



The Ideals of Harmony in Dualism in Tambo Alam Minangkabau

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Abstract— Tambo is a historical literary work that contains the origins of the ancestors and customs of the Minangkabau people. One of the important themes in the Tambo is the division of two systems of government in Minangkabau customs called Lareh Nan Duo, which is full of symbolic language. This study aims to dismantle the meaning of Tambo which is required by the symbolic and ideological language. Roland Barthes' semiological theory is used to uncover the symbolic meaning behind the story of Lareh Nan Duo. This research is a qualitative study with a qualitative descriptive method. The data obtained is through a literature study. The research object material is sourced from Tambo text by Datoek Batoeah Sango (1959). The units of data analysis in this research are words, sentences, phrases, paragraphs, and discourses that tell about Lareh Nan Duo. The results of the analysis illustrate that the Minangkabau society is a dualistic society, divided by two systems of government and their rules. The journey of the Minangkabau people on the dualism of the system and the rules gave a sign that the Minangkabau people held to two truths. The Minangkabau people reduce them to a map, namely Islam. The Minangkabau people make Islam as harmonization in a prolonged dualism. This research can add to the treasures and become a reference for researchers in the field of Barthes's Semiology which is applied to Tambo. This research opens up space for other researchers to get involved in the historiography

Keywords— Barthes; Lareh Nan Duo; Mythology; Semiology; Tambo

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I. INTRODUCTION

Tambo is a document of the Minangkabau people's past that contains information about the origins of the ancestors and their customs. Tambo Alam Minangkabau contains the story of Lareh Nan Duo, namely Lareh Koto Piliang and Lareh Bodi Chaniago. Lareh means the ancient Minangkabau government system created by two Datuks, namely: Koto Piliang by Datuk Katumanggungan and Bodi Caniago by Datuk Parpatiah Nan Sabatang. (Saydam, 2004, pp 222)

Tambo becomes the basis for formulating the pattern of customary leadership into two forms. The first form is characterized by an aristocracy which is "bajanjang naiak Batanggo turun" (tiered up and steps down). That is, all customary affairs are hierarchical. The characteristics of this aristocratic leadership pattern have implications for the selection of traditional leaders, the form of customary deliberation, the form of traditional houses, and so on. Likewise, the second form, which is characterized by democracy, is "duduak Sahamparan tagak saedaran" (sitting

across an upright position). That is, all customary affairs and decision-making in deliberation are more democratic. This second form also has implications for the election of traditional leaders, forms of deliberation, forms of traditional houses, and various other customary affairs.

The dualism of Lareh Koto Piliang and Bodi Chaniago in Tambo Alam Minangkabau is interesting to discuss. Lareh Koto Piliang under the rule of Datuak Katumanggungan was aristocratic because his father was a king, namely Sultan Sri Maharaja Diraja. Lareh Bodi Caniago under the government of Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang was democratic. Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang is the son of Tjati Bilang Pandai. A character in the tambo who is famous for his intelligence and ingenuity has done a lot of services to Sultan Maharadja Diradja.

Several studies related to research, including Rosa (2015) in her book entitled *Misty Ideology: Customary Degrees and Myths of the Minangkabau Society*, have a formal correlation with this research. The book discusses the procession of awarding customary titles in Minangkabau

which is examined from the semiological perspective of Roland Barthes. He stated that there is a collective unconsciousness of the Minangkabau people behind the implementation of the tradition of giving customary titles to men in Minangkabau. The tradition is carried out by the Minangkabau people as if it is something natural, according to the rules and regulations of customs, but there is a subversion of patriarchal power that penetrates the matrilineal kinship structure adopted by the Minangkabau community. The subversion took place sweetly and misleadingly, even as if it was natural that the Minangkabau people did not realize it. At one time the appearance was patriarchal, but at other times it seemed matriarchal. The blurring that happened was very foggy, and faint. This book is important in the research that will be carried out because the perspective used by Rosa (2019) will be applied in the research on tambo that will be carried out.

