saadah Alim, "Minangkabau, Eenige Grepen Uit de Samenleving," in *Indisch Vrouwen Jaarboek*, ed. M. A. E. van Lith-van Schreven and J. H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp (Jogjakarta: Kolff-Bruning, 1936), 85–91.

¹⁴² Sulaiman Arrasuli, *Pedoman Hidup Di Alam Minangkabau: Menurut Garisan Adat Dan Syara'* (Bukittinggi: Snelers Drukkerijh Islamijah, 1938), 30; Datuak Paduko Alam and Sutan Pamuntjak, *Rantjak Di Labueh: A Minangkabau Kaba*, ed. Anthony H. Johns (New York: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1958), 61.

¹⁴³ Hamka, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau*, 24–33; Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar Jilid 2*, 1074–75.

¹⁴⁴ Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, 229–32.

¹⁴⁵ Peter L. Berger, *Facing up to Modernity* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), 61.

¹⁴⁶ Peter L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1963), 59.

¹⁴⁷ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, 146.

Polygamy, which is regulated through marriage customs, is a reflection of the embodiment of the ABS-SBK aphorism.¹⁴⁸ This ideological framework serves as an instrument for interpreting marriage in primary reality.¹⁴⁹ In this reality, marriage customs with the tradition of '*orang jemputan*' become a problematic issue in the practice of polygamy. Thus, there are intensive efforts by the modern elite to promote monogamy as a response to polygamy.¹⁵⁰ Monogamy has become more prominent in modern Minangkabau marriage practices. Not only do women support monogamy, but men also compare the benefits of monogamy with polygamy.¹⁵¹ Meanwhile, the traditional and religious elites maintain polygamy in the matrilineal system as an interpretation of *adat* and Islamic discourse.¹⁵² Despite the prevalence of polygamy in Minangkabau in 20th-century society, the push for monogamy is a critical insight into traditional marriage.

This difference in the term for marriage stems from the traditional and religious elites' understanding that marriage is part of the macro social structure (primary reality) in Minangkabau. This is because figures other than the nuclear family are involved, integrating collective roles.¹⁵³ The modern elite offers changes to the microsocial structure (secondary reality) of marriage, prioritizing individual practices in which couples independently manage and determine the direction of their marriage.¹⁵⁴

The custom of polygamous marriage in primary reality is legitimized by ABS-SBK, with the role of traditional and religious elites in determining marriage norms with matrilineal residence, the main objective of which is to ensure that women are the driving force in the matrilineal system.¹⁵⁵ However, the modernization of marriage customs in secondary reality modified polygamy, which had persisted during the first half of the 20th century.¹⁵⁶ As a result, monogamy spread as a pattern of marriage practice in every layer of society, which was a critical reflection on previous polygamy.

The efforts of the modern elite separated the customary values that upheld polygamy as a marker of prestige from those that upheld social hierarchy. This change negotiated the repositioning of discourse on marriage practices, resulting in

¹⁴⁸ Joke Schrijvers and Els Postel-Coster, "Minangkabau Women: Change in a Matrilineal Society," *Archipel* 13, no. 1 (1977): 85.

¹⁴⁹ Chatra, *Orang Jemputan: Regulasi Seksualitas Poligami Di Minangkabau*, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Adatrecht, *Adatrechtbundels XXVII: Sumatra*, 269; Hadler, *Muslim and Matriarchs: Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism*, 80; Angraini, "Gaya Hidup Modern Perempuan Minangkabau Awal Abad Ke-20," 9.

¹⁵¹ Inda, "Memang Jodoh: Pemberontakan Marah Rusli Terhadap Tradisi Minangkabau," 230; Samry and Omar, "Gagasan Dan Aktiviti Wartawan Wanita Minangkabau Pada Masa Kolonial Belanda," 32; Herlambang, "Hamka, Social Criticism and The Practices of Polygamy in Minangkabau," 82; Ginting, "Kritik Hamka Terhadap Institusi Adat Minangkabau Melalui Novel: Kajian Analisis Strukturalisme Lévi-Strauss," 457.

¹⁵² Sari, "Poligami Di Minangkabau Pada Masa Kolonial," 8; Sari, Samry, and Midawati, "Ruang Poligami Dalam Budaya Minangkabau: Tinjauan Historis," 141; Shofa and Chairinisa, "Polygamy in Minangkabau Tafsir: A Comparative Study of the Thoughts of Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli and Buya Hamka," 364.

¹⁵³ Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality," *Diogenes* 12, no. 46 (June 1, 1964): 19; Navis, *Alam Berkembang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*, 193.

