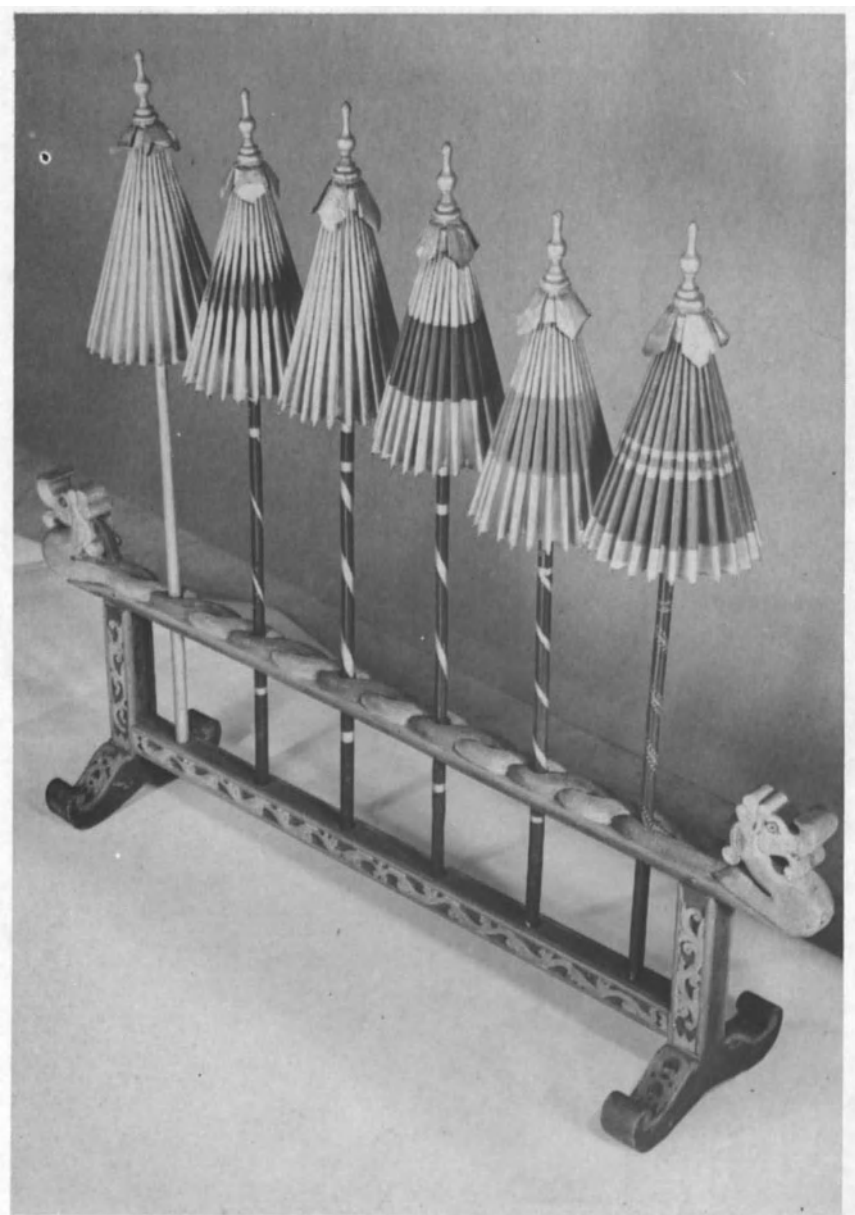


MINANGKABAU AND NEGRI SEMBILAN

Socio-political structure in Indonesia



Rack with ceremonial umbrellas, Java. (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde - Leiden - Holland 370/1765) see page 161

MINANGKABAU AND NEGRI SEMBILAN

SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN INDONESIA

BY

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P R E F A C E

As soon as one has to decide on a system of transliteration for the languages spoken in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, one is faced by peculiar difficulties. In the first place, one has the choice between adopting the Dutch system, the Indonesian (which is derived from it), the British or a scientifically satisfactory one. Then, should one spell the Minangkabau words according to their pronunciation, or in their Malaicised form, as the Minangkabau themselves do, at least when writing in Arabic characters ? Further there is the difficulty that we do not really know what the language of Negri Sembilan is like ; from the scattered data one gets the impression that it should rather be considered a form of Minangkabau than a form of Malay, but European writers on this State have diligently "corrected" the native words and expressions, giving them, as much as possible, a Malay appearance. After some hesitation we adopted the following principles of transliteration :

- A. We shall spell the Minangkabau words in accordance with their pronunciation, as is customary when Minangkabau texts are published in their Romanised form.
- B. Negri Sembilan words will be given in their Malay form, although there is reason to suppose that in the actual spoken language these words may differ quite considerably from the way they have been rendered here.
- C. For both the Sumatran and the Peninsular words we shall follow the official spelling of the Indonesian Republic.

The following notes may facilitate a comparison between the two languages and between the various systems of transcription.

The main difference between the Dutch and the Indonesian transliteration is :

Dutch *oe* = Indonesian *u* (e. g. *boekit* = *bukit*)

The main differences between the Indonesian and the British systems :

Indon. *dj* = Br. *j* (e. g. *Djohol* = *Johol*)

tj = *ch* (e. g. *tjanggai* = *changgai*)

j = y (e. g. *jang* = *yang*)
 e = e (e. g. *besar* = *besar*)

So, in the subsequent pages, the unaccented *e* everywhere stands for the "neutral vowel" or *pepet*. For clearness' sake we have added an accent (é or è) whenever the vowel has approximately its Italian value.

An apostrophe at the end of Malay and Minangkabau words represents the glottal stop, or *hamzah*.

The most striking differences between Minangkabau and Malay are:

Mal. *e* ("neutral vowel") = Mkb. *a* (e. g. *Merapi* = *Marapi*)

final -at	=	final -è'	(e. g. <i>rapat</i> = <i>rapè'</i>)
final -as	=	final -èh	(e. g. <i>laras</i> = <i>larèh</i>)
final -ar	=	final -a	(e. g. <i>besar</i> = <i>basa</i>)
final -us	=	final -uih	(e. g. <i>alus</i> = <i>aluih</i>)
final -ut	=	final -ui'	(e. g. <i>perut</i> = <i>parui'</i>)
final -ung	=	final -ueng	(e. g. <i>kampung</i> = <i>kampueng</i>)
final -uh	=	final -ueh	(e. g. <i>puluh</i> = <i>pulueh</i>)
final -ur	=	final -ue	(e. g. <i>kubur</i> = <i>kubue</i>)
final -a	=	final -o	(e. g. <i>tiga</i> = <i>tigo</i>)

The accent usually falls on the penultimate syllable in the Minangkabau words. For this purpose a syllable containing an *-ui-* or an *-ue-* should be considered as *one* syllable, not as two; that is to say, *kampueng* has two syllables: *kam-pueng*, not three: *kam-pu-eng*. So also *a-luih*, not *a-lu-ih*; *pa-rui'*, not *pa-ru-i'*; *ku-bue*, not *ku-bu-e*. The accentuation of these words is: *kámpueng*, *áluih*, *páruí'*, *kúbue*, and, in the same way, *Jangdipatúan Bása*.

In Malay also the accent is generally on the penultimate, except when this syllable contains the "neutral vowel" *e*. In this case the accent falls on the ultimate: *rápat*, but *besár*.

The "*Bestuursmemories*" mentioned in the text and the Bibliography, are memoranda, prepared by Netherlands East Indies administrators on their transfer to a new post, describing the district under their authority in the state in which they are leaving it.

Manuscript or typescript copies of many such memoranda (and of the *Militaire Memorie* which is also to be found in the Bibliography) are kept in the library of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen* (Royal Institute for the Tropics) in Amsterdam.

The word "Indonesia" is used throughout in its scientific, not in its political sense, and may therefore include, i. a., the Malay Peninsula.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The study we are about to undertake means to give a description of the socio-political systems of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, and to draw a comparison between the two. It is not the result of our own field-work experience, but based on the existing literature — and a few unpublished data — on the subject. Of course a work of this type has its disadvantages : in the first place, we continually come up against facts about which we would like to have more precise information than our sources supply, and in such cases we cannot fill in the lacunae with our own observations. Then there is the danger that a mere reconsideration of previous publications will reek too much of the lamp, and the author will fall victim to a judgement like *Berowne's* :

Small have continual plodders ever won,

Save base authority from others' books.

Nevertheless, if we cannot supply any new facts, we can legitimately consider whether the known facts have been correctly interpreted, and, if we reach the conclusion that such has not always been the case, offer a fresh explanation. Our main task will therefore be to try and trace the interrelationship between the various facts we shall come to know. At the same time this should give us a clearer understanding of various elements in the socio-political organisation that are not fully explicable by the present situation alone.

Here it should be noted that this last possibility has been expressly denied by *Malinowski*¹, his opinion being that any element in present-day culture need, and indeed should, only be explained by reference to its present-day function. In his "Scientific theory of culture" he cites as example the horse-drawn carriage. One should not attempt to explain its occurrence as a "survival" from the pre-motoring era, but by considering its function in our modern society : it offers a "ride into the past" to romantically inclined persons, etcetera. Still, this same example can serve to show up the limitations of a too rigidly functional method ; the very fact that a drive in a horse-drawn cab

offers one a "ride into the past" is only understandable if we know that such a conveyance, nowadays uncommon, was very frequent in earlier centuries, and is for that reason nowadays considered a relic of by-gone days. We shall therefore not, on principle, shy away from every attempt at tracing historical developments.

So we shall search for the underlying system which draws together the loose ends of the facts as we find them. Here and there this system is bound to show a hiatus, partly as a result of the incompleteness of our information, partly through the imperfections of the present work, but the broad outlines should become evident. To some extent this will entail a historical reconstruction, but a study of this type can also be considered in a different way, viz. as an attempt to trace the ideal pattern. It need not surprise us if the facts at present do not entirely conform to this ideal, but also it is not even certain that formerly they did. Deviations from the ideal always occur, but the ideal still holds good². A quite different point is, of course, that we are likely to see the pattern in a different way, and to formulate the ideal in other words, than the native population itself does³.

It is understood that the word "ideal" is used here in a different sense than in "The Science of Man"⁴. There is a pattern, a theoretical system, which is, as such, an abstraction, with ever-changing variants of it occurring in practice. This is meant by "ideal" in "The Science of Man". In every-day speech, however, the word has a different meaning: that of a perfect type, a standard for imitation to which the participants in each particular culture try to conform. We should never fail to take this kind of "ideal" into account in a study of social organisation. Naturally we must, in a study of this type, be on our guard against tenuous lucubrations, and always keep closely to the facts as we know them.

In view of the great activity in the social sciences at present, and the variety of interests of the workers in this field, it may be desirable to indicate the place of the present study within the science as a whole. This work, *si magna licet componere parvis*, makes use of an approach almost similar to that of R a s s e r s' studies on Javanese social structure: using mostly contemporaneous data as a starting-point, it tries to find out how these facts are integrated into one cohesive cultural pattern. To mention a highly important work of recent years, L é v i - S t r a u s s' masterly study of kinship tackles its subject in a like manner, although it has a much wider scope.

In our opinion, the other main trends in modern social anthropology may be listed as follows :

In the first place we have the many field-work studies, which aim at giving insight into an entire culture or some of its aspects.

Next there are the attempts to define a "pattern of culture" ⁵, of which the studies of the "Basic Personality Structure" are to a certain extent a derivative, as the aim of the latter is not to characterise a certain culture, but the individual participating in that culture ⁶.

In the third place we should mention cross-cultural studies. One of the most remarkable developments in this field has been the introduction of a new kind of statistical approach, which aims at reducing the research-worker's own, subjective, evaluations to a minimum ⁷.

If our own work is properly carried out, it should also be of some use for studies of a different type. It may throw some new light on the similarities and differences between the cultures with which we are to deal and others, at least others in the same "field of study" ⁸ ; this would be its comparative, or cross-cultural, application. In the field of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan culture alone it should be conducive to an understanding of facts that are not fully explicable outside the context of the culture as a whole; it may, for instance, also explain certain "attitudes" of the native population, which need to be understood for a study of basic personality types ⁹. On this subject, many points will need to be cleared up by field work based upon the results of theoretical studies. One of these points is : what is the attitude towards purely traditional concepts, such as phratry rivalry, when these concepts have lost much of their meaning. Another example: is the feeling of superiority of the bride-giving group towards the bride-taking group, such as we observe in many systems with fixed connubial relations, also maintained when there is no longer a regular connubium ?