Djamaris (1990) has conducted a philological study of the Minangkabau tambo which consists of various variants. His research resulted in the editing of the Minangkabau tambo text. Research on tambo conducted by Djamaris (1990) was published by Balai Pustaka entitled Tambo Minangkabau. One of the edits is analyzed structurally, especially regarding the intrinsic structural aspect that builds a Tambo. (p.3)

Furthermore, an article was written by Suryami (2014) with the title the concept of leadership in Tambo Minangkabau. This study uses structuralist theory to find the concept of leadership in Minangkabau.

In this analysis, the author reveals how relevant the existing leadership system in Tambo or the past is to the current context. This study only analyzes the structure at the surface structure stage or the basic stage and has not yet reached the content and meaning stage. The results of the analysis illustrate how in the past the Minang people were familiar with deliberation and consensus to make decisions and the nature of the leader was fair and wise. So in essence the concept of an ideal leader already exists or has existed in the Minangkabau realm in ancient times (Suryami,2014).

Further research, Aziz (2020) in his writing entitled "Mythology and Cultural Construction of the Bubakan Mijen Semarang Community in the Review of Roland Barthes". This article examines the process of constructing mythological meanings that influence the reconstruction of culture in society using Roland Barthes' Semiotics theory. This mythology has metamorphosed into a religious ideological doctrine that can survive and be passed down from generation to generation (ultimate value) influenced by geographical, economic, and educational factors that are related to one another. Through Roland Barthes' Semiotics theory, a comprehensive study of mythology repositions mythology not only as a historical science but as a formal science that is open to study and criticism. The results of this study show that the construction of mythology and community culture comprehensively touches on geographical, economic, educational, and ideological aspects that are interrelated.

II. METHOD

As for data collection techniques, the authors conducted a literature study. The data collected are primary data and

secondary data. The primary data was obtained from an in-depth reading of the Tambo Alam Minangkabau text written by Dateok Batoeah Sango (1959). Secondary data was taken from information from various sources such as articles, journals, books, and internet sources to get a clearer picture of the Tambo Alam Minangkabau text and then relate it to the semiological perspective of Roland Barthes.

In analysing the data, the author uses qualitative methods. The author analyses the data in the form of novel quotes and understands it using the semiological perspective of Roland Barthes to find out the ideals of harmony in the text of crimes against nature in Tambo Alam Minangkabau text.

The research method uses a qualitative approach. The presentation of the data is presented descriptively accompanied by evidence and the data are analyzed from the semiological perspective of Roland Barthes.

Barthes (1972) says that myth is the study of a type of speech, nothing but a part of a very broad science of signs which Ferdinand de Saussure postulated about forty years ago under the name of semiology.

"In myth, we find again the tri-dimensional pattern which I have just described: the signifier, the signified, and the sign. But myth is a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain that existed before it: it is a second-order semiological system. That which is a sign (namely the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second. We must here recall that the materials of mythical speech (the language itself, photography, painting, posters, rituals, objects, etc.), however different at the start, are reduced to a pure signifying function as soon as they are caught by myth. Myth sees in them only the same raw material; their unity is that they all come down to the status of a mere language. Whether it deals with alphabetical or pictorial writing, myth wants to see in them only a sum of signs, a global sign, the final term of a first semiological chain. And it is precisely this final term that will become the first term of the greater system which it builds and of which it is only a part. Everything happens as if myth shifted the formal system of the first significations sideways. As this lateral shift is essential for the analysis of myth, I shall represent it in the following way, it being understood, of course, that the spatialization of the pattern is here only a metaphor" (p.113)

According to Barthes from the quote above, in the myth found three-dimensional patterns are described: the signifier, the signified, and the sign. But myth is an odd system because it is formed from a semiological chain that has existed before; myth is a second-order semiological system. What is a sign (i.e. the associative totality between concept and image) in the first system, becomes just a signifier in the second system. Here we must remember that the materials in mystical speech (language itself, photography, painting, posters, rituals, objects, and so on) although different at first, are reduced to a purely signifying function once they are caught up in myth. The myth sees in the materials only the

same raw material, their unity is that they all descend to the status of merely a language. Whether it is dealing with alphabetic or pictorial writing (pictures), myth only wants to see in those materials a set of signs, a global sign, the final term of the first semiological chain. And it is precisely this last term that becomes the first term of the larger system he builds and this last term is only one part of it. Everything happened as if the myth shifted the formal system from the first sign aside. Because this lateral shift is essential for the analysis of myth