¹⁵⁴ Asril, "Hukum Adat Minangkabau Dalam Perkembangan," 132.

¹⁵⁵ Taufiq and Busyro, "Marriage System in Minangkabau: Interpreting the Concept of Culture Promoted in the Quran," 184; Darwis and Muslim, "Minangkabau Cultural Identity: History And Development," 796.

¹⁵⁶ Kato, *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*, 212.

a new hybrid model. In this paradigm, acceptance of polygamy in the matrilineal system only occurs when the dominant integrative framework is Islamic and modern discourse, and is applied through traditional discourse. This offer offers a more inclusive approach to modernization in Minangkabau regarding the practice of polygamy within the matrilineal system.¹⁵⁷

Its application through customary discourse is urgent as a tool of social engineering in accordance with the four hierarchies of custom.¹⁵⁸ *First, adat nan sabana adat*, defined as laws derived from nash, which serve as guidelines for fulfilling human obligations as creatures. *Second, adat nan diadatkan*, refers to customary provisions from the fragmentation of the establishment of two leaders—*two laras*—of Minangkabau in the past.¹⁵⁹ *Third, adat nan taradat*, represents practices that emphasize regional diversity, including within Minangkabau itself, which are simultaneously practiced and maintained. Fourth, *adat istiadat* (customary practices) encompasses behaviors carried out without legal basis, which may include actions that are normatively good or bad.

According to Shidarta, this customary hierarchy is normatively binding as a tool for engineering the reality of Minangkabau society.¹⁶⁰ The application of customary marriage in the customary hierarchy is formulated and socialized at every level of society, including among the Minangkabau elite.¹⁶¹ Regardless of their tendency toward one discourse or another, the main focus of the customary hierarchy remains on handling socio-legal issues, such as marriage.¹⁶²

In these two objective realities, there are similarities in the two initial customary hierarchies. *Adat nan sabana adat* refers to Islamic law related to marriage, while *adat nan diadatkan* refers to the matrilineal system as an application of the marriage pattern. The difference between these two objective realities lies in the next two customary hierarchies: *adat nan taradat* and *adat istiadat*. In the primary reality, *adat nan taradat* are observed in marriage customs involving polygamy, which supports the continuity of the matrilineal system as a marriage pattern. Polygamy has benefits at the macro social scale, namely by forming relationships between matrilineal residents and tribes in Minangkabau. In the *adat istiadat*, the prestige of forming these relationships is reflected in ancestral property, as the tradition of '*uang jempunan*' is perpetuated, with *sumando* from the elite class being '*orang jempunan*.' In the secondary reality, *adat nan taradat* shifts the custom of marriage from polygamy to monogamy, which seeks justice on a micro social scale by forming neolocal residents. Then, in *adat istiadat*, monogamous marriage customs support the stability of the nuclear family by positioning the *sumando* as the family head.

The difference between these two realities is caused by the dominance of cognitive power in addressing the readiness of adult women, the prestige of men,

¹⁵⁷ Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Changing One Is Changing All: Dynamics in the Adat-Islam-State Triangle," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 38, no. 53–54 (January 2006): 263–66.

¹⁵⁸ Sulaiman Arrasuli, *Pertalian Adat Dan Syara'* (Bukittinggi: Snelpers Drukkerijh Islamijah, 1939), 3.

¹⁵⁹ Navis, *Alam Terkembang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*, 88–91.

¹⁶⁰ Shidarta, *Ilmu-Ilmu Empiris Tentang Hukum: Penerapannya Pada Kajian Sosio-Legal*, 208.

¹⁶¹ Abdullah, *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*, 30.

¹⁶² Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, 307.

and the responsibility of *mamak* as traditional guardians in realizing marriage, even polygamy. In the primary reality, these three things are neglected in efforts to mitigate divorce, which is a legal dispute, because it is perceived as an external, transcendent conflict.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, the secondary reality treats divorce as a legal dispute that tends to occur in polygamy. The answer to this neglect is fulfilled by the discourse of modernity, with empowerment through education and careers for women to mitigate the risk of divorce due to polygamy, thus impacting the active involvement of the *sumando* in maintaining the stability of the nuclear family.¹⁶⁴

In primary reality, polygamy and divorce tend to occur simultaneously, indicating that the bonds of marriage in polygamous practices are relatively weak. This is indicated as a failure to realize the idealism of polygamy in primary reality, which Hamka explains is due to the differences between Islamic discourse and customs that shape marriage patterns and family structures. The tendency toward polygamy in Minangkabau in the first half of the 20th century differed from the context of polygamy in Surah An-Nisa verse 3. This difference was evident in the minimal role of *sumando* in the matrilineal system.¹⁶⁵ In fact, the burden of polygamy, from a physical aspect, was not very prominent in this reality. Therefore, polygamy in a matrilineal system should be practiced fairly, both physically and emotionally, towards wives and children. As explained in the hadith narrated in Sunan Abi Dawud, the Prophet Muhammad practiced fairness towards his wives in an emotional sense.¹⁶⁶