Thus the concept of the "ideal pattern" can also be studied in its contemporaneous function. We can do this by trying to find out to what extent the ideal (in its meaning of "standard of perfection") is still upheld in the present day. What situations and actions are nowadays not only culturally approved, but even socially considered "best", considered "ideal" ? The present study will now and then venture into the historical field, as it will try to discover the deviations from the "ideal" (as meant in "The Science of Man") to which Minangkabau social organisation has been subject. This will entail an historical reconstruction of a social system which shows a greater measure of inte-

gration than the system of today. This is not what Radcliffe-Brown¹⁰ has characterised as "pseudo-history", for we clearly recognise that perhaps at no time in the past did the actual facts completely agree with our reconstruction. This reconstruction may be compared with a word marked with an asterisk in a linguistic publication: it represents the most acceptable form that can be constructed from the available data, and the best suited to explain the present-day facts — but it is purely theoretical and has never been observed in actual existence.

An objection that might be raised against this study is, that it does not draw a sharp dividing-line between the synchronic and the diachronic approach. Although such a procedure has, since De Saussure, been anathema in linguistics, we do not consider it reprehensible in a study of human society. Although there is every justification for a purely synchronic or a purely diachronic study, a combination of the two is, in our opinion, equally permissible in view of the manner in which the past affects our every-day life. By this we are not only referring to the self-evident fact that history has shaped our culture as we know it today (for *this* we could, if we like, simply accept as a given fact, to be left out of further consideration), but also to the way in which history, *as* history, is received and enmeshed in favourable or unfavourable reactions by the people of the present day. The past as such is an element which plays a rôle and has a function in the present. This would also be our reply to those who, like Malinowski, would condemn every ethnological study that draws the past into its field vision as "mere antiquarianism"

Chapter references.

- ¹ Malinowski (2), 28.
 - ² Spoeher, 6.
 - ³ Kluckhohn, 97.
 - ⁴ Kluckhohn, 96.
 - ⁵ Benedict.
 - ⁶ Du Bois, Kardiner (1), (2).
 - ⁷ Murdock (2)
 - ⁸ de Josselin de Jong (2), 5.
 - ⁹ Kardiner (2), 119.
 - ¹⁰ Radcliffe-Brown (4), 1.
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CHAPTER II.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

The Minangkabaus inhabit the western part of central Sumatra, the area which Dutch writers call the Padang Highlands (Padangse Bovenlanden). The nucleus of the Minangkabau territory is formed by the three districts or *luha'* of Agam, Tanah Data, and Limo Pulueh Koto : this last name means the "Fifty Towns", and is usually abbreviated, in print, as L Koto.

These three *luha'* together form the *daré'*, the nuclear or inland area, to which is contrasted the *rantau*, the coastal territories. In its restricted meaning *rantau* is only applied to the actual Minangkabau littoral, the Padang Lowlands (Padangse Benedenlanden) along the west coast, but in its wider meaning it can include all the marches of Minangkabau proper, viz. Lubue' Sikaping and Rau in the north ; along the east coast, from north to south : Rokan, Tapung and Siak, Kampar, Kuantan or Indragiri, Batang Hari ; and in the south sometimes Korintji is included. The *rantau* is not a clearly defined geographical area, but the term is used rather loosely to denote the areas adjoining the Minangkabau central region. Whether the inhabitants of these regions should also be called Minangkabaus is hard to say ; the only satisfactory way of deciding this question would be to find out whether they consider themselves to be so, or whether they call themselves "Malays". At present we have no clear information on this point.

The true Minangkabau population calls its own country *Alam Minangkabau*, the Minangkabau World. The name, "minangkabau", has been explained as meaning "victorious water-buffalo", or "the water-buffalo was victorious", referring to a legend with which we shall deal in greater detail later on. V a n d e r T u u k¹ derives the word from *pinangkabhû*, "country of origin", and several other etymologies have been put forward, which may be found in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*². In the 14th-century poem, the *Nâgarakrtâgama*, "Minangkabwa" is included among the countries that pay tribute to

the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit³. Other historical data are scarce. From *circa* 500 A.D. onwards, as archaeology proves, there must have been several Hinduised states on Sumatra. The oldest we know of was Malayu (near the site of present-day Djambi), the most important was Sriwijaya. Minangkabau enters history towards the end of the 13th century. The situation by that time was as follows: Sriwijaya's power on Sumatra had been declining for the last century, and a new Malayu, also called Dharmmâsraya, had arisen. Then, in 1275, king Krtanâgara of the Javanese kingdom of Singhasâri enters into contact with Malayu. This Sumatran expedition, the famous Pamalayu (not an "expedition against Pamalayu", as Winstedt⁴ writes!), was successful, as appears from an inscription of 1286 A.D. found at Sungai Lansat on the Takung, one of the tributaries of the Batang Hari. A result of the Pamalayu was that the king of Dharmmâsraya, Tribhûwanarâja Mauliwarmmadewa, became closely allied with Singhasâri. In the next century a new important development arose: prince Adityawarman, probably related to, or even a member of, the ruling house of Dharmmâsraya, who had been educated in Java, returned to Sumatra and managed to carve out a kingdom for himself in the Minangkabau area, or perhaps we should say that during his reign the centre of the realm moved from Djambi to Minangkabau. Relics of his reign are the inscriptions of Padang Tjandi (1347 A.D.), Bukit Gombak, 1347 and 1356, and Suruaso, 1375. The text of the Padang Tjandi inscription is still not quite comprehensible. When a better understanding of it has been gained, it may supply very valuable information on the political organisation, containing as it does frequent, if as yet obscure, references to a high dignitary styled *pâtih*, *apâtih* and *prapâtih*. Suruaso, the site of the inscription of 1375, is further inland than any of the places occurring earlier in the history of this region; it is, in fact, in the heart of the *darè*'. We may assume that Adityawarman was independent ruler of the Minangkabau territory.

Taking the middle of the 14th century as the starting-point of the Minangkabau kingdom, we may say that this realm has lasted for some five centuries, until the first half of the 19th century. We do not know all the vicissitudes it underwent during this period. It is certain that the coastal area was frequently a bone of contention between Minangkabau and Atjeh, but this does not concern us here. Round 1820 a movement of fanatical Muslim puritans instituted a real reign of terror in the country, and members of this sect, the *Padri*, also attacked

the royal residence and assassinated practically all the members of the dynasty ; the last surviving Ruler died in 1844. The Minangkabau social structure managed to weather the storm, and the sense of Minangkabau unity, fostered by, among other factors, a common language, proved strong enough to preserve the cohesion of the country, even when it suddenly lost its symbol of unity, the reigning dynasty, and had only the Dutch colonial administration as central authority.

Before we deal with this social structure we should say a few words about the connection with Negri Sembilan.

The Minangkabaus are characterised by a strong wanderlust ; a period spent abroad as a merchant is a normal feature in the life of the Minangkabau men. This must have been the same in earlier days, and these colonies of Minangkabau traders could develop into permanent settlements. This has often been the case in the territories bordering on Minangkabau, especially in Siak, and then also in the *tanah sabrang*, the "opposite land", as the Sumatrans call the Malay Peninsula.

The main settlements there were in what is now Negri Sembilan, one of the states of the Malay Union. Local traditions put this immigration at the end of the 14th century. Actually, of course, the Minangkabaus must have come filtering in over a considerable length of time, some only to return to the homeland after a longer or shorter stay, others remaining in their new home and gradually forming permanent colonies there. According to Winstedt⁵, they certainly inhabited the Peninsula in the 15th century, and Godinho de Eredia mentions the "Monancabos" in 1602⁶. Their territory came under the influence of Malaka (Malacca), and of the state that stepped into Malaka's shoes after 1511 : Djohor (Johore), being held in feoff by the *Bendahara*, whom we might call the hereditary Prime Ministers of these states. In 1717 Djohor is attacked by the people of Siak, led by a remarkable adventurer, Radja Ketjil. The seafaring Bugis of South Celebes come to the aid of Djohor, but these allies soon prove at least as great a menace as the enemies from Siak, as they themselves also soon prove avid for power in the Straits area. A period of confusion follows, during which Djohor, Radja Ketjil and the Bugis each have their victories and their defeats. Round the middle of the century the Dutch try to placate the Bugis by helping their leader, Daèng Kambodja, to become king of the Negri Sembilan territories. This attempt is unsuccessful, as the Minangkabau inhabitants refuse to accept the Bugis as king ; they send to Minangkabau for a representative of the ruling dynasty, and

appoint this prince, Radja Maléwa, as Ruler, or *Jangdipertuan Besar*, of Negri Sembilan. From the days of Maléwa, in the second half of the 18th century, until Ali, 1832, a Ruler of Negri Sembilan is, on his death, always succeeded by a member of the Minangkabau dynasty sent over from the homeland to the settlements on the Malay Peninsula. Since the death of Ali, however, the *Jangdipertuan* have always been succeeded by members of their own patrilineal family, i.e. by princes born and bred in Negri Sembilan itself.

We expressly spoke of the *Jangdipertuan's* patrilineal family, because of the remarkable fact that outside the ruling dynasty matrilineal descent prevails.

In the brief description of the social structure which we shall now give, we base ourselves on the situation in Minangkabau. Conditions in Negri Sembilan are largely similar, and at any rate always comparable. The differences between the social structures of the two countries will become apparent in Chapters VIII to XI inclusive.

The smallest genealogical unit is formed by a mother with her children; this group is called a *samandai* ("one mother"). On account of the peculiar position of the father, to which we shall refer again later on, it is the mother's brother who acts as guardian and chief of this little group. The native word for mother's brother is *mama'*; he calls his sister's children *kamanakan*.

A *samandai* group does not have its own dwelling, but inhabits one large house together with the rest of the matrilineal descent group. Assuming members of three generations to be alive at the same time, such a house will, therefore, contain: boys and girls; their mothers and mother's brothers; their mother's sisters with their children; their mother's mother, mother's mother's sisters with their children and mother's mother's sisters' daughters' children and mother's mother's brothers.

Such a unit is called *sabuah parui'*, meaning "one womb"; its head is generally the eldest *mama'*, who is designated as *tungganai* or *kapalo parui'*, although other, less usual, terms also occur. Sometimes we encounter a unit between the *samandai* and the *parui'*, viz. the *djurai*, a branch of the *parui'*. We must, however, also take into account the local variations in terminology, which make it possible that a unit that is called a *parui'* in one village is called *djurai* in another. We shall deal with this question at greater length in Chapter V. When real *djurai* do occur, they may only branch off from the other *djurai*

of the same *parui'* to form new *parui'*, i. e. new more or less autonomous units, in the fifth generation, *ko' limo kali turun*, reckoned from the ancestress whom all *djuraïs* of the *parui'* have in common. A married man does not come to live in the house of his wife's *parui'*. He visits his wife there at night, and may potter about there, doing odd jobs, in the day-time, but he cannot claim a place for himself there. He is accounted still to be an inhabitant of his own *parui'*s house, and he returns there every morning. Parenthetically we may observe that this situation is in flat disagreement with M u r d o c k's statement⁷ that it is impossible that a man and his wife should, upon marriage, each remain in their own "family of orientation" — this is just what *does* happen in Minangkabau. It appears also to corroborate the views of M u r d o c k's critic, O p l e r, who says that M u r d o c k has tended to exaggerate the rôle of the nuclear family at the expense of the extended family, at least as far as South East Asia is concerned⁸.

The fact that a father does not live in the same house as his children largely explains the important part played by another man in a child's life : the mother's brother. The latter is also the ideal father-in-law : marriages between a young man and his m-br-d are held in great favour.

When a marriage has taken place, a separate room is built on to the *parui'* dwelling for the young-married woman, where she can receive her husband. Each time a girl member of the *parui'* marries a new room is added to the communal dwelling, which thus continually increases in size. This goes on until finally lack of space or other reasons make it desirable no longer to add new rooms, but to build a new house. Often this is set up close to the old dwelling. A group of *parui'* members become the inhabitants ; they either remain under the authority of the chief of the original dwelling, or they constitute themselves so as to form a new *parui'*. Several *parui'* which are related to one another through this kind of fission, together form a *kampueng*. The *kampueng* chief is one of the heads of the related *parui'*, in principle either the oldest *tungganai* or the *tungganai* of the oldest *parui'*. The head of a *kampueng* is usually called *panghulu kampueng*, although the title *andiko* is also often met with. The *parui'* generally makes the impression of being the most important functional unit, as appears from the fact that the *andiko* is not actually the ruler over a *kampueng*, but rather a *primus inter pares* among the *parui'* chiefs. The rule of exogamy certainly applies to the *parui'*, but not always

to the *kampueng*. Here local variations play a part, while we must also take into account the divergence between theory and practice.