TABLE I
SEMIOLOGY PERSPECTIVE OF ROLAND BARTHES

Language	I, Signifier	2, Signified
	3. Tanda	
MYTH	I, SIGNIFIER	II, SIGNIFIED
	III, SIGN	

Barthes (1972) states that there are two semiological systems in myth states that *“it can be seen that in myth there are two semiological systems, one of which is staggered about the other: a linguistic system the language (or the modes of representation which are assimilated to it), which I shall call the language-object because it is the language which myth gets hold of to build its system; and myth itself, which I shall call metalanguage because it is a second language, in which one speaks about the first. When he reflects on a metalanguage, the semiologist no longer needs to ask himself questions about the composition of the language object, he no longer has to take into account the details of the linguistic schema; he will only need to know its total term or global sign, and only since this term lends itself to myth. This is why the semiologist is entitled to treat in the same way writing and pictures: what he retains from them is the fact that they are both signs, that they both reach the threshold of myth endowed with the same signifying function, that they constitute, one just as much as the other, a language-object”*. (p.114)

Based on Barthes' quote above, it can be seen that in myth there are two semiological systems, one of which is arranged about another system: a linguistic system, language (or the forms of representation assimilated to it), which is called object-language because it is the language that myths rely on to help their system; and the myth itself is called metalanguage because it is a second language, in which we speak of a second language. When thinking about metalanguage, the semiologist no longer has to ask himself about the second language. When thinking of metalanguage, the semiologist no longer has to ask himself about the composition of the language of the object, the semiologist no

longer takes into account the details of the linguistic scheme; he only needs to know the total term, or global sign, for this term borrows itself from myth. It is for this reason that semiologists have the right to treat writing and drawings in the same way; what he maintains from both of them is that they are signs, that they both reach the mythical threshold of acquiring the same signifying function, that they form, with the same intensity, the same object.

III. RESULT & DISCUSSION

Maka berlarjalah Sulthan Maharadja Diradja dari pada satu negeri kepada satu negeri. Kemudian sampailah radja itu di puntjak pulau emas., Pulau Pertja (Pulau Andalas) jaitu puntjak Gunung Merapi maka petjahlah perahu itu karena terlanggar suatu karang (Sango,1959,p.21)

Before the arrival of Sultan Maharadja Diradja to his conquest area on Pertja Island, namely the Minangkabau area, the Minangkabau region had its system of rules. The dynamics and realities that exist in the Minangkabau world have been institutionalized. An area that has a territory and has been institutionalized with system rules. Moreover, the area is a homogeneous area yet mixed with immigrants, is a solid unit. Before the arrival of Sultan Maharadja Diradja to his conquest area on Pertja Island, namely the Minangkabau area, the Minangkabau region had its system of rules. The dynamics and realities that exist in the Minangkabau world have been institutionalized. An area that has a territory and has been institutionalized with system rules. Moreover, the area is a homogeneous area that has not been mixed with immigrants and is a solid unit.

The social system and government system, up to the belief system in the early Minangkabau community were not explained in detail and specifically. This is certainly a big question and affects the next storyline. Because what happened in the Minangkabau world before the arrival of Sultan Maharadja Diradja in the Tambo text is not specifically explained.

The Minangkabau were initially identified as ethnic groups living on an island called Pertja Island or Andalas Island. Patchwork Island (Anon n.d.) means separate or fragmented, in the analogy of Patchwork, namely the leftover fabric from cuttings from the manufacture of clothing, handicrafts, or other textile products. Patchwork is also a term for shrubs that produce sap, so Patchouli Island is an island separated by water, there are also those who think that patchwork is an island that produces sap. Historians identify that Pulau Perca is another name for the island of Sumatra, with the analysis that Sumatra has mountains and hills, rivers and streams that divide the island Sumatra, such as. The island of Sumatra also produces a lot of sap from various types of "shrub" plants. On this basis, the researchers concluded that the patchwork island is the island of Sumatra. More specifically, Pulau Perca is more identical and more inclined to the area located east of the Bukit Barisan (land with swaying, flowing water) due to the presence of many rivers as mentioned above.