The Minangkabau people, who initially understood polygamy as part of the primary reality of customary marriage, later shifted to monogamy in the secondary reality. This reflects a systematic and problematic legal reasoning process,¹⁶⁷ namely that polygamy as the main doctrine was reconsidered and ultimately replaced by monogamy. The cognitive abilities and experiences underlying the criticism of polygamy by the modern elite highlight that the elite themselves were part of the previous primary reality. Their understanding of polygamy, derived from the text, is articulated and contextualized to support monogamy. This tendency is recognized by society, legitimizing their involvement in the secondary reality of traditional marriage. In this reality, polygamy is deemed irrelevant to the text. Surah An-Nisa verse 3 not only stipulates the number of wives allowed, but also outlines the reasons for polygamy as a means of protecting and providing for orphaned girls by marrying them or their mothers.¹⁶⁸ However, recognition of the secondary reality

¹⁶³ Abdullah, "Adat Dan Islam: Suatu Tinjauan Tentang Konflik Di Minangkabau," 104–5.

¹⁶⁴ Tanner, "The Nuclear Family in Minangkabau Matriline: The Mirror of Disputes," 134; Tanner and Thomas, "Rethinking Matriline: Decision-Making and Sex Roles in Minangkabau," 62.

¹⁶⁵ Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar Jilid 2*, 1074–75.

¹⁶⁶ Hadith numbers 2122, 2133, 2137, 2138, and 2144. Imam al Hafizh Abi Dawud Sulaiman bin al Asy'ats al Azdiy, *Sunan Abi Dawud 3* (Beirut: Dar al Risalah al 'Alamiyah, 2009), 460–73.

¹⁶⁷ Shidarta, *Hukum Penalaran Dan Penalaran Hukum* (Yogyakarta: Genta Publishing, 2013), 430.

¹⁶⁸ According to Muhammad Syahrur, Surah An-Nisa verse 3 not only sets quantitative limits on polygamy, but also presents a complex social construct. In the historical context after the Battle of Uhud (3 AH/625 AD), this verse was intended as a social protection mechanism for widows and orphans. Syahrur emphasizes that polygamy must be understood as an ethical instrument to guarantee the economic and educational rights of marginalized women and children, with strict qualitative requirements: the second to fourth wives must be widows and have orphans. Muhammad Syahrur, *Al-Kitab Wa Al-Qur'an: Qira'ah Mu'asirah* (Damaskus: Jami' Al-Huquq Mahfudzah Li an-Nasyr, 1992), 597–602.

in Minangkabau society shows that orphaned children are not a valid justification for polygamy in the primary reality. In the context of a matrilineal system, the absence of a father does not cause the neglect of mothers and children, because they are supported by ancestral property in a matrilineal residence. This understanding establishes that the reasons for polygamy based on Surah An-Nisa verse 3 are invalid in the context of modern Minangkabau.

The implications of divorce due to polygamy have an impact on women, who are prevented from remarrying because other men have no intention or are reluctant to marry them. The reason for this is to respect the figure's social prestige by not actually marrying his widow. This reality is proven to be detrimental to women, who, ironically, also play a central role in the matrilineal system. To restore justice for women regarding remarriage, the matrilineal residence is willing to provide '*uang jemputan*' obtained from ancestral property. Normatively, efforts such as this pose a risk to the matrilineal system, as they reduce the material value of ancestral property, which is essentially intended for the common good in the matrilineal residence.

Amid modernization in the 20th century in Minangkabau, these two realities of customary marriage were brought together through the institutionalization of marriage in Staatsblad 1910 number 695 and the 1974 Marriage Law, recognized under the paradigm of legal positivism. These two regulations repositioned legal authority that prioritized the discourse of modernity to limit male domination in marriage practices, polygamy, and divorce in Minangkabau and on the national stage.¹⁶⁹ The legal positivism paradigm limits gender-based discrimination and prioritizes monogamy in social engineering.¹⁷⁰

These two realities actionologically crystallize values through the historical process of law. Shidarta refers to this phenomenon as *volksgeist* (the spirit of the people). This crystallization occurs naturally, reflecting the law as determined by the consensus of the people and their era.¹⁷¹ Minangkabau marriage customs simultaneously seek to achieve the goals of benefit and justice, both in monogamous and polygamous practices. The internalization of these values aims to realize the ideals of marriage customs. The benefits embedded in these customs seek to foster collective relationships among the figures involved in a marriage. This principle of communitarianism guides the Minangkabau people to uphold their marriage customs as part of the continuity of the matrilineal system. Through a deep understanding of marriage customs, welfare, and justice become categorical imperatives on a macro scale.