Kampueng are always named, and when European writers refer to the "clan" or "tribe" of Domo, Pajobada, etc., this refers to the *kampueng*. In these pages we shall, as much as possible, make use of the native terms for the various genealogical units. If we wish to use the European terms, the *parui*' might perhaps best be described as an extended family, the *kampueng* as a clan. Such an equation of Minangkabau and European terms is, however, far from satisfactory, and we do well to try and avoid it. What pitfalls it might lead one to is demonstrated by the case of M u r d o c k. In his "Social Structure" he gives a (very unusual) definition of the "clan" that cannot be applied to any unit in Minangkabau social organisation. Yet he later on lists Minangkabau among the societies having clans⁹. We shall return to this subject in the last Chapter, and in the mean time give preference to the words *parui*', *kampueng*, etc.

The *kampueng* themselves are traditionally grouped together in four *suku*, the legendary four original "clans" of Minangkabau. They are called Koto, Piliang, Bodi and Tjaniago, and in their turn also belong together two by two. Both groups, Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago, are supposed to have their own custom, or *adat*; in practice the differences between the two *adat* are of relatively minor importance. Each village, *nagari*, of Minangkabau considers itself and adherent of either the Koto-Piliang or of the Bodi-Tjaniago *adat*. This does not mean that such a village contains only *kampueng* belonging to one of the *adat*, but that either the Koto-Piliang or the Bodi-Tjaniago group traditionally occupies a dominant position in that village.

These two groups are called *laréh*, a word that occurs in several Indonesian languages with the meaning "harmony", "harmonious", "belonging together". They each have their legendary ancestor, Kjai Katumanggungan for Koto-Piliang and Parapatih nan Sabatang for Bodi-Tjaniago. From these forbears the present-day *adat* also take their names, so that the Koto-Piliang *adat* is also called *adat Katumanggungan*, and the Bodi-Tjaniago *adat*: *adat Parapatih*. The *laréh*-organisation also exerts its influence on the government of the village: a Bodi-Tjaniago *nagari* is ruled by the combined *andiko*, a Koto-Piliang *nagari* also assigns a rôle to the four-*suku* grouping, as each *suku* is represented by one *andiko* in the village council. These "heads of the four *suku*", *panghulu ka-ampè' suku*, sometimes re-

cognise one of their members as *putjue'* or "summit" ; this is, however, more particularly an *adat* of the *rantau*.

We said that a *samandai*-group is placed under the authority of the oldest *mama'*, and that the *parui'*-chief is also often the oldest *mama'*, or else the head of the *parui'*'s oldest *djurai*. In the same manner a *kampueng* chief may be chosen from among the men of the *kampueng*'s oldest *parui'*. In contrast with this strong feeling for primogeniture stands another custom, of frequent occurrence in Negri Sembilan as well as in the Minangkabau nuclear territories and *rantau*, the so-called *adat sansako*. According to this custom, a function devolves upon each unit in rotation. The *panghulu ka-ampé' suku* (where they occur) are chosen from all the *kampueng* of the *suku* in succession, the *andiko* (*panghulu kampueng*) from all the *parui'* of the *kampueng*, the *tungganai* from all the *djurai* of the *parui'*.

The largest unit with which we have dealt so far is the *nagari*. This is, indeed, the area within which the social system can be seen to function. Neither the *luha'* nor the *alam Minangkabau* as a whole has its own native government.

All we need say about the three *luha'* at this stage is that they are also classified according to the two *adat*, Agam being Bodi-Tjaniago, L Koto, Koto-Piliang, and Tanah Data "mixed".

The lack of any nation-wide centralizing authority is also apparent in the *kampueng* ("clan")-organisation : offshoots of the *kampueng* Pajobada, for instance, may occur in *nagari* scattered all over Minangkabau, but there is no chief over all these local Pajobadas together. The same applies to the four "super-clans" or *suku*: a *nagari* may have four heads of *suku*, who are the chiefs of the members of the Koto, Piliang, Bodi and Tjaniago *suku* in that village, but there is no supreme authority over all Koto, or all Piliang, etcetera, in its entirety.

The Rulers, of whom we spoke when reviewing Minangkabau history, constituted the centralizing force, until their dynasty was practically exterminated by the Padris in the eighteen-twenties and thirties. Their residence was at Pagarrujueng, in the *luha'* Tanah Data. The Ruler's title was *Jangdipatuan Basa*, "He who is acknowledged as great lord", and this title and function was inherited, in striking contrast to the general Minangkabau custom, patrilineally. If we wish to be exact we should really speak of three Rulers, all belonging to the same House. The *Jangdipatuan* we just mentioned was the *Radjo Alam*. "King of the World" ; he appears to have dealt with political affairs.

and it is he whom officials of the Dutch East India Company used to designate as "emperor of Minangkabau". The other two members of the royal trio were the *Radjo Adat*, "King of Custom", and the *Radjo Ibadat*, "King of Religion". Important dignitaries in the royal entourage, who also resided near Pagarrujueng, were the *Basa Ampè' Balai*, the Great Men of the Four Council Halls. These four, whom we might designate as ministers, were :

the <i>Bandaharo</i> ,	residing at	Sungai Taro'
<i>Tuan Kali</i> ,	„	Padang Gantieng
<i>Mangkudum</i> ,	„	Sumanie'
<i>Indomo</i> ,	„	Suruaso

They were not members of the royal family, but in all probability were prominent headmen of the *nagari* that formed their residences. With the fall of the dynasty, their function in the Minangkabau policy also came to an end.

Here we may terminate this sketch of Minangkabau custom, which was meant as a first reconnoitring of the field now to be subjected to a more detailed survey. Various facts have drawn our attention as needing further clarification. For instance, why the rule of the five generations that have to elapse before a *djurai* can constitute itself as a separate *parui*? Some other points not immediately clear are :

What is the background of the *adat sansako*, which seems to be so contrary to the principle of primogeniture to which so much importance is attached? How can one explain that the Rulers were organised patrilineally, while the rest of the population had matriliney? Can we agree with Westenenk¹⁰, whose opinion is that this should be explained as a result of the penetration by patrilineally organised Hindu princes into a matrilineally organised territory? What is the meaning of the tradition that originally there were four clans (*suku*), and what of the bipartition Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago? And how does the preferred m-br-d marriage come into the picture? In brief, what is the functional coherence of the different elements in Minangkabau socio-political structure? Before we venture to give our own views, we shall first see to what extent previous writers on this subject have occupied themselves with these questions.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Van der Tuuk, 542.
- ² Encyclopaedie, 740 (s.v. Minangkabau).
- ³ Canto XIII; H. Kern VII, 278.

- ⁴ Winstedt (6), 29.
 - ⁵ Winstedt (6), 163.
 - ⁶ Hamerster, 1446.
 - ⁷ Murdock (2), 16.
 - ⁸ Opler, 78.
 - ⁹ Murdock (2), 68, 244.
 - ¹⁰ Westenank (1), 113, 114, 115.
 (2), 248.
 (3), 245.
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CHAPTER III.

CONSIDERATION OF SOME PREVIOUS WORKS ON MINANGKABAU AND NEGRI SEMBILAN.

Most writers on Minangkabau have published their works in periodicals. A discussion of all these publications would greatly surpass the limits of the present volume, and furthermore several of them will come up for discussion incidentally in the following chapters. Here we shall only devote some words to such studies as cover the entire field and which are frequently used as works of reference, also by anthropologists who are not exclusively concerned with Indonesia.

The most voluminous work on Minangkabau is WILLINCK. His book, "Het rechtsleven der Minangkabausche Maleiers", is a 950 page account of Minangkabau socio-political institutions. It contains a wealth of information, which on the whole makes the impression of being reliable. For the most part, however, it is not the result of original research, but a compilation of materials gathered by others. The author himself spent almost the entire length of his Sumatran career at Padang, and cannot have gathered much information on the situation in the interior from own observation. Like all data gained at second or third hand, his, too, should be checked as much as possible with first-hand accounts by writers who actually observed the institutions they describe. Although the book is very valuable as a store-house of material, and may profitably be consulted by whoever wants concrete data on Minangkabau kinship or political organisation, it shows great weaknesses as soon as the author ventures into the field of theory. In the first place, the theoretical ideas are expressed with appalling verbosity, which makes the book much bigger than necessary and does not facilitate reading. The arguments themselves are often highly inept: far-fetched comparisons with Roman law occur in most chapters, especially in those on inheritance. A discussion of the question whether property rights on *harto pusako* (ancestral property) should be considered as a *condominium pro parte indivisa*¹ seems to us to be incorrect in prin-

ciple, as one should just try to avoid forcing categories and terms of one system to fit another.

Next, the author was a belated adherent of M o r g a n's theories on primitive promiscuity, and B a c h o f e n's and M c L e n n a n's on universal matriarchy. This point of view led to passages such as we find on p. 350, where Willinck writes that Minangkabau family relationships are "very much closer" to those of animals than to Western ones.

Add a strong anti-Muslim bias, for instance in the sentence ".....Muslim marriage regulations, and every other code based on Muslim Law and custom, are of no good whatever, from an ethical as well as from an economic standpoint" *, and it is clear that we need not expect much benefit from this writer's interpretations or comment ².

Willinck's opinion on the social organisation is in brief, as follows ⁴: the Minangkabau were nomads, each "family" leading a wandering life under its own chief. This situation prevailed until the advent of the first Rulers, "Hindus or Hindu-Javanese". For a better insurance of their authority they forced the nomads to adopt a sedentary mode of life, thus enabling the *nagari* to come into being, and the "tribal constitution" to develop into a "territorial constitution". Furthermore, the Rulers imposed on each *nagari* a set of administrative units, viz. the *suku*. "A subsequent incorrect use of the word" gave rise to a mis-interpretation of these *suku* as "tribes", genealogical units of a higher order than the "families" which had so far been the basis of the Minangkabau community.

The author's opinion on the bipartition of Minangkabau into Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago is very simple: it does not exist, and never did exist. We do well, however, to realise that Willinck was led to take up this extreme position as a result of his perfectly justified criticism of the views held by K r o e s e n and S t i b b e ⁵ and V a n H a s s e l t ⁶ — afterwards revived by L e y d s — who interpreted the two groups as being political parties, and the two legendary ancestors, Katumanggungan and Parapatih, as party leaders.

The institution of kingship is seen as an element entirely alien to Minangkabau. The Rulers themselves were totally excluded from the community, and were real *rois fainéants*, nothing more than "ornaments" in the State — this hardly seems to agree with the important

* Willinck's views on Muslim Law itself is that parts of it, e.g. the rules governing the *mahr* or bride-price, are derived from ancient Greek law ³.

change they were supposed to have effected in transforming the Minangkabau from a people organised in wandering family bands to sedentary villagers.

Still, we repeat that, although Willinck's theories do not have much more than a curiosity value for us, his book as a whole should not be judged by its weakest points. We shall often make use of it when we need information on the many different aspects of Minangkabau society.

It is remarkable that WESTENENK, whose publication on the Minangkabau *nagari* is in many respects a model of detailed factual information, should agree with Willinck that the *suku* are the result of "planning" by originally alien rulers, imposed from above on the Minangkabau population⁷.

Next we have, apart from the many monographs on details of the social organisation or on some smaller area, surveys of Minangkabau society as a whole in LEKKERKERKER'S book "Land en volk van Sumatra", 1916, which deals with all the different population groups of the island, and JOUSTRA'S "Minangkabau", a compendium of data on practically all aspects of native life and European enterprise in the Minangkabau territory.

The social system has been described in English, and thus made more widely known, by Loeb and Fay-Cooper Cole; the first-mentioned author wrote his articles in AA XXXV and XXXVI (in which the social structure of the Minangkabau is compared with that of their northern neighbours, the Batak), and his book "Sumatra" in 1935. The latter contributed to "Essays in anthropology in honor of A. L. Kroeber", 1936, and devoted a chapter to Minangkabau in his book "Peoples of Malaya", 1945. This chapter is practically the same as the earlier essay.

LOEB'S article should be read critically. In the first place it contains many inaccuracies, due to lack of care either in the writing or in the correction, for instance: Tanuh, Datar, ... (p. 26), for Tanah Datar; *djehe* and *djemo* (p. 36) for *djahè* and *tjèmo*; *ketek* (p. 48) for *kètèk*, etc. This would not be so serious if it was not symptomatic for a lack of linguistic knowledge and insight. This failing makes itself painfully felt further on in the article, when the writer founds a theory of culture contact mainly on arguments of a linguistic nature.

The following are some solecisms in the field of Indonesian languages: *Lima-puluh* does not mean "15 towns" (p. 27), but "fifty".