Minangkabau at the time of the conquest or the arrival of Sultan Maharadja Diradja, could not be separated from Iskandar Zulkarnanin. Because Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnanin is the father of Maharadja Diradja. As discussed in the previous chapter, Zulkarnain had a vast kingdom and ruled justly. The early Minangkabau, led by the Royal Emperor,

had the privilege of being descended from Zulkarnain as listed in the Qur'an who had a vast kingdom and applied the law of monotheism. Then the community appointed a leader who has that privilege.

After the conquest of the Minangkabau region, the descendants of Zulkarnain were appointed leaders with the title of Maharaja Diraja. The Royal Emperor can be etymologically defined as a descendant of a king appointed by God (descendant of Zulkarnain/emperor) who is made King (royal/royal).

As is customary in the process of conquest of territory, where the conquered area will certainly follow and imitate the rules brought by the conqueror (Khalidun, 2011, p. 237). The system and rules brought by Maharaja Diradja, as previously discussed, are inherited from his father, namely the royal system of autocracy. The autocratic system inherited by Maharaja Diradja is a legal system that is built-in or attached to the concept of monotheism (before there was the name Islam).

Hingga ketika dia telah sampai di tempat matahari terbenam, dia melihatnya (matahari) terbenam dalam laut yang berlumpur hitam, dan di sana ditemukannya suatu kaum (tidak beragama). Kami berfirman, 'Wahai Zulkarnain! Engkau boleh menghukum atau berbuat kebaikan (mengajak beriman) kepada mereka' (Q.S Al-Kahf {18}: 86) (Rifan, 2012, p. 596)

An autocracy is a system of government that is centered on one person or a single person. Full authority rests with one person who is at the top of the leadership. Subordinates only carry out orders without any authority (Zamroji, 2020). In the era of the arrival of the Maharaja Diraja, dualism occurred in the Minangkabau world to this day.

A. *Ideals of Harmony between Datuak Katumanggungan and Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang*

The myth of the leader in Tambo Minangkabau is represented in the form of a superhuman being in the person of the Royal Emperor who is a descendant of Zulkarnain. Meanwhile, Zulkarnain is a person who is narrated a lot in the holy book of the Qur'an. The Royal Emperor was made a concrete figure with his arrival in the Minangkabau natural region by bringing his entourage by ship.

The Royal Emperor who later became Datuak Katumanggungan was considered a person who had the privilege or luck of a king. The myth of the leader referred to here is that the Royal Emperor describes that he owns, inherits, and descends from a figure who is privileged in various Malay epic stories as well as in the scriptures.

In the tambo text about leadership, a sign from Lareh Koto Piliang's first language. The myth marker is intended to illustrate that by having a leader symbolized by Maharaja Diraja, the Minangkabau people feel like part of someone who is blessed or descended from Zulkarnain.

The explanation of the mythical marking of Lareh Koto Piliang which was symbolized by Datuak Katumanggungan previously, the function of the myth here is to produce a new identity that will then be owned by the Minangkabau people until now. Identity is a process of identity differentiation. It can be interpreted here that self-identity and the differentiation of self-identity created by the myth marking

is a way to interpret a leader. And a leader is a reflection of the society he leads. It is not possible to make an elected leader who is great, while on the other hand the people being led are people who are below average.

It can be seen here that the way the myth works in the tambo text is to replace or change something with something else. A phenomenal figure like Zulkarnain narrated at the beginning of the tambo, was adopted into the figure of the Royal Emperor. Then from Maharaja Diraja had a son named Maharadjo Besar with the title Datuk Katumanggungan. The figure of Maharaja Besar who was the leader of Lareh Koto Piliang was a figure who exceeded or surpassed the people at the time. So the Minangkabau tambo made products or produced the Royal Emperor and his descendants as noble leaders in his time.

The process of taking the sign from Zulkarnain to Maharaja Diraja is represented by Lareh Koto Piliang with the motto "Kato options" thus giving the meaning that Koto Piliang symbolized by a king who rules with words is "the chosen one". The chosen Kato here is the chosen one because the king is the chosen one. The exchange process between Zulkarnain and Maharaja Diraja.