All social actors in Minangkabau marriage customs internalize this welfare. For example, *mamak*, who are responsible for ensuring the continuity of marriage in the matrilineal system, can achieve greater benefits for matrilineal residents if decisions regarding prospective *sumando* are made through negotiation and

¹⁶⁹ Lenz, "Matrilinearität, Modernität Und Mobilität. Migration von Frauen Bei Den Minangkabau," 258; Bahardur et al., "Matrilineal Marriage Traditions and Hegemonic Masculinity in Marah Rusli's Sitti Nurbaya," 41; Sebastian, "Matrilineal Practices among Muslims: An Ethnographic Study of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra," 8.

¹⁷⁰ Meiyenti and Afrida, "The Inequality of Right and Obligation of Minangkabau Men in Matrilineal System," 15; Gustiana, "The Husband Position in Bajapuik Marriage Dynamics in Pariaman," 26.

¹⁷¹ Shidarta, *Hukum Penalaran Dan Penalaran Hukum*, 203.

consensus. Similarly, nephews and nieces are supported in realizing marriages of their own choosing, provided they are in line with marriage customs recognized as axiomatic.

Justice in marriage customs aims to ensure respect for every individual who actively participates in the marriage process. These marriage customs constitute an absolute moral code, under which every individual involved in a marriage—and their interactions with others—must be treated fairly, both materially and immaterially, towards their spouse, children, and family. This justice also applies to *mamak*, who have a relationship with their nieces and nephews. Any failure to achieve justice will only reflect a regression from the modernization currently underway in Minangkabau society. By understanding marriage customs, families are encouraged to embrace justice holistically, ensuring fair relationships within matrilineal and neolocal residential structures, promoting balance and respect, and creating harmony.

Conclusion

The dialectic of polygamy in the matrilineal system of 20th-century Minangkabau modified the originally polygamous marriage practices, limiting the independence of women (nieces) and the dominance of *mamak* authority in determining prospective husbands (*sumando*). *Mamak* qualifications determined prospective husbands based on indicators of social and materialistic prestige, tending to realize the practice of polygamy. The neglect of women's rights offered another pattern of marriage practice, namely monogamy. This change was a response from the modern Minangkabau elite who prioritized marriage as an individualistic practice. In addition, monogamy was encouraged by regulations in legal positivism that restricted the practice of polygamy in Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (Marriage Law).

In the construction of customary marriage, the dialectic of polygamy creates two objective realities within the family structure in 20th-century Minangkabau. The first (primary) reality is that matrilineal residence creates polygamous cohesion in the matrilineal system. This is because women play a central role in maintaining the matrilineal system, with matrilineal residence resulting from post-marital ethnological interactions. In the second (secondary) reality, neolocal residence promotes monogamy that prioritizes individualism and autonomy. The push for neolocal monogamy is a change from Islamic discourse and modernity that renegotiates polygamy in the primary reality with its relevance to the currents of modernization and legal positivism in the second half of the 20th century.

The change in the ideal pattern of marriage practices and family structures in 20th-century Minangkabau emerged from the integration of *adat*, Islamic, and modern discourses. Polygamy in the matrilineal system was maintained in primary reality, but in secondary reality, the practice of monogamy became more dominant, creating a neolocal residential structure. This construction reinforced the stability of the nuclear family, with the role of the *sumando* as the family head, bearing full responsibility for the welfare of the neolocal residential structure. The values derived from these two objective realities form justice and benefit. The legitimacy of matrilineal polygamy has relatively weakened and been replaced by inclusive

values (equality). This transformation is the end of the dialectic of polygamy in the socio-customary order, which has shaped more equitable and sustainable marriage practices and family structures in Minangkabau.