"*Ninia mujang* is also called *pujang* or *muiang*"; actually, of course, *mujang* and *muiang* are just two ways of spelling the same word, and the same may be said of *adia* and *adiek* in the following sentence: "Younger brothers and sisters are called *adiek* or *adia*" (p. 38). *Boru* is a Batak, not "the Indonesian", word for girl (p. 52). This last mistake is serious, as it lies within the domain of comparative Indonesian linguistics, the science with the aid of which the author builds up his theory of diffusion. The same sentence contains another, rather similar, error, as L o e b says there that the New Caledonian word *padi* corresponds to the Dravidian *angi* = younger brother, while according to his own comparative list of kinship terms the Tamil word is *tambi*, but *anngi* the Batak and *anggi* the Gajo word.

Or rather, the word *anggi* occurs in the list marked with a (G), and this G is said to stand for Garo (p. 41). Actually the words thus marked are not Garo, but Gajo. As the Garo inhabit Assam and the Gajo Sumatra, a totally false impression is conveyed of the area in which related kinship terms occur.

Apart from these linguistic errors there are quite a few other inexactitudes of fact or interpretation which it may be useful to correct. In general we shall take them in the sequence in which they appear.

P. 26: L o e b contrasts the Minangkabau of the mother-country with the emigrants who live on the Malay Peninsula; the latter are "often called deuterio-Malays". This is an incorrect use of a term that did not have much to commend it anyway, and is therefore hardly ever met with nowadays. If one wishes to use it — as F i s c h e r^s does, in his "Inleiding tot de volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië" — then the word proto-Malays is applied to those Indonesians who have remained relatively untouched by the successive currents of foreign influence, which first brought Indian culture, and next Islam to the Archipelago. The Batak, Dajak (Dyak), and Toradja may be taken as examples. The term deuterio-Malays then serves to designate those who *have* undergone this foreign influence, such as the Achehnese, Javanese, Bugis, Minangkabau, and the true Malays who inhabit the east coast of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and the coasts of Borneo. The contrast between proto- and deuterio-Malays is, therefore, primarily one between types of culture, and even if one does apply the distinction so as to designate two successive "waves" of immigrants into Indonesia — as F i s c h e r, in fact, does — then still the population groups are classified as above, and the Minangkabau of Sumatra

and of the Peninsula are both accounted deutero-Malays. The erroneous use of the term "deutero-Malays" recurs on p. 29, where it plays a part in a rather dubious etymology of the word *suku*.

Page 27 : Indragiri, mentioned as one of the eight "large sea-ports", is not the name of a port but of a territory; Siak, occurring in the same context, generally designates the territory, and hardly ever its port, Siak Sri Indrapura.

Same page : The "overlord ruler" had his residence at Pagarru-jueng, not at Palembang, some 235 kilometres further south and quite outside Minangkabau.

Page 28 : "..... The actual rulers of the land are the sib (*suku*) heads, the *datuq nan berampè*". This is not incorrect, but incomplete. As we said in Chapter II, p. 12, a *nagari* ruled by the *panghulu nan ka-ampè' suku* (i.e. the *datuq nan berampè*) is typically Koto Piliang; in Bodi-Tjaniago territories, quite one half of the *Alam Minangkabau*, the *nagari* government consists of the heads of the *kampueng*, the *panghulu andiko*.

If the statement just quoted was too positive, the same may be said of the following : "The government of Minangkabau rests primarily on two councils . . . that of the village *panghulus*, who meet in the village *balai* ; and the four heads of the *negari suku*s, the *datuq nan berampè*, who meet in the *negari balai*". (p. 31). Our first objection to this passage is that it suggests Minangkabau having two different territorial units, the village and the *nagari*, each with its own type of government ; this is quite incorrect. In the second place, it represents the *datuq nan berampè* as the governing council of the *nagari* all over Minangkabau ; actually, as we have seen, the *nagari* (and *nagari* is nothing more or less than the Minangkabau word for "village" or, rather, for every territorial unit of higher rank than a hamlet, *tarata'*) is ruled either by the four *suku* chiefs or by the combined *panghulu andiko*. The over-simplification in Loe b's description can probably be explained by the fact that the author relies largely on Willinck, who also described the Four Chiefs as occurring over all Minangkabau, without taking sufficient account of these areas where the situation is different, as appears from publications by various other writers.

Another result of Loe b's almost exclusive reliance on the data supplied by Willinck is the too great stress he lays on the importance of the *djurai*, at the expense of the larger units, *parui'* and *kampueng*. Now there are local variations, as we shall see in

Chapter V, and the native population itself often uses the various terms not as applying to rigidly defined concepts, but with a certain possibility of interchange. But just these very variations make it necessary to avoid, as much as possible, unqualified statements as: "Each *djurai* lives in a separate house and is ruled over by the oldest brother of the oldest woman of the house" (p. 30). The situation might rather be summarised as follows: matrilineal relatives dwell together as long as the available space within the communal house permits. The founding of a new house is mainly dependent on whether there is suitable building ground of which use can be made. A communal dwelling may contain an entire *parui*', but usually a *parui*' is too large for this, and lives scattered over several houses; in such cases each house need not contain exactly one *djurai*, as several *djurai* may be living together. There is really no word current in the whole of Minangkabau to designate house-mates. J o u s t r a mentions some words⁹, all of them apparently only in use in a rather restricted area. The most frequently employed would appear to be the vague term *kaum*, i.e. "folk". Possibly the word *djurai* also sometimes occurs in this meaning, but that would be an exception rather than the rule. J o u s t r a explicitly says that the *djurai* does not form an autonomous unit. The word *djurai* seems to be a designation in everyday language of a group of relatives, the smallest group after the *samandai*, rather than of an organised, self-contained organism with its own rights, duties and possessions. On these same grounds it is desirable not to lay too much stress on the *djurai* as holder of ancestral property, *harto pusako*. L o e b, on the other hand, sees the *djurai* as one the main property-owning bodies. This view is probably based on the passage in "Het Rechtsleven der Minangkabausche Maleiers", p. 594 seq., which deals with the ownership of ancestral property.

However, Willinck there offers his interpretation of the difference between *harto pusako* and *harto manah*, and between the rôles of the *djurai* and the *parui*', rather as a suggestion of how it might possibly be than as a description of how it has actually been observed to be. In general even Willinck speaks of ancestral property as "*familiegoederen*", "family possessions", and with "*familie*" he means *parui*'.

The statement that "only the succeeding, not the lateral or preceding, generations have claim to" the *harto pusako* does not appear to be borne out by the facts. Ancestral property belongs to a genea-

logical group (whether this be the *djurai*, *parui* or J o u s t r a's *kaum*) ; the head of the group administers it, and may put it to use for the benefit of any member of that group ; the generation of the member is of no importance. L o e b's statement is probably caused by a misunderstanding of Willinck's argument that the *harto pusako* of one *djurai* may not be inherited by members of another.

Page 32 : "Dissenting members of a council can be cast out of the family or even out of the community". This is totally incorrect. Neither Willinck in his exhaustive list of crimes and their punishments¹⁰ (which faithfully follows the Minangkabau *Undang-undang* or Legal Codes), nor any other authority I have ever encountered mentions it¹¹.

"Minangkabau rule is a true gerontocracy". The use made here of the word "gerontocracy" conveys an absolutely false impression. L o e b founds his statement on the fact that "the oldest male member of each *djurai* is eligible for the position of *mamaq*, the *mamaq* of the oldest *djurai* of the *sa-buwah-parui* should become *panghulu*, and the oldest branch of the *suku* in the *negari* should place its *panghulu* in the *negari* council". That is perfectly true, but it is a description of what might be called primogeniture, but certainly not gerontocracy. A Minangkabau may be elected to a post as belonging to the oldest *parui* of the *kampueng*, but yet be younger than many of his male subordinates. The position that old age *per se* gives a man all kinds of rights and a claim to a leading position in the community does not prevail in Minangkabau.

One paragraph further on, the author says that the Minangkabau social system has "provoked the immigration of the more energetic". As this remark suddenly appears out of the blue, we cannot gather whether the author means what he says, or whether "immigration" is a mistake for "emigration". Whatever the case may be, the Minangkabau system certainly has, if not "provoked", at least facilitated emigration (witness the Minangkabau colonies in Negri Sembilan) ; but how the Minangkabau social system could provoke immigration *into* the country is not clear.

A Minangkabau man's proper name is not "secret" (p. 32), even though it is a breach of etiquette to address a functionary by his name instead of by his title or "honorary name", the *gala*. Nor are the names always "of Hindu origin" (p. 48) — more frequently they are Arabic.

The author cites a case of ancestral land being sold to a European,

but relegates this account to a footnote (p. 34), and rightly so, for it can hardly be more than a tall story. One of the most fundamental and best-known laws of the Netherlands Indies was the "Land Alienation Prohibition" (Verbod van vervreemding van erfelijk individueel gebruiksrecht, Ned. Ind. Stbl. 1875 No. 179), ruling that no native of the Netherlands East Indies could sell land to a European, and that any such transaction was null and void. No European would spend money to buy land when it was generally known that such a transaction was illegal and invalid ; and so the whole case must be considered impossible.

Page 44: The sentence "while a woman might marry a halfbrother from a different father according to native adat, this is seldom done" is positively astounding. Such a marriage is contrary to the most elementary rules of matrilineal exogamy, and would be incest of the worst kind, punishable by perpetual banishment, and in some districts by death. No wonder it is "seldom done".

In this way more errors could be pointed out, but this may be sufficient to prove that, in view of such factual inaccuracies, L o e b's interpretations and explanations should also be accepted with some reserve. His historical views often agree with those of Willinck : he also sees the *Jangdipatuan* as members of a Hindu dynasty, who originally came from abroad ; they were never of much importance, "the poorest pretense at monarchs the world has known" (p. 28). Yet they managed to promote an organisation of the inhabitants in territorial units, *nagari*, which are but "the Hindu idea of territorial government superimposed upon the native rule by genealogies". L o e b differs from Willinck, however, and rightly so, in my opinion, by rejecting the idea that the *suku*-system also was an administrative measure of the Hindu rulers. The *suku* are accepted as autochthonous, although the Hindus "made use of (them) for governmental purposes" (p. 29). The bipartition into territories with Koto-Piliang and with Bodi-Tjaniago adat — into two *larèh*, in Minangkabau parlance — is also presumed to be original, although the two parts were "unnamed" before the Hindu-Javanese arrived. L o e b is on the right track, in our opinion, when he calls these parts "moieties".

So we find that L o e b has answered many of the questions with which we concluded Chapter II. He does not give any information on the problem of the five generations or on the occurrence of the *adat sansako*, but the mo-br-da marriage is very thoroughly studied. This

study appears in the shape of a theory of diffusion, which had already been propounded by the author in an earlier publication ¹². A discussion of the theory as a whole would be out of place here, and we shall therefore consider it only in so far as it has a bearing on the Minangkabau cross-cousin marriage.

In brief the theory is, that "the Polynesian generation type of kinship is the oldest form in the Pacific" (p. 54). This Polynesian system was characterized, not only by terminology of the generation type, but also by the absence of a clan system. Wherever clans, cross-cousin marriage and moieties are met with in Indonesia (in Minangkabau, for example), they have been introduced from without, viz. from the Dravidian country. This Dravidian system expanded all over the Pacific area, leaving the Polynesian system observable as a substratum in Polynesia, Borneo, Celebes and the Philippines, and on the Andaman and Mentawai islands. The cross-cousin marriage, introduced by the new form of social organisation, and which usually occurs in Indonesia in its asymmetrical form, was originally symmetrical, as among the Dravidians. Indications that the social system did spread from South India eastwards are found in the occurrence of the trait-complex of moieties, clans, avoidance rules, totemism, exogamy and cross-cousin marriage over the area indicated, together with related kinship terms: *mama* is the word for m-br in Tamil as well as in Minangkabau. Both Lowie and Fischer ¹³ have dealt with the theory, and shown how very weak it is. All that really remains after a critical scrutiny is, as pointed out by Lowie ¹⁴, that there is connection between the kinship terms of South India and Indonesia (with the exception of Borneo, Celebes, etc., as above, p. 24), *if philologists accept the linguistic proof*; but this connection, if extant, would not prove that the social organisation, which occurs in the same "system" or "complex" with the terms, should be connected in the same manner, genetically and historically. Now it seems to me that we must go further, and even reject the idea that the Tamil and the Minangkabau kinship terms are connected.