On the other hand, the leadership of Lareh Bodi Caniago was represented by Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang. Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang is the son of Tjati Bilang Pandai, a servant figure, a confidant of the Maharaja Diraja. Datuak Parpatiah and Datuak Katumanggungan are two brothers of the same mother but different fathers.

Just like the events in Lareh Koto Piliang, the concretization of the Bodi Caniago leadership system has a myth as a wise and wise human being, because Tjati Bilang Pandai, the father of Parpatiah, is an intelligent person. The first sign is Bodi Caniago, while the mythical sign is intended to illustrate that by having a leader symbolized by Datuak Parpatiah, the Minangkabau people feel that they are part of someone wise and wise, and is still part of Zulkarnain.

The production of a new identity formed by the figure of Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang indicates that the system that existed in the early Minangkabau region before the arrival of Maharaja Diraja was in line with Tjati Bilang Pandai's view which was reduced to the figure of his youngest son, Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang.

In Lareh Bodi Caniago, this is a new process or meaning that occurs in the existing system. Not purely replace with the new system that comes. Unlike Lareh Koto Piliang, who adopted the system brought by Maharaja Diraja. In Lareh Bodi Caniago there is an adaptation made by Datuak Parpatiah. This adaptation occurs in the deliberation and consensus process which is the essence of the Bodi Caniago harmony.

The deliberation of consensus which is a characteristic of Bodi Caniago's teachings indicates that there is a matrilineal concept in it. Because the early Minangkabau people before the arrival of Maharaja Diraja adhered to a matrilineal system. This adaptation is carried out by the Minangkabau people to substitute or replace their new markers.

The new marker that is present as a myth is meant as a leader who brings wisdom like Tjati Bilang Pandai. Although the figure is not as phenomenal as that of the royal emperor a direct descendant of Zulkarnain. But the figure of

Tjati Bilang Pandai is still part of the circle of Maharaja Diraja.

The process of taking the sign from Tjati Bilang Pandai to Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang is represented by the harmony of the Bodi Caniago with the motto "Consensus deliberation" thus giving the meaning that Bodi Caniago is symbolized by an intelligent person who governs with wisdom is a "wise person".

B. Ideals of Harmony in Customary Systems and Government Systems

The system brought by Maharadja Diradja is a pre-existing concept. Because Maharadja Diradja was the son of a great ruler of his time. Maharadja Diradja came to the land of Minangkabau on an order from his father, not on his own accord. This means that here Maharadja Diradja has been provided with leadership knowledge by his father. The leadership system is unique because the system is inherited. The system is more of a way of regulating because Maharadja Diradja is the son of the king.

Meanwhile, the early Minangkabau people before the arrival of Diradja already had their own habits, also called customary rules that were specifically binding and regulating, because the people were homogeneous or similar. Meanwhile, Maharadja Diradja brought a general system of government, not customary rules. Here, it is clear that the difference between what Maharadja Diradja brought is government regulations that are more vertical or upward, not the pre-existing rules, namely customary rules that are more horizontal.

The word *adat* comes from the Arabic "adah" which means habit, which is something that is often repeated. The term *adat* which is the same as habit here or the notion of habit in the sense of custom is a normative habit that has taken the form of rules of behavior that apply in society and are maintained by society. Because *Adat* is a normative habit and is maintained by the community, even though it does not keep repeating itself, at certain times it will repeat itself and must be implemented, and if it is not implemented, the community will react. Furthermore, custom can be seen from its use from generation to generation (Nugroho, 2016, p.20).

Nugroho (2016) states that the system brought by Maharadja Diradja which was passed down to his son, Maharadjo Besar, has the title Datuak Katumanggungan with Lareh Koto Piliang. It is very thick with absolute power and tends to be authoritarian. This habit is also known as the Patrilineal system which is a society in which the members draw a line from the male side (father) continuously upwards so that it ends in a belief that they all come from the One Father origin (p.20).