References

- Abdullah, Taufik. "Adat Dan Islam: Suatu Tinjauan Tentang Konflik Di Minangkabau." In *Sejarah Dan Masyarakat: Lintasan Historis Islam Di Indonesia*, edited by Taufik Abdullah, 104–29. Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1987.
- . "Modernization in the Minangkabau World: West Sumatra in the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century." In *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, edited by Claire Holt, 179–245. Singapore: Equinox Publishing, 2007.
- . *Panggilan Kemajuan: Sejarah Sosial Minangkabau, 1900-1927*. Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2021.
- . *School and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra 1927-1933*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971.
- . "Studi Tentang Minangkabau." In *Dialektika Minangkabau (Dalam Kemelut Sosial Dan Politik)*, edited by A. A. Navis, 155–72. Padang: Penerbit Genta Singgalang Press, 1983.
- Adatrecht, Commissie voor het, ed. *Adatrechtbundels XXVII: Sumatra*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1928.
- Alam, Datuak Paduko, and Sutan Pamuntjak. *Rantjak Di Labueh: A Minangkabau Kaba*. Edited by Anthony H. Johns. New York: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1958.
- Alim, Saadah. "Minangkabau, Eenige Grepen Uit de Samenleving." In *Indisch Vrouwen Jaarboek*, edited by M. A. E. van Lith-van Schreven and J. H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, 85–91. Jogjakarta: Kolff-Bruning, 1936.
- Amna. "Pada Menjatakan Perempoen." *Soenting Melajoe*, March 27, 1913.
- Angraini, Febri. "Gaya Hidup Modern Perempuan Minangkabau Awal Abad Ke-20." *Perada: Jurnal Studi Islam Kawasan Melayu* 4, no. 1 (June 9, 2021): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.35961/perada.v4i1.386>.
- Arifin, Zainal. *Politik Perkawinan: Dualitas Praktik Sosial Masyarakat Minangkabau*. Yogyakarta: Histokultura, 2018.
- Arrasuli, Sulaiman. *Pedoman Hidup Di Alam Minangkabau: Menurut Garisan Adat Dan Syara'*. Bukittinggi: Snelpers Drukkerijh Islamijah, 1938.
- . *Pertalian Adat Dan Syara'*. Bukittinggi: Snelpers Drukkerijh Islamijah, 1939.
- Asril, H. M. "Hukum Adat Minangkabau Dalam Perkembangan." In *Dialektika Minangkabau (Dalam Kemelut Sosial Dan Politik)*, edited by A. A. Navis, 26–37. Padang: Penerbit Genta Singgalang Press, 1983.

- Atikurrahman, Moh, Wahidah Zein Br Siregar, and Shabrina An Adzhani. "Belenggu Maskulinitas Dalam Kultur Matrilineal Minangkabau: Ambivalensi Sitti Nurbaya Dan Beberapa Citra Kolosal Gender Pada Roman Marah Roesli." *Suluk: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Budaya* 4, no. 2 (February 10, 2023): 94–104. <https://doi.org/10.15642/suluk.2022.4.2.94-104>.
- Azdiy, Imam al Hafizh Abi Dawud Sulaiman bin al Asy'ats al. *Sunan Abi Dawud* 3. Beirut: Dar al Risalah al 'Alamiyah, 2009.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003.
- B., A. "Toeroet Mempertimbangkan Beristeri Seorang Atau Lebih." *Soenting Melajoe*, August 4, 1916.
- Bahardur, Iswadi, Andayani Andayani, Sarwiji Suwandi, and Nugraheni Eko Wardani. "Matrilineal Marriage Traditions and Hegemonic Masculinity in Marah Rusli's Sitti Nurbaya." *Masculinities & Social Change* 11, no. 1 (February 21, 2022): 26–51. <https://doi.org/10.17583/mcs.7946>.
- Banakar, Reza. *Normativity in Legal Sociology: Methodological Reflections on Law and Regulation in Late Modernity*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-09650-6>.
- Barnes, J. A. "Marriage and Residential Continuity." *American Anthropologist* 62, no. 5 (October 28, 1960): 850–66. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1960.62.5.02a00060>.
- Benda-Beckmann, Franz von. *Property in Social Continuity: Continuity and Change in the Maintenance of Property Relationships Through Time in Minangkabau, West Sumatra*. Leiden: Nijhoff Publishers, 1979.
- Benda-Beckmann, Franz von, and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. "Changing One Is Changing All: Dynamics in the Adat-Islam-State Triangle." *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 38, no. 53–54 (January 2006): 239–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2006.10756604>.
- . "Transformation and Change in Minangkabau." In *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, edited by Lynn L Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann, 235–78. Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985.
- Berger, Peter L. *Facing up to Modernity*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977.
- . *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1963.
- Berger, Peter L., and Hansfried Kellner. "Marriage and the Construction of Reality." *Diogenes* 12, no. 46 (June 1, 1964): 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/039219216401204601>.
- Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966.