In the first place Fischer ¹⁵ draws attention to the fact that the so-called Tamil words also occur among the Toradja (and, we may add, the Mentawai: *kamama-an*) ¹⁶, who, according to Loeb's own theory, never underwent the Dravidian influence. On the other hand this "Tamil" word *mama* is missing just where one would expect such influence: in Javanese and Sundanese (Loeb nowhere mentions Java,

but is not included among the Indonesian territories explicitly placed beyond the Dravidian pale). Among the Batak, *mama* only occurs in the Karo-Batak dialect, in all others the word *tulang* is used, as Loeb himself notes in the article devoted to "The Batak" ¹⁷. Furthermore, quite apart from the fact that the term does not appear where it should and does where it should not, it is doubtful whether a word like *mama* can be used at all for comparative purposes. It is a typical *Lallwort*, such as is found in languages of the most diverse stocks, to denote, i. a., close relatives ¹⁸. In this way we find, in Indonesia, *mamak* or *mak* meaning: m-br in Minangkabau (*mamak*, *mama'*); father or mother in Javanese (*mamak* and *mak*); aunt in Malay (*mak*), etc. So also in Australia — another region supposed to have undergone the influence of Dravidian social structure — we find *amamaq* as the word for m-br among the Dieri ¹⁹, but *mamaq* for "father" among the Kariera ²⁰. To select just those cases in which *mamaq* means mother's brother, then to equate them with Tamil *mama* (*maman*, according to the "Tamil-English Dictionary for Students and Colleges"), and finally to draw far-reaching conclusions from material gathered so haphazardly is just as arbitrary and unwarranted as a diffusionistic theory would be if based on the equation of Javanese *mamak* = mother with European *mama* = mother, or Javanese *bapak* = father with European *papa* = father *.

One year after Loeb's article another study Minangkabau social structure appeared, also in English: FAX-COOPER COLE'S contribution to "Essays in anthropology in honor of A. L. Kroeber", entitled "Family, clan, and phratry in Central Sumatra". This essay, too, seems to me to be open to criticism on several points.

The author's acquaintance with the Malay and Minangkabau languages appears to be as sketchy as Loeb's, and the spelling of Minangkabau (and Dutch) words is erratic. *Tuganai* (p. 21) should be *tungganai*; *pungulu* (p. 22 seq.): *panghulu*; and the transliterations *capella* (23), *galang gang* (24), *Ketamang-goengan* (25) for *kapala*, *galanggang* and *Katumanggungan* are also more or less off the mark.

Gadang barliga (22) ** is not a title and does not mean "hereditary great". The author must have been thinking either of a proverbial saying, meaning "what is great comes in turn", and referring to the

* Winstedt apparently accepts the Tamil origin of the word *mamak* as a proven fact, but for some reason takes it to mean "a wife's eldest brother" ²¹.

** a more correct spelling would be *gadang baléga*.

adat sansako which we mentioned in the preceding chapter, or to another saying, quoted by De Moubra y²² :

kechil bernama, gedang bergelar,

meaning "When small one has a name, when grown up a title".

Linguistic mistakes like the ones indicated are, however, less important from a strictly anthropological point of view than misrepresentations as the following: "Beneath the veneer of Mohammedanism the people are essentially pagan" (19). This is one of those facile statements against which Snouck Hurgronje always protested so strongly²³. The thousands of Minangkabaus who undertake the arduous and costly pilgrimage to Mecca would certainly be surprised to hear themselves described as "pagans" ; nor is the intense interest in Islamic affairs, manifested, for instance, in the religious controversy between the *kaum kuno* and the *kaum mudo*, characteristic of an "essentially pagan" people. "Before we grant you the right to call the inhabitants of the Archipelago bad Muslims because the broad masses are attached to externals, and understand little or nothing of the true nature of their religion, we demand that you show us one nation on earth of which the masses have progressed further in knowledge of their religion²⁴".

As concerns social organisation in its narrower sense, our opinion differs from the authors in several respects. "The smallest unit recognized in this society is the rumah or house" (20), says Cole. Now the smallest unit actually is the *samandai*, a mother with her children ; but apart from this, Cole lays too much stress on the house, just as Loebl did on the *djurai*. As both authors mean practically the same thing with their terms, we need not go into this again in detail, but may refer to what we said when speaking of Loebl's article. In brief, our objections are : Cole has not pointed out clearly enough how great the local variants in terminology may be, nor that the Minangkabau themselves do not use the words in a strictly defined sense. Cole's representation is not incorrect, but rather too rigid. The "house" may sometimes be the fundamental exogamous property-owning unit, but it need not be. The essential unit is the *parui'*, the members of which may dwell in several houses, each of which may have a certain measure of independent organisation ; but they generally function as particles of a *parui'* (unless a *parui'* is so small that it comprises only one house). So we should like to see *parui'* substituted for *rumah* in the sentence : "All land and most other property belong to the rumah" (21).

In dealing with the so-called "payung" the author appears to be quite mistaken. From his description (pp. 22, 23), one gets the impression that the payung is a functioning unit, with its own chief, the "capella (*sic*) payung". In reality, *pajueng* is a fairly indeterminate expression (litterally meaning "umbrella") for any chief's sphere of office, or for his subordinates. It can be larger or smaller, depending on whether the chief is head of one or more *parui*, on whether or not outsiders have been adopted as members of his genealogical unit, etcetera, but it is not a unit as such. The title *kapala pajueng* is hardly ever used, and the proverb Cole quotes as referring to the "payung" ("the payung is a great tree in the middle of a plain", etc.)²⁵ really describes the head of the *parui*²⁶.

When the author introduces the next larger unit, the *suku*, the result is confusion worse confounded. The facts are, that several *parui* together form a *kampueng*, the *kampueng* themselves being traditionally grouped in four *suku*, all four being represented in an ideal *nagari*. Now two admittedly confusing factors must be taken into account. One is, that the *kampueng* are sometimes also called *suku*. This varies according to local usage, but in a description we do well always to distinguish between the two terms. The other rather confusing element is that *kampung*, in Malay, refers to a village, or a district in a town, at any rate to a territorial group. In Minangkabau on the other hand it is purely genealogical, and could best be translated as "clan". It is true that in the *nagari* the members of a *kampueng* generally live in one and the same area, but *kampueng*-territory is a derivative of the *kampueng* as a genealogical body. Fay-Cooper Cole seems to have got lost in this terminological maze. He confuses *kampueng* and *suku* as a result of failing to distinguish between the Four Sukus, and their sub-divisions, *kampueng*, sometimes called *suku*. The sentence: "Several adjoining payung, each with its chief, make up a division known as suku" (23), should therefore be read: "Several *parui*, each with its chief, make up a division known as *kampueng*"; and the head of a *kampueng* is not known as "pungulu adat", but, usually, as "*panghulu andiko*". Thus also the last sentence on page 23 should be emended to read as follows: "The next larger unit is the *nagari*. Theoretically it should consist of four *suku*, which can be split up into a number of *kampuengs* — thus the *nagari* of Sarik has eleven *kampuengs*".

Not only does the writer confuse the *suku* with the *kampueng*, but he also gives to the word *kampueng* its Malay, not Minangkabau,

meaning of "village". His entire description of the function and organisation of the *kampueng* (pp. 24, 25) is totally false.

The manner in which he places the "pungulu capella" (*panghulu kapala*) in the social system is also erroneous. This function is definitely not native to Minangkabau, but was instituted by the Dutch authorities, who desired to be able to deal with one man as head of the *nagari* ²⁷.

It is a pity that the work is marred by all these mistakes, for now we also do not know what value to attach to other pieces of information, which are not demonstrably incorrect. For instance, we are told that "no man is allowed to marry into a *negari* not his own" (24). Now we do indeed get the impression from other sources that there is a certain tendency to prefer marriages within the *nagari*, and *nagari*-endogamy may have been the rule once, but no other authority expresses himself so positively as Cole does here. It would be a very important datum, if we could be sure it is correct — but can we? In the same way we do not know whether Cole has correctly rendered the customary sayings which he quotes now and then, and which the present author cannot recall ever having met with elsewhere, e. g. "Those who draw from the same well may never marry" (23), "Those who live on the same ground should never marry" * (25), "The people of ancient times had only rumah and parui, but no suku" (24). For lack of supporting evidence we should do well not to rely too much on those quotations.

Finally some words as to Cole's views on the Minangkabau kings and on the bipartition. The kings were "of Indian origin" (19). They probably instituted the three *luha'* as administrative divisions. They made for a "semblance of unity" (27), but were otherwise unimportant.

The antithesis between Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago was caused by an unequal division of the land between these two groups, the groups themselves being "much like political parties in western lands" (26); their members "may change their allegiance at will". How utterly and completely incorrect this view is, may already have become apparent from what we said in Chapter II, or else will become so, we hope, in Chapter V. As we have seen (*supra*, p. 17), this theory was already rejected by Willinck.

In 1945 Fay-Cooper Cole published "Peoples of Malaya",

* This saying does not seem compatible with a demand for local (*nagari*) endogamy!

containing a chapter on Minangkabau, which in all essentials is the same as the article we have just been discussing.

As other publications on Minangkabau only treat of details of the social structure, and shall be discussed incidentally in the course of this work, we shall now leave Minangkabau ** and devote some words to those writers who have occupied themselves with Negri Sembilan: Sir Richard Winstedt, G. A. de C. de Moubray, and, E. N. Taylor.

Articles by WINSTEDT on Negri Sembilan and adjoining territories are mainly of an historical nature ; the author's main achievement in the Indonesian field will be judged by many to be his invaluable philological work. There are nevertheless, two short articles from his pen on social anthropology, viz. "Family relationships in Negri Sembilan", and "Mother-right among Khassis and Malays". The first-mentioned article is mainly useful as containing the kinship terms in use in Negri Sembilan ; it does not have the pretension of explaining the social system — nor, in fact, does any other publication of Winstedt's, although the second article just mentioned comes near to it. As a comparison between two types of social structure its weakness, in our opinion, is, in the first place, that discrete elements from both cultures are compared with one another ; thus ancestor worship, marriage restrictions, inheritance of property, etc. are, one by one, described according to Khassi and to "Malay" practice. In this way it is inevitable that the structure of each culture as a whole becomes obscured, as the interdependence of the various elements is neglected in the description. Furthermore, the "Malay" examples are apparently arbitrarily chosen, now from Minangkabau, then from Negri Sembilan. In spite of the great similarities between the custom of those two countries, this procedure has the disadvantage of neglecting the fact that, after all, Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan culture are, each for each, independently and coherently functioning entities.

A far greater part of Winstedt's *oeuvre* is devoted to political history. In so far as it covers our field of study, we have made

** The reasons why we devoted what may appear a disproportionately great amount of space to the articles by Loeb and Cole is, that these are the only comprehensive publications on Minangkabau social structure by an anthropologist (as contrasted to administrators, lawyers, etc.) since the days of Wilken (ca. 1885), and the purely pragmatic one that in most recent books on more general anthropological subjects it is Loeb and Cole who are cited as authorities, frequently as the only ones ²⁴.

grateful use of it. We cannot refrain from remarking, however, that in the treatment of the early periods, the Indian influence, undoubtedly very great in Indonesia, looms disproportionately large; the view that "Malayan races owed everything to India: religions, political system"²⁹ etc. is, to put it mildly, greatly exaggerated. It fails to take into account the substratum common to both India and Indonesia³⁰, as well as the strong persistence of old Indonesian beliefs and ways of life through the successive invasions of Indian, Muslims and European culture, as described by R a s s e r s, among others, and as must indeed be obvious to any student of Indonesian anthropology.

The only handbook on the social structure of Negri Sembilan is DE MOUBRAY'S "Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula".

This work consists of a descriptive section (Part III), sandwiched in between a "comparative part" and "conclusions". The two latter sections are by far the least satisfactory part of the book. We shall not discuss the lengthy comparison with the South Indian systems they contain, as that would lie outside the scope of the present study. We should, though, say something of the way in which de M o u b r a y explains the Negri Sembilan social system. It can be said in one word: degeneration. He presumes both matriarchy and patriarchy to be degeneration products of a parental system (pp. 57, 63). This parental system is "higher" than its derivatives. This supposition is uttered with varying degrees of assurance, now as a "probably correct" deduction (57), then as a "very vague possibility" (63), but the degeneration hypothesis clearly traces its course through the whole book. Likewise, the "matriarchy" as found on the Malay Peninsula is a degeneration product of "pure" or "primitive" matriarchy (97). This degeneration makes itself manifest by "disintegration of communal ownership" (97), "weakening of the matrilineal factor" (99) and "weakening of tribal cohesion" (104).

What we object to is not the attempt to explain the present social structure by tracing the historical development it has undergone (the present volume tries to do the same), but the manner in which the attempt is made. De M o u b r a y does not use the present situation as a starting-point for an attempt to find out how it has become as it is, whereby the historical reconstruction must be able to clear up certain specific difficulties for which there appears to be no solution in contemporaneous society. His method is to pre-suppose a primitive stage, from which the modern culture has evolved.