Decision-making on Lareh Koto Piliang is only a notification to every country. If you want to arrange lareh, send a letter to each lareh, as illustrated by Sango (1959) as follows:

Maka berjalanlah mereka itu ke Solok, yaitu yang bernama Sungai Teranjur hendak menuju ke rantau pesisir. Maka rantau belum bernama rantau, maka namanya ialah Tiku Pariaman. Setelah berapa lamanja tinggal di sana, maka beranaklah Datuak Katumanggungan seorang laki-laki dan

seorang perempuan, anak itulah jang djadi Radja di rantau Tiku Pariaman (p.16)

Because of the enormous power of Lareh Koto Piliang, who tends to be authoritarian and power only belongs to the nuclear family. Meanwhile, Minangkabau has its own customary rules, as stated by Cicero "ubi societas ibi ius" (where there is a community there is the law). Customs according to (Nugroho 2016:14) are norms according to ancestors, old habits, or traditions that are deemed appropriate or appropriate by the people in the area concerned. Meanwhile, Datuak Katumanggungan, a descendant of Zulkarnain, brought the law. Law (Nugroho 2016:14) is the rules or norms according to the teachings of Islam. As Sango (1959) reveals as follows "dalam aturan adat Minang bahwasanja waris atau peninggalan jang ditinggalkan oleh satu orang jang telah mati, diterima oleh ahli warisnja, baik tentangan harta pusaka, baikpun tentang gelar pusakanja (p.33)

Lareh Bodi Tjaniago's customary rules are opposite to those of Lareh Koto Piliang. One example is the inheritance of Lareh Koto Piliang to his children, while the inheritance of Bodi Tjaniago to his nephews. This difference in rules was motivated by the two Datuak. Where Datuak Katumanggungan is the son of the king and Datuak Parpatiah is the son of Tjati Bilang Pandai, the son of an advisor to the king. An advisor to the king is a person who is directly involved with the people in carrying out the rules, while the king only gives rules.

The opposite of the two Lareh rules of the system do not mean rivals but complement each other. Minangkabau customary rules existed before the arrival of Maharadja Diradja;

Menurut adat Minangkabau jang dipakai adat matriachat, iaitu turunan dari ibu, jang mendjawat waris ialah kemenakan (Sango, 1959, p.33)

C. Ideals of Harmony in Matrilineal and Patrilineal in Minangkabau Customs

From the "leader" myth that has been analyzed previously, namely Lareh Koto Piliang with Datuak Katumanggungan and Lareh Bodi Caniago with Datuak Parpatiah. Of course, these leaders bring their respective government systems. It is the system that distinguishes the essence of harmony. Where each alignment derives a unique system of rules. The system is a derivative or application of each lareh. Koto Piliang, which is identical to the kingdom or autocracy, has inherited the patriarchal system, while Bodi Caniago, which is identical to the discussion, has brought down the matrilineal system.

The myth of the Koto Piliang government system or rule which is characterized by patrilineal is something that is attached to the kingdom (autocracy). The myth replaces it with a concrete subject, namely inheritance based on direct descent to children.

In this myth, the sign of autocracy or kingdom is a marker at the language level. In the mythical sign, the patrilineal system illustrates that the inheritance system is based on the child or according to the father's lineage. Indicates that the

preservation of power is continued and confirmed so as not to be separated from the nuclear family. This inheritance myth still refers to the king as the chosen man. According to the background in the Tambo text, he is a descendant of Zulkarnain as a chosen human.

The patrilineal myth that symbolizes the superiority of a man is something brought from the teachings of Zulkarnain. Zulkarnain in Tambo is described as a person who brings teachings that if interpreted are the teachings of monotheism (before it was called Islam).

So based on the explanation of the patrilineal myth marked here, it functions like the creation of a new socio-cultural identity but still cannot be separated from the Zulkarnain myth. The workings of the myth of the system of government rules symbolized by the kingdom (autocracy) in the denotative sign are replaced by a patrilineal sign at the myth stage. This is contained in the following quote:

Ampun hamba dek Tuanku, karena tjoba menjuruh anak-anak itu akan menghela perahu jang terkalang itu, tetapi mereka itu tidak mau menolong bapaknja menghela perahu jang terkalang itu. Sebab itulah lebih baik pusaka itu diturunkan kepada kemenakan dari pada sawah ladang, emas perak sekalianja, karena dialah jang suka bersusah pajah jang mau menolong djo paluh tjutjur. Karena anak itu jang baik sadja jang disukainja, pekerjaan jang bersusah pajah tidak sama sekali. Maka iulah sebabnja pusako mula-mulanja turun kepada kemenakan pada masa itu sampai sekarang tidak berubah. Kemudian maka disampaikan kepada laras nan duo itu, Koto Piliang jo Tjaniago. Tetapi orang Koto Piliang tidak mau menurut sebab Datuk Katumanggungan enggan akan memberikan pusako kepada kemenakan. (44)

Meanwhile, the myth of the Bodi Caniago government system is characterized by a matrilineal system. Have a system or rules based on maternal descent. Inheritance from descendants is carried out based on nieces and nephews. The matrilineal signifier is a marker at the denotation or language stage.

In the matrilineal myth, it is marked by deliberation for consensus. Here the sign of matrilineal is replaced with a sign of deliberation to create a new meaning. The sign of deliberation that is identical to democracy means that power or decision-making in Lareh Bodi Caniago must go through a deliberation mechanism, as contained in the following quote:

“Maka lamalah sedikit antaranya, barulah beristri Daulat Yang Dipertuan, kepada Indo Jalito namanya, dan beranaklah seorang laki-laki. Setelah itu maka Daulat Yang Dipertuan pulanglah kerahmatullah. Maka bernikah dan berkawin pula Cati Bilang Pandai, dan beranak pula dua orang laki-laki dan empat perempuan. Setelah itu bermufakatlah segala isi negeri akan mengganti raja. Maka dinaikan oranglah anak rajo yang seorang tadi menjadi penghulu, bergelar Datuk Katumanggungan, dan bemama Sultan Maharadjo Besar. Dan sesudah itu didirikan oleh Datuk Suri Dirajo anak yang tua tadi dari Cati Bilang Pandai itu akan menjadi teman bermusyawarah oelh Datuk

Katumanggungan naik nan segala dunia ini. Maka itulah penghulu dahulunya.”

The matrilineal myth of democracy indicates that Bodi Caniago is a government that comes from the power of the people. The power of the people is called adat in the Minangkabau tambo.

At the beginning of the previous discussion, it was concluded that Maharadja Diradja was the king who conquered the Minangkabau natural area. Maharadja Diradja with the marker Lareh Koto Piliang and the system he brought with a patrilineal pattern as a marker. Where inheritance according to Diradja is to children.

The early Minangkabau people who had their customs, with their matrilineal system seemed to give a sign that the Minang people had unknowingly carried out tactics. The marker can be seen from the matrilineal system. They did appoint a king and did not oppose the king's power because they were conquered.

The early Minangkabau customary system was signed by Lareh Bodi Tjaniago with Datuak Parpatiah. Meanwhile, the system brought by Maharadja Diradja which was passed down to Datuak Katumanggungan is patriarchal. In contrast to the matriarchal system of Lareh Bodi Tjaniago, which is identical with customary rules and inheritance to nieces and nephews. Matriakat or also called Matrilineal (Nugroho 2016:20) is a society where the members draw their lineage only from the mother's side continuously upwards until it ends in a belief that they all come from a single mother.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The Minang society is polarized with a matrilineal and patrilineal system, the Minangkabau community operates on a system that elaborates on matrilineal and patrilineal. Where in the system order it uses patrilineal but in the ruling order it uses matrilineal.

In the end, the journey of the Minangkabau people to the dualism of the system and the rules gave a sign that the Minangkabau people are people who hold on to the truth. Although two truths make it ambiguous, on the one hand, it is a meaning and on the other hand, it is a concept. Realities like this indicate that the two rails traversed by the Minang people are the truth rails that the Minang people have walked from the past until now.

The Minangkabau people reduce the two truth rails to a sign, namely a system that elaborates the two truth tracks which become the basic ideology of the two truths, namely Islam. This means that dualism or the two truths come from one, namely Islam. The myth of Lareh Nan Duo, which contains an ideology, namely Islam, makes it a deception of division, which makes it a harmony for what is happening in the Minangkabau world.

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