- Bintalamauer. "Hal Soeami Isteri." *Soenting Melajoe*, December 17, 1920.
- . "Mentjari Isteri." *Soenting Melajoe*, December 10, 1920.
- Blackburn, Susan, and Sharon Bessell. "Marriageable Age: Political Debates on Early Marriage in Twentieth-Century Indonesia." *Indonesia* 63 (April 1997): 107–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3351513>.
- Blackwood, Evelyn. "Big Houses and Small Houses: Doing Matriliney in West Sumatra." *Ethnos* 64, no. 1 (January 1999): 32–56. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.1999.9981589>.
- . "Representing Women: The Politics of Minangkabau Adat Writings." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 1 (February 26, 2001): 125–49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2659507>.
- Chatra, Emeraldy. *Orang Jemputan: Regulasi Seksualitas Poligami Di Minangkabau*. Padang: Laboratorium FISIP Universitas Andalas, 2005.
- Creswell, John W., and J. David Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 5th ed. California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2018.
- Damran, Sjah. "Laki-Isteri." *Soenting Melajoe*, January 4, 1918.
- Darwis, Dirwan Ahmad, and Nazri Muslim. "Minangkabau Cultural Identity: History And Development." *International Journal of Religion* 5, no. 10 (June 5, 2024): 794–805. <https://doi.org/10.61707/fbvrvmv21>.
- Dilova, Gisha, Muhammad Syukron, Siti Anisa Siregar, and Alfiyyah Nur Hasanah. "The Role of Minangkabau Women in Family and Community in Gender Fair Development." *JCH (Jurnal Cendekia Hukum)* 8, no. 1 (September 30, 2022): 60–70. <https://doi.org/10.33760/jch.v8i1.569>.
- Djoeriah. "Perkawinan." *Soenting Melajoe*, January 30, 1914.
- Djoewita, Zoebaidah Ratna, and Siti Roehana. "Boeah Pikiran Seorang Perempoen Anak Pasaman (Tentangan Berbini Seorang Atau Lebih)." *Soenting Melajoe*, August 25, 1916.
- . "Gobahan Sedikit Tentangan Perkawinan." *Soenting Melajoe*, January 29, 1915.
- . "Keoetamaan Istri Minangkabau." *Soenting Melajoe*, October 20, 1916.
- Etek, Azizah, Mursjid A. M., and Afran B. R. *Koto Gadang Masa Kolonial*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007.
- Ginting, Jonson Handrian. "Kritik Hamka Terhadap Institusi Adat Minangkabau Melalui Novel: Kajian Analisis Strukturalisme Lévi-Strauss." *Mukadimah: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sejarah, Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 7, no. 2 (September 10, 2023): 449–59. <https://doi.org/10.30743/mkd.v7i2.7704>.
- Graves, Elizabeth E. *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1981.

- Gustiana, Restia. "The Husband Position in Bajapuik Marriage Dynamics in Pariaman." *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 18, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 13–27. <https://doi.org/10.30984/jis.v18i1.953>.
- Haar, B. Ter. *Adat Law in Indonesia*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948.
- Hadler, Jeffrey. *Muslim and Matriarchs: Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Hamka. *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah Dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama Di Sumatera*. 4th ed. Jakarta: Umminda, 1982.
- . *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1984.
- . *Tafsir Al-Azhar Jilid 2*. Jakarta: Pustaka Nasional PTE LTD Singapura, 1993.
- Hasan, Teuku Moehammad. *Ontwerp-Ordonnantie Op De Ingeschreven Huwelijken*. Batavia: Buitenzorgsche Drukkerij, 1937.
- Hegel, George Wilhelm Friedrich. *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*. Edited by Leo Rauch. Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1988.
- Herlambang, Saifuddin. "Hamka, Social Criticism and The Practices of Polygamy in Minangkabau." *Al-Albab* 9, no. 1 (June 8, 2020): 69–86. <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v9i1.1593>.
- Inda, Dian Nathalia. "Memang Jodoh: Pemberontakan Marah Rusli Terhadap Tradisi Minangkabau." *Kandai* 11, no. 2 (2015): 217–33.
- Jong, P. E. De Josselin De. *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan: Socio-Political Structure in Indonesia*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff Uitgeverij, 1980.
- Joustra, M. *Minangkabau Overzicht van Land, Geschiedenis En Volk*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923.
- Junus, Umar. "Some Remarks on Minangkabau Social Structure." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 120, no. 3 (1964): 293–326. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90002980>.
- Kahin, Audrey. "Repression and Regroupment: Religious and Nationalist Organizations in West Sumatra in the 1930s." *Indonesia* 38 (October 1984): 39–54. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350844>.
- Kahn, Joel S. *Constituting the Minangkabau: Peasants, Culture and Modernity in Colonial Indonesia*. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- . *Minangkabau Social Formations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511557552>.
- Kamisah. "Djawab Pertanjaan Zahara." *Soenting Melajoe*, December 7, 1912.
- Kathirithamby-Wells, Jeyamalar. "Myth and Reality: Minangkabau Institutional Traditions in the Rantau." In *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, edited by Lynn L

- Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann, 121–40. Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985.
- Kato, Tsuyoshi. "Change and Continuity in the Minangkabau Matrilineal System." *Indonesia* 25 (April 1978): 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350964>.
- . *Matriliney and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Korn, V. E. "De Vrouwelijke Mama' in de Minangkabausche Familie." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 100, no. 1 (1941): 301–38. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90001275>.
- Krier, Jennifer. "The Marital Project: Beyond the Exchange of Men in Minangkabau Marriage." *American Ethnologist* 27, no. 4 (November 7, 2000): 877–97. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2000.27.4.877>.
- Latif, A. "Tanah Air Kita Minangkabau." *Soenting Melajoe*, January 28, 1921.
- Lenz, Barbara. "Matrilinearität, Modernität Und Mobilität. Migration von Frauen Bei Den Minangkabau." *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie* 130, no. 2 (2005): 245–71.
- Maretin, J.V. "Disappearance of Matriclan Survivals in Minangkabau Family and Marriage Relations." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 117, no. 1 (1961): 168–95. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90002200>.
- Marthala, Agusti Efi. *Penghulu & Filosofi Pakaian Kebesaran: Konsep Kepemimpinan Tradisional Minangkabau*. 2nd ed. Bandung: Humaniora, 2014.
- Meiyenti, Sri, and Afrida. "The Inequality of Right and Obligation of Minangkabau Men in Matrilineal System." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Mamangan* 7, no. 1 (June 28, 2018): 12–22. <https://doi.org/10.22202/mamangan.2466>.
- Naim, Mochtar. "Merantau: Causes and Effects of Minangkabau Voluntary Migration." Occasional Paper. Singapore, 1971.
- Nasir, Putiviola Elian, Abdul Halim, Tanty Herida, Silvi Cory, Anita Afriani Sinulingga, Aditya Mukhti, Bunga Sri Hidayat, and Faraytodi Gibran. "Minangkabau Matriliney and Gender Equality: Cultural Contribution to Sustainable Development Goals." *Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS)* 10, no. 1 (May 1, 2021): 16–33. <https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.10.1.16-33.2021>.
- Navels. "Goenanja Anak Perempoen Bersekolah." *Soenting Melajoe*, December 31, 1914.
- Navis, A. A. *Alam Berkembang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*. Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1984.
- Noer, Deliar. *Aku Bagian Ummat Aku Bagian Bangsa: Otobiografi Deliar Noer*. Jakarta: Penerbit Mizan, 1996.
- . *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- Parker, Lyn. "Matrifocal, Matrilineal, or Matriarchal? Cultural Resilience and Vulnerability Among the Matrilineal and Muslim Minangkabau in Indonesia." In *Matrilineal, Matriarchal, and Matrifocal Islam*, edited by Abbas Panakkal and Nasr M Arif, 3–42. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-51749-5>.
- Prindiville, Joanne C. "Mother, Mother's Brother, and Modernization: The Problems and Prospects of Minangkabau Matriliney in a Changing World." In *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, edited by Lynn L. Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann, 29–44. Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985.
- Pringgodigdo, Abdoel Kareem. "Indisch Verslag: Statistisch Jaaroverzicht van Nederlandsch-Indie." Batavia: Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek, 1941.
- Putri, Selfi Mahat. *Perempuan Dan Modernitas: Perubahan Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau Pada Awal Abad Ke-20*. Yogyakarta: Gre Publishing, 2018.
- Radjab, Muhamad. *Semasa Kecil Di Kampung*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1950.
- . *Sistem Kekerabatan Di Minangkabau*. Padang: Center For Minangkabau Studies, 1969.
- Rafiah. "Roedingan Dari Hal Bermadoe." *Soenting Melajoe*, December 21, 1912.
- Reenen, Joke van. *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*. Netherlands: Research School CNWS, Leiden University, 1996.
- Rinaldo. "Berbini Seorang Atau Lebih." *Soenting Melajoe*, December 15, 1916.
- . "Soemando Dan Mendjoedjoer." *Soenting Melajoe*, November 16, 1917.
- Rosmawarna, Izinar. "Banjak Djanda Tjelaka Hidoep." *Soenting Melajoe*, May 10, 1918.
- Rusli, Baharuddin. *Ayah Kita*. Bukittinggi, 1978.
- Said, Rasoena. "Akibat Ordonansi-Kawin Terhadap Masyarakat." *Pedoman Masyarakat*, September 1, 1937.
- Sampono, St. "Iboe Jang Paling Oetama." *Soenting Melajoe*, February 20, 1913.
- Samry, Wannofri, and Rahilah Omar. "Gagasan Dan Aktiviti Wartawan Wanita Minangkabau Pada Masa Kolonial Belanda." *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics, and Strategy* 59, no. 2 (2012): 24–47. <http://journalarticle.ukm.my/6226/>.
- Sari, Vitri Puspita. "Poligami Di Minangkabau Pada Masa Kolonial." *Historia: Jurnal Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah* 8, no. 1 (February 29, 2020): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.24127/hj.v8i1.2626>.
- Sari, Vitri Puspita, Wannofri Samry, and Midawati. "Ruang Poligami Dalam Budaya Minangkabau: Tinjauan Historis." *Historia: Jurnal Program Studi Pendidikan*