Thus on page 97 : "I postulate that the typical and most primitive form of matriarchy is communal, has in fact perfect joint family constitution, with the women as members", etc. ; and "The ways in which matriarchy can break up are various. The different characteristics can to a great extent evolve independently. Among the obvious possible lines of evolution are, firstly, *the breaking up of communism*", after which he proceeds to demonstrate how this hypothetical break-up actually occurred. In other words, he does not reason from the known to the unknown, but from the unknown to the known.

A result of this a-prioristic standpoint is the idea of "degeneration". If he had used a neutral word like "change", no one, surely, would object ; but it is, of course, unjustified to introduce an appreciative judgment, as in the idea of matriarchy being a form of degeneration from a "higher type of social system, the parental" (63).

As to the final section (Part IV, Conclusions), its great value is that it devotes attention to Negri Sembilan culture as a dynamic whole and traces the modern developments and tendencies. Its weakness lies in the author's failure to utilise the concept of culture as a personality-moulding force. This leads him to statements like those on page 197, in which he discusses the Malay's potentialities in the modern world. His opinion is that the Malays will never change their rôle of "independent peasant proprietors", as they are racially, hereditarily, unfit for other forms of life : "..... the Malays have not it in them to excel in either commerce or industry, nor, compared especially to higher-caste Indians among whom Aryan blood preponderates, have they the intellectual gifts to cultivate the deeper things of mind, to develop for instance a system of metaphysics". It is surely unnecessary to point out how incorrect all this is.

The descriptive part is very useful. In parentheses we may remark how characteristic of British publications on Negri Sembilan it is that by far the greater part (47 of the 71 pages) of this section is devoted to inheritance, just as most Dutch works on Minangkabau *adat* devote most space to organisation and chieftainship in the *nagari* and the genealogical groups. The reason probably is, that Negri Sembilan still has its own Ruler and governing council, but Minangkabau was under direct rule. Dutch civil servants were therefore mainly concerned with purely administrative questions, while the British could leave a large part of them to the inhabitants themselves, and were mainly concerned

with legal problems, of which land cases, i. e. questions of inheritance, were always among the most important.

Later on in this volume we shall frequently make use of De Moubra y's data, and where we differ from him on certain points, these will come up for discussion automatically. As to the specific questions with which we closed Chapter II, there is really only one to which De Moubra y supplies an answer. The traditional four *suku* and two *larèh* grouping found in Minangkabau does not prevail in Negri Sembilan; the preference for cross-cousin marriages, and the rôle ascribed to every fifth generation, are not mentioned by De Moubra y. He does mention the fact that descent in the Ruler's family is reckoned patrilineally, but does not venture an explanation. On the *adat sansako* (which he calls by its alternative name, *giliran*), he is more explicit (p. 106). His rather complicated reasoning may be summarised as follows : in the period of "pure communal matriarchy" the tribal dignities were inherited from a man by his eldest sister's eldest son. This developed into a system whereby all sons of all sisters were eligible ; this system could be extended so that each *perut* (= *parui*) descended from the females in question could supply the communal dignitary. But "how the principle was introduced that each *perut* should have its equality in this matter ensured by being placed as it were on a roster, I cannot guess". So even De Moubra y, with all his involved reasoning, fails us in this respect.

Finally I should like to mention a third writer on Negri Sembilan, E. N. TAYLOR. The reason why I single out his work from the quite considerable list of publications on Negri Sembilan customs is that two of his articles, "Customary law of Rembau" and "Inheritance in Negri Sembilan", especially the first, are, in my opinion, the most useful of those which are to hand at present. The ground which the author sets himself to cover is covered painstakingly and thoroughly, and the facts are presented with admirable clearness ; but there is one important point on which I think T a y l o r is quite mistaken.

We mentioned the Minangkabau bipartition according to the *larèh* Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago. Now local traditions ascribe the two varying *adat* to the decisions taken by two great leaders in the dawn of Minangkabau history, Kjai Katumanggungan and Parapatih nan Sabatang. After them the two *adat* are also sometimes called *adat Katumanggungan* and *adat Parapatih*. These terms are also met with in Negri Sembilan, but British writers always use the expressions in

a sense different from that of Minangkabau : *adat Parapatih* (*adat perpatih*, in its Malay form) is used to designate Negri Sembilan custom in its entirety (and not one variant of the prevailing *adat*), while *adat Katumanggungan* (or *adat temenggung*) is used for the custom in the other Peninsular states, which are predominantly Malay, not Minangkabau, and appear to be patrilineally, not matrilineally, organised, or to lack a clan organisation altogether. At first I was inclined to consider this usage as an incorrect interpretation of the native terms by the European authors concerned, but the complete agreement of all authorities on this point, as well as the fact that those Negri Sembilan *Undang-undang* (treatises on customary law) I consulted make use of the expressions with the same meaning, seem to indicate that the words "*adat perpatih*" and "*adat temenggung*" have really acquired a different content on the Malay Peninsula *. We may, then, take it for a fact that *adat perpatih* designates the custom of the Minangkabau state of Negri Sembilan, *adat temenggung* the custom of the surrounding Malay territories ; but we cannot agree with T a y l o r's interpretation: "In Malaya, before the British period, the law of the Malays relating to property was, in Negri Sembilan, *adat perpateh* and in the other, States, *adat perpateh* in decay, under monarchical influence" ³¹. The laws of the two contrasted territories had totally different histories, and we do not think it justified to consider the *adat temenggung* (in its Peninsular sense), the *adat* of the Malays who were already settled in the Peninsula, and who did not come there viâ Sumatra, a "decayed" form of *adat perpatih*, the *adat* of the Minangkabau population which immigrated into Negri Sembilan at a comparatively recent date. This rather confused idea may well be due in part to the careless use most British writers, T a y l o r included, make of the word "Malay", applying it both to the Minangkabau and to the "true" Malays (Riau-Malays), and thus suggesting one homogeneous population, with a culture which may show local variations, but is essentially one.

Taylor is not the only author to interpret the words *adat perpatih* and *adat temenggung* in this manner ; in fact he bases his opinion on Wilkinson's "Law". In a later chapter we shall return to this subject, for the present all we need is insight into the manner in which the bipartition, as it appears in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, has been explained.

* I must still confess to a lingering doubt whether the Minangkabau meaning of the words is really nowhere to be met with in Negri Sembilan.

We are forced to the conclusion that the problems we set at the end of the preceding chapter have not been brought very much nearer to a solution by the works reviewed in this section, in spite of the very valuable descriptive materials adduced by some.

We shall now try a different approach.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Willinck, 577.
 - ² Willinck, 527.
 - ³ Willinck, 506.
 - ⁴ Willinck, 71—78.
 - ⁵ Résumés.
 - ⁶ Veth, part III.
 - ⁷ Westenenk (1), 114.
 - ⁸ Fischer (2), 22.
 - ⁹ Joustra (2), 92.
 - ¹⁰ Willinck, 824—860.
 - ¹¹ Westenenk (1), 170 *seq.*, for instance.
 - ¹² Loeb (1), 657—661.
 - ¹³ Lowie (1), Fischer (1).
 - ¹⁴ Lowie (1), 322.
 - ¹⁵ Fischer (1), 363.
 - ¹⁶ Loeb (3), 42.
 - ¹⁷ Loeb (2), 22, 23.
 - ¹⁸ Gonda (2), 94.
 - ¹⁹ Radcliffe-Brown (2), I, 45.
 - ²⁰ Radcliffe-Brown (2), II, 60.
 - ²¹ Winstedt (10), 61.
 - ²² De Moubray, 148.
 - ²³ Snouck Hurgronje (2), IV", 351; IV', 11—24.
 - ²⁴ Snouck Hurgronje (2), IV', 23—24.
 - ²⁵ Cole, 23.
 - ²⁶ Westenenk (1), 119.
 - ²⁷ Joustra (2), 114.
 - ²⁸ Murdock (2); Lévi-Strauss; Radcliffe-Brown (4);
Lowie (2); Piddington.
 - ²⁹ Winstedt (7), 186.
 - ³⁰ Chatterji, for instance.
 - ³¹ Taylor (2), 47.
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CHAPTER IV.

THEORY.

Before tackling the Minangkabau problems, we shall first devote a chapter to a purely theoretical discussion of some possible types of social organisation, so as to leave as little occasion as possible for a misunderstanding of the terms to be used in future, and so as to have some diagrams grouped together to which we can refer back later on.

Primâ facie Minangkabau social organisation appears to have clans (unilinear descent groups whose members are all traditionally related) and cross-cousin marriage. Later on we shall discuss the question whether a man's ideal spouse is his mo-br-da exclusively (in which case we shall speak of exclusive cross-cousin marriage, abbreviated e.c.c.m.), or whether she may be either his mo-br-da or his fa-si-da *. We shall now consider some possibilities of clan organisation and marriage forms.

If a society only recognises two unilinear descent groups, then these must of course regularly intermarry (presupposing them to be exogamous). In diagram it may be expressed thus :

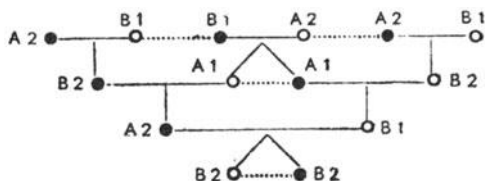


Diagram I.

In this one diagram we have made use of symbols to denote either matrilinear or patrilinear descent. The letters, in this case A and B, designate the matrilinear relatives, the numbers, 1 and 2, the members of the patrilinear groups. The black circles denote males, the open ones females. The lines connect spouses, the dotted lines siblings. So we

* We shall use the following abbreviations of kinship terms :

fa for father	br for brother	so for son
mo for mother	si for sister	da for daughter,

with the component elements of composite terms connected by hyphens.

find that, supposing this society to be matrilineally organised, A men marry B women, and A women marry B men. Using $\rightarrow$ to indicate marriage, the arrow pointing from the woman to the man, it may be symbolised as : $A \xleftarrow{\rightarrow} B$.

In cases of this kind we shall say there is a "symmetrical connubial relation", or symmetrical connubium, between A and B. (If the society were organised patrilineally, the same would apply to the groups 1 and 2). A social organisation of this type entails exchange of actual or classificatory sisters for marriage, and therefore a man's wife is his mo-br-da and his fa-si-da at the same time.

As soon as more than two clans participate in the system, brother and sister exchange can be prohibited, or at least avoided. A society with three matrilineal clans, A, B, and C, or another with three patrilineal ones, 1, 2, and 3, would give us the following picture if they avoided brother and sister exchange and demanded a man's marriage to his fa-si-da :

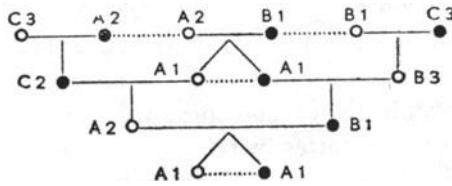


Diagram II.

Now there is no longer a truly symmetrical connubium, but, taking matrilineal clans as an example and using the same symbols as above, the situation is :

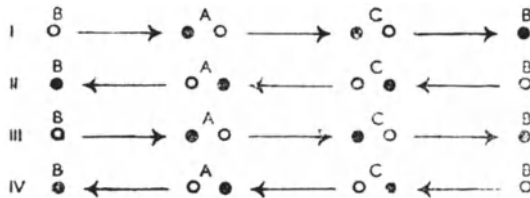


Diagram III.

In the second generation (horizontal line II) clan A receives its brides from clan C, but gives its own girls in marriage to men from clan B. In the following generation, III, the position is reversed ; and

in this way each clan functions alternately as bride-givers to and bride-takers from one other clan.

Using the same type of diagram, but assuming mo-br-da marriage, the situation is like this :

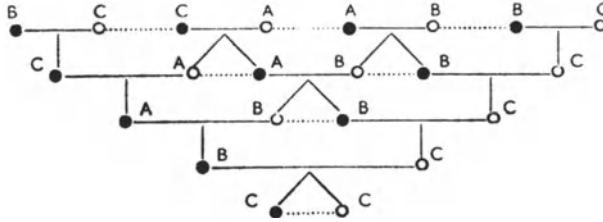


Diagram IV.

The connubial relations in a matrilineal society are now :

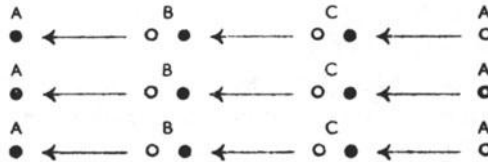


Diagram V.

Here we find a true asymmetrical connubium : clan B is always bridegiver for clan A and always bridgetaker from clan C, there is no longer an alternation per generation.

Now in all preceding cases we have assumed a unilateral organisation, but now we must also take double descent in consideration.

In any society whatsoever we can, of course, draw up genealogical tables for any member of that community, based on double descent, for the same reason that we can draw up tables of kinship. The question is whether or not descent is socially recognized ¹, and, if so, whether the recognized descent is patrilinear, matrilinear, or double. Cultures with double descent do not necessarily attach equal importance to both types of descent, in other words, not every culture with double descent lays equal stress on both lineages. In double descent, a man becomes member of the patri-lineage ² of his father and the matri-lineage of his mother; and the patri-lineages are, as it were, perpetuated by the men, their sons, sons' sons, etc., the matri-lineages by the women, their daughters, etc. In societies with double descent it may be observed that

material or spiritual "goods" of one type are inherited patrilineally, of another type matrilineally. Supposing that in a society social position (family name, rank, social prestige) is inherited matrilineally, but place of dwelling patrilineally; and supposing that for some reason or other the culture in question gradually began to attach less importance to place of dwelling, then the importance of the patri-lineage would also dwindle, so that a contemporary study of this culture would show a system of double descent, with matrilinear descent functionally more important than patrilinear. The hypothetical example we have given does certainly not mean to say that we hold an historical sequence as supposed there, to be a necessary development. We do mean that in a culture study we should take the possibility into account of a culture recognizing both lines of descent, and *casu quo* should consider the function and importance of each lineage. As an example of such a study, in this case of a society with a certain recognition of double descent but with heavy stress on patriliney, we may mention Fortes' publication on the Tallensi.

A genealogical table for a social system as outlined on p. 37, but taking into account both matrilinear and patrilinear descent, would be:

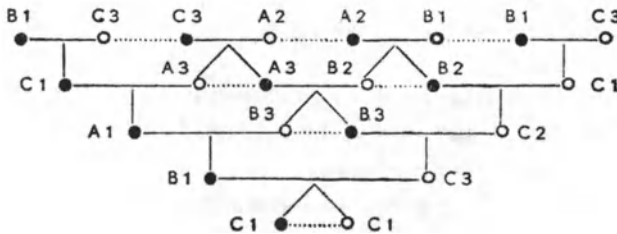


Diagram VI.

In this case there are at least three matrilinear clans participating (A, B and C), and at least three patrilinear clan, 1, 2, and 3. It will be noticed that here, with e.c.c.m., not only the matrilinear, but also the patrilinear clans maintain asymmetrical connubial relations :

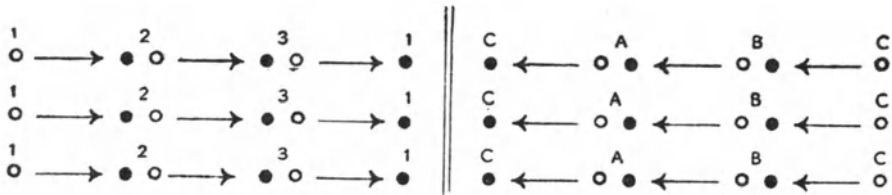


Diagram VII.

We shall now work out this system on a larger scale, again for a mo-br-da marriage, and with four matrilineal and four patrilineal clans:

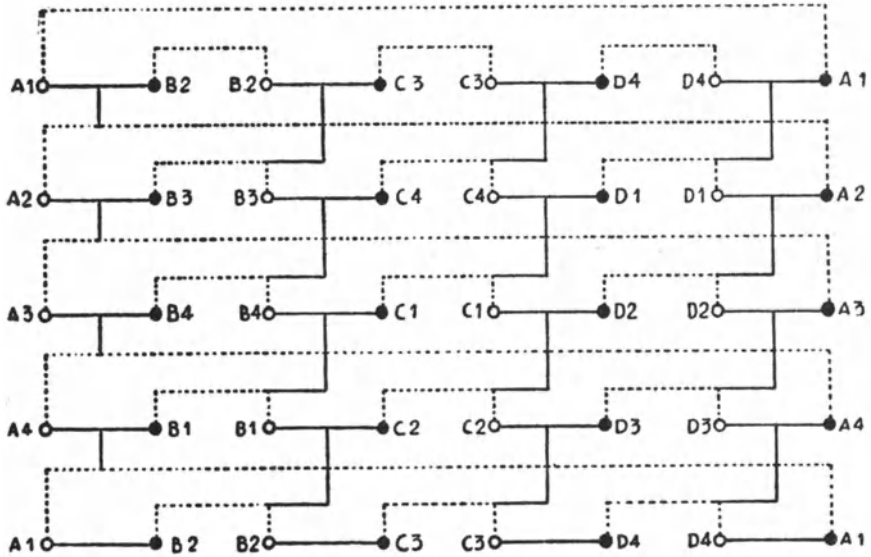
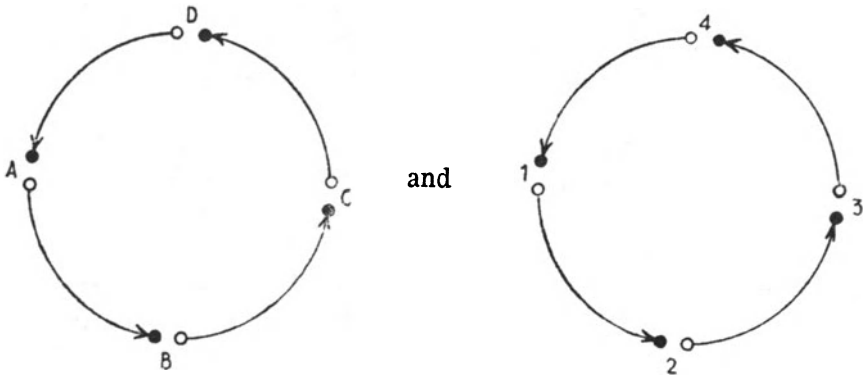


Diagram VIII.

The four matri-clans, A, B, C, D form vertical lines on the diagram, the members of the consecutive generations of the patri-clans 1, 2, 3, 4 can be traced diagonally, from top right to bottom left.

The connubia are :



The system also allows exogamous (and therefore intermarrying)

phratries * to be recognized : $AC \leftrightarrow BD$, or, from a patrilineal point of view : $1-3 \leftrightarrow 2-4$.

Here we should add that, if we have a social organisation of four patri-clans in asymmetrical connubium, the introduction of just four matrilineal clans is not arbitrary choice, but is an inavoidable consequence : "beside the four patrilineal clans four exogamous matrilineal groups ... must exist" ³.

Likewise, if we have four matri-clans to begin with in a system of this kind, this automatically entails the existence (not necessarily recognized by the society itself) of four patri-clans.

Taking both forms of descent into account, we see that in every patri-clan successive generations of males marry females from each of the matri-clans in turn : clan 1 men marry women first from clan D, the next generation from C, then from B, then from A, and so back to D again. As the children from such marriages inherit their patri-clan from their father and their matri-clan from their mother, they themselves are respectively D 1, C 1, B 1, A 1, and then D 1 again. Likewise successive generations of children belonging to matri-clan A are A 1, A 2, A 3, A 4, A 1, etc. Each patri-clan combines itself with each matri-clan in succession, and the same combination turns up again after as many generations as there are unilateral clans participating in the system. In our case, with four unilateral clans, the same combination recurs after four, i. e. in the fifth, generation.

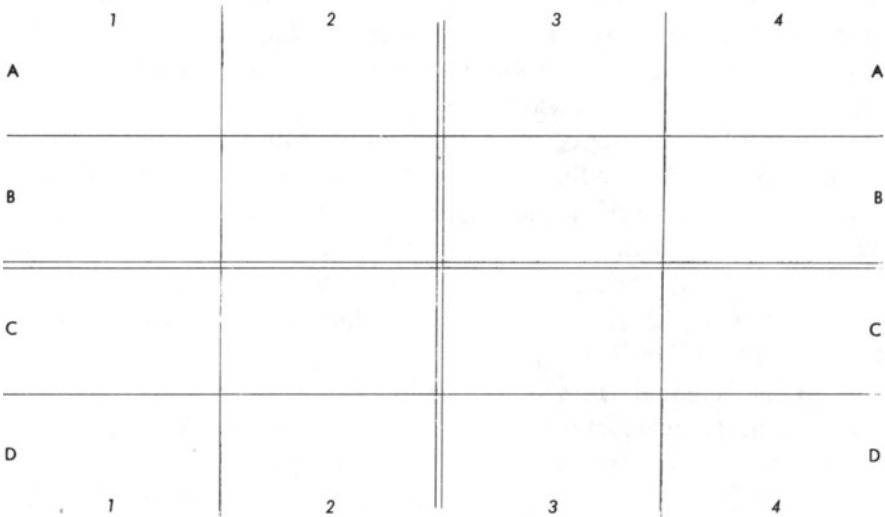
We have by now introduced various genealogical units : patri- and matri-clans, and phratries based on patrilineal or matrilineal descent. A society may or may not name all of these units, but even if unnamed they may well be seen to function. If each combination of patrilineal and matrilineal clans has its own name, the society clearly recognizes again a new type of unit, which is purely double-unilateral, the marriage class.

For a long time it was not clear how classes could function with e.c.c.m., that is to say, with an asymmetrical connubium.

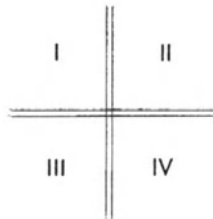
Even Radcliffe-Brown, in his otherwise masterly article in "Oceania", did not, in our opinion, sufficiently take into account the fundamental difference between symmetrical and asymmetrical connubium. Van Wouden, in 1935, was the first to tackle this problem

* We use the term "phratries" here instead of "moieties", as clans A and C do not together form one descent group, nor B and D together. In diagram I. on the other hand, each of the clans A, B, 1, and 2 are moieties.

satisfactorily⁴. Working on data from eastern Indonesia, he found several facts which led him to the conclusion that the ideal type of marriage in that area was the *mo-br-da* marriage, which could only be adequately explained by an asymmetrical (circulating) connubial system. Such a system demands at least three participating unilateral clans. If one theoretically assumes *four* unilateral clans, let us say four patrilineal clans, to have participated in such a system, it becomes clear that four other, matrilineal, clans also come into play. The result is a 16-class system, and so here we have a class system combined with an asymmetrical connubium. If we also assume the four patrilineal and the four matrilineal clans to be grouped, two by two, in patrilineal and matrilineal moieties, the resultant over-all picture can be presented as follows :



The numbers denote the patrilineal clans, grouped in the patri-moieties 1 + 2 and 3 + 4, the letters the matrilineal clans, forming matri-moieties A + B and C + D. The moieties cut the whole society into quarters, I, II, III, and IV.



They are related to each other by symmetrical connubia ($I \rightleftharpoons IV$ and $II \rightleftharpoons III$), and behave just like the classes in a "classical" four-class system. V a n W o u d e n's theoretically constructed sixteen-class system differs from a four-class organisation, by the fact that its clans are connected with one another through *asymmetrical* connubia, and its classes only contain members of one single generation.

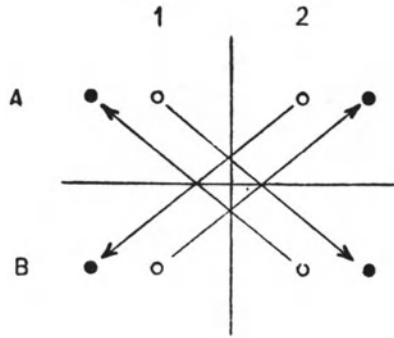
V a n W o u d e n then studies some other implications of various systems permitting asymmetrical connubia, which need not concern us here. The salient feature of his studies is this, that he brought forward the essential importance of the asymmetrical connubium, and demonstrated how it could occur in conjunction with a class-system. In the area he described he did not, however, find any society in which the system he showed to be theoretically possible, was actually functioning. This was due largely to the fact that the East-Indonesian social systems he reviewed were all more or less in a state of change, or even disintegration, and partly to the often very incomplete descriptions he had to use as sources of information.

Since 1935, of course, ethnographical literature has been enriched by descriptions of societies where marriage-classes actually do occur in combination with asymmetrical connubium; an example of such a society is the Murngin, who have a circulating connubium in an eight-class system. The Murngin data have recently been re-assessed in the important work by L é v i - S t r a u s s, which we have already mentioned in an earlier chapter.

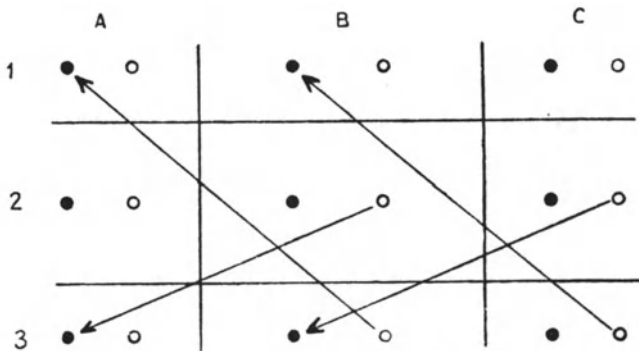
At the moment we need not follow this author in his theory on the historical development by which he explains the Murngin social system but as later in this study we shall again come to speak of L é v i - S t r a u s s's theories, when they touch upon our own Minangkabau problems, it was appropriate to introduce his publication in this chapter, in its theoretical setting.