- Sejarah* 9, no. 2 (August 29, 2021): 131–42.
<https://doi.org/10.24127/hj.v9i2.3504>.
- Schrijvers, Joke, and Els Postel-Coster. “Minangkabau Women: Change in a Matrilineal Society.” *Archipel* 13, no. 1 (1977): 79–103.
<https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1977.1328>.
- Sebastian, Aleena. “Matrilineal Practices among Muslims: An Ethnographic Study of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra.” *Ethnography*, December 27, 2022, 1–22.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381221147137>.
- Shidarta. *Hukum Penalaran Dan Penalaran Hukum*. Yogyakarta: Genta Publishing, 2013.
- . *Ilmu-Ilmu Empiris Tentang Hukum: Penerapannya Pada Kajian Sosio-Legal*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2024.
- Shiddiqi, Nourouzzaman. *Menguak Sejarah Muslim: Suatu Kritik Metodologis*. Yogyakarta: PLP2M IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1983.
- . *Pengantar Sejarah Muslim*. Yogyakarta: Nur Cahaya, 1983.
- Shofa, Ida Kurnia, and Putri Evta Chairinisa. “Polygamy in Minangkabau Tafsir: A Comparative Study of the Thoughts of Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli and Buya Hamka.” *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 10, no. 2 (2022): 349–67.
<https://doi.org/10.21274/kontem.v10i2.7249>.
- Simon, Gregory M. *Caged in on the Outside: Moral Subjectivity, Selfhood, and Islam in Minangkabau, Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2014.
- Stapel, F.W. “Een Verhandeling Over Het Ontstaan van Het Menangkabausche Rijk En Zijn Adat.” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 92, no. 1 (1935): 460–70. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90001396>.
- Stark, Alexander. “The Matrilineal System of the Minangkabau and Its Persistence Throughout History: A Structural Perspective.” *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 13 (2013): 1–13.
- Stuers, Cora Vreede-De. *Sejarah Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian*. Translated by Elvira Rosa, Paramita Ayunigtyas, and Dwi Istiani. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2017.
- Syahrur, Muhammad. *Al-Kitab Wa Al-Qur’an: Qira’ah Mu’āsirah*. Damaskus: Jami’ Al-Huquq Mahfudzah Li an-Nasyr, 1992.
- Tanner, Nancy. “Disputing and Dispute Settlement among the Minangkabau of Indonesia.” *Indonesia* 8 (October 1969): 21–68.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3350668>.
- . “Disputing and the Genesis of Legal Principles: Examples from Minangkabau.” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26, no. 4 (1970): 375–401. <https://doi.org/10.1086/soutjanth.26.4.3629367>.

- . “The Nuclear Family in Minangkabau Matriliney: The Mirror of Disputes.” *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 138, no. 1 (1982): 129–51. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003484>.
- Tanner, Nancy, and Lynn L. Thomas. “Rethinking Matriliney: Decision-Making and Sex Roles in Minangkabau.” In *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, edited by Lynn L. Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann, 45–72. Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1985.
- Taufiq, Muhammad, and Busyro. “Marriage System in Minangkabau: Interpreting the Concept of Culture Promoted in the Quran.” *Islam Transformatif: Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (February 23, 2023): 173–87. <https://doi.org/10.30983/it.v6i2.6114>.
- W., Staalyzer P. “Nasihat Bagi Orang Jang Mempoenjai Anak Perempoen.” *Soenting Melajoe*, July 23, 1915.
- Zahara. “Kebiasaan Kita Jang Koerang Baik.” *Soenting Melajoe*, November 9, 1912.
- . “Oleh Zahara.” *Soenting Melajoe*, November 30, 1912.