We would like to make one more remark on marriage-classes.

It will be observed that the relationship between classes, and indeed their nature, in systems with circulating connubium differs quite considerably from the position with brother and sister exchange, as found in the Aranda and Karia types of social organisation. Taking a four-class system as an example, and using the letters and numbers of diagram I, we can diagrammatically express the classes' interrelationship thus :



But in a society with asymmetrical connubium, like that of diagram VI, the relationship between classes is (expressed in terms of that diagram) :



We may formulate the difference by saying that in cases of symmetrical connubium, classes as a whole (the men and the women of each class together) stand in relationship to one another, but in systems with asymmetrical connubium the classes split apart, the women going one way (B 3 women marrying A 1 men, for instance), the men another (B 3 men marrying C 2 women).

As we have now introduced the main constituent elements of any kinship and marriage system, we may here terminate the discussion on a theoretical basis and turn to the study of an actual society, the Minangkabau.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Radcliffe-Brown (1), 50.
 - ² for this expression, see Murdock (2), 69 and footnote.
 - ³ Van Wouden, 96.
 - ⁴ Van Wouden, esp. Chapter III.
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CHAPTER V.

MINANGKABAU SOCIAL ORGANISATION

§ 1. The units making up the *nagari*.

We shall now study Minangkabau social structure in rather greater detail than was done in Chapter II, and at the same time try to bring out the background of various customs, and attempt to discover upon what kind of ideal system the always imperfect practice as we observe it is based.

First we shall give the Minangkabau kinship terms, diagrammatically set out. They have been taken from the following authors: Verkerk Pistorius, Veth, Willinck, van der Toorn, and Harrebomee, and the sources have been indicated.

A question mark denotes lack of precision in the quoted source. For example, Harrebomee calls the *laki uwai katji* "*aangetrouwde oom*", i. e. "uncle by marriage", a term that could refer to either mo-si-husband or fa-si-husband. We have here taken it to mean both, but have added a question mark.

Of the terms in all columns but the last we are not certain whether they are modes of address to, or designations of, the person meant. The terms in the last (extreme right) column are the only ones which are undoubtedly modes of address. They were given as such by a Minangkabau student at Leiden University in 1936/37 (unpublished).

The most striking fact that emerges from these tables is that the kinship terminology so little reflects the very definite matriliney, and almost keeps an even bilateral balance:

mo, mo-si and fa-si are all called *mandai*;

siblings, mo-si-child, fa-si-child, mo-br-child, fa-br-child are all called *dansana'*;

mo-br-wife, fa-br-wife are both called *pasumandan*;

only in the *mama'* — *kamanakan* relationship does a unilateral stress come in:

fa, fa-br: *bapa'*, but mo-br: *mama'*;

child, br-child, si-child (female speaking): *ana'*, but si-child (male speaking): *kamanakan*.

	Verkerk Pistorius	Willinck	Veth	address
br	<i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>ambo</i> (older br) <i>adie'</i> (younger br)
si	<i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>angah</i> (older si) <i>adie'</i> (younger si)
br-wife	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>kakah</i>	<i>ipa, or</i> <i>bisan ?</i>	<i>kaka' *</i> <i>adie'</i>
si-husband	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>tunadi</i>	<i>ipa, or</i> <i>bisan ?</i>	<i>tuan adie' **</i>
br-so	<i>ana' or</i> <i>dansana'</i>		<i>ana' or</i> <i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>ana'</i>
br-da	<i>ana' or</i> <i>dansana'</i>		<i>or saudara</i> <i>ana' or</i> <i>dansana'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>ana'</i>
si-so	<i>ana'</i>		<i>or saudara</i>	<i>ana'</i>
si-da (female speaking)				
si-so	<i>kamanakan</i>	<i>kamanakan</i>	<i>kamanakan</i>	<i>kamanakan</i>
si-da (male speaking)		<i>kandueng</i>	<i>kandueng</i>	
grandchild	<i>tjutju</i>	<i>dansana'</i> <i>injie'</i> (= so-child)	<i>tjutju</i>	
great- grandchild	<i>tjutju</i> <i>piui'</i>		<i>piui'</i>	
gr-gr- grandchild	<i>tjutju</i> <i>mujang</i>		<i>tjitjie'</i>	
gr-gr-gr- grandchild	<i>tjutju</i> <i>tjitjie'</i>		<i>pindie'</i>	
gr-gr-gr-gr- grandchild	<i>tjutju</i> <i>pindie'</i>			
da-husband		<i>binantu</i>	<i>binantu or</i>	
so-wife			<i>minantu</i>	
half-siblings (same fa)		<i>sambajan</i>	<i>binantu or</i> <i>minantu</i>	

* used when speaker is younger than his brother (otherwise *adie'*).

** used when speaker is younger than his sister (otherwise address by name).

	Verkerk Pistorius	Willinck	Veth	v. d. Toorn	Harrebomee	address
mo	ibu or <i>mandai</i>	<i>mandai</i> or <i>amai</i> or (a) <i>ma'</i>	(<i>m</i>) <i>andai</i> or <i>ibu</i>			<i>amai</i> or <i>ma'</i> or <i>uma'</i> or <i>andai</i> or <i>biai</i>
mo-mo	<i>ninie'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>tuo</i> or <i>gai'</i> or <i>utji</i>	<i>tuo</i> or <i>ninie'</i>			
mo-fa	<i>ninie'</i> <i>kandueng</i>	<i>tuo</i> or <i>gai'</i> or <i>utji</i>	<i>tuo</i> or <i>ninie'</i>			
mo-mo-si mo-mo-br	<i>ninie'</i>					
mo-si	(<i>m</i>) <i>andai</i> *	(<i>man</i>) <i>dai</i> *	<i>mandai</i> *	<i>mandai</i> <i>kètèk</i> <i>bapa'</i> ?		<i>andai</i> *
mo-si-husb.					<i>laki uwai</i> <i>katji'</i> ? <i>nembi</i>	
mo-br	<i>mama'</i> *	<i>mama'</i> *	<i>mama'</i> *	<i>bapa'</i> ?		<i>anku</i> *
mo-br-wife		<i>pasumandan</i>	<i>pasumandan</i>	<i>pasumandan</i>		
mo-si-so mo-si-da mo-br-so mo-br-da	<i>dansana'</i> <i>ibu</i>	<i>dansana'</i> <i>mandai</i>	<i>dansana'</i> <i>ibu</i>			

* With the addition of *tuo*, *tangah* or *kètèk*, depending or whether the person referred to is the oldest, the middle in age, or the youngest of the brothers or sisters of the speaker's mother. In the last column *gadang* is used instead of *tuo*.

	Verkerk Pistorius	Willinck	Veth	v. d. Toorn	address
wife's si	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>bisan</i>	<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>	<i>ipa</i>	<i>angah</i> (older si)
wife's br	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>ipa</i>	<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>	<i>ipa</i>	<i>adie'</i> (younger si)
wife's si-husb.	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>pambajan</i>	<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>	<i>bisan</i>	<i>ambo</i> (older br)
wife's br-wife	<i>ipa ?</i>		<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>		<i>adie'</i> (younger br)
wife's mo		<i>andai or mantuo</i>	<i>mantuo</i>		
wife's fa		<i>angku</i>	<i>mantuo</i>		
husb.'s si	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>sumandan ?</i>	<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>	<i>ipa</i>	
husb.'s br	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>sumandan ?</i>	<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>	<i>ipa</i>	
husb.'s si-husb.	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>sumandan ?</i>	<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>		
husb.'s br-wife	<i>ipa ?</i>	<i>sumandan ?</i>	<i>ipa ? or bisan ?</i>		
husb.'s mo		<i>sumandan ?</i> or <i>andai</i> or <i>mantuo</i>	<i>mantuo</i>		
husb.'s fa		<i>angku</i>	<i>mantuo</i>		
husb.'s mo-si		<i>andan</i>			

The terminology as a whole may be considered to be of the Hawaiian or generation type. In fact, Willinck¹ expressly points out that the word *dansana'* designates one's generation-mates, whether these be one's siblings or one's eight cousin; and the proverb² "*harto pusako turun dari ninie' ka mama', dari mama' ka kamanakan*". Literally means: "ancestral property is inherited from the grandparent by the mo-br, and from the mo-br by his si-child", but actually the words *ninie'*, *mama'* and *kamanakan* are not used here to designate specific relatives, but three successive generations.

A rather remarkable feature is the use made of the terms *orang baripo* and its synonym, *orang babako*³. They designate the "members of one's father's family", but also the children of one's *mama'*. The problems this raises can, however, better be dealt with in § 2 of this chapter.

Some remarks on the relationship between Minangkabau kinship terms and the "original" Indonesian social system are to be found in Wilken (2)⁴.

As soon as we attempt to give a description of the units that make up the *nagari*, and of the chiefs and dignitaries connected with them, we are faced by the difficulty that the data furnished by the various writers on the subject do not always agree. Partly this is due to the vagueness and multiplicity of the terms as used by the Minangkabau themselves, and partly to local differences; but there is yet another factor that has contributed to the confusion, and that is that some writers have taken the European words and concepts as their starting-point, and have then considered how the native terms can be made to fit them. An example is J o u s t r a, in his discussion on the word "family". On p. 114 he equates *parui'* with family, when he is dealing with the *kapalo parui'*, translated as "heads of families"; but in two other passages⁵ he says that the *parui'*, headed by a *kapalo parui'*, is or may be subdivided into families, each under a *mama'*.

This latter arrangement fairly well agrees with the description given by Willinck. What he calls "family" is the *parui'*⁶, headed by an *andiko*⁷. Later he stresses the importance of this "family" by saying that the *djurai*, the "branch" of a family (to which, in other places, he attributes rather too much importance), is not a unit "in public law", i. e. does not as such have a representative in the government of the *nagari*. On pp. 165 and 351 he redefines the relation between *kampueng*, *parui'* and *djurai*: if an entire *parui'* lives in one

house, its chief is an *andiko* or *tuo rumah* ("old man of the house"); but if a *parui'* is divided over several houses (p. 165) or — what would appear to amount to the same thing — is split up into several *djurai* (p. 351), this structurally more complicated unit is called a *kampueng*, its chief a *panghulu kampueng*. The members of a *parui'* are called the *ana' buah* of their *panghulu andiko*, members of a *djurai* the *kamanakan* of their *mama'* (this word being applied here in a wider sense than that of *mo-br-da*)⁸. The *panghulu* of a *parui'* is the *mama'* of his own *djurai*⁹. A *djurai* may split apart from the parent body by going to live in its own house¹⁰.

J o u s t r a uses the word *kaum* to denote what Willinck calls *djurai*. Another use of the word *kaum* is made by Schäfer, who in the territory he was acquainted with (Batusangkar, Tanah Data) found *sabuah parui'* used as a word for the members of a *kaum*¹¹. This *kaum* was headed by a *panghulu andiko*, and could be subdivided into *djurai*, each with a *mama'* or *tungganai* as chief. The word *kampueng* appeared to be synonymous with *kaum*.

We must now introduce a new factor that also plays its rôle in the social organisation: the respect for any group's oldest rights, which leads to the special position accorded to what Dutch writers call the *kernfamilie*, a word we may render by "original family". We have seen how a *parui'* may split up, generally along lines of cleavage formed by the previously functioning *djurai* (*kaum*, *rumah*), into several new *parui'*. The offshoots which in this way became independent of the parent body are, however, very often (probably we may even say: usually) not accepted as being on a par with the parent *parui'*, the original family. Although the offshoot's chief, formerly a humble *tuo rumah*, has now become a *kapalo parui'*, still he will not be eligible as *panghulu kampueng*. This function is reserved for *kapalo* of original *parui'*. Thus the situation has been described by van Vollenhoven, among others¹², who adds that only the head of the original *parui'* is called *andiko*, the heads of the newly created *parui'* being styled *mama' rumah* or *tungganai*. So also in P a u w's data on L Koto¹³.

The same rule prevails when an entirely new *nagari* is founded: the *mama'* (here used for head of a "family") of the group that first settles in a new area remains the chief, *panghulu andiko*, when this group splits up into various smaller groups, each under a *mama'*; and when new settlers arrive, and gradually a *nagari* comes into being with several *panghulu andiko*, the head of the original founders is admitted

to be of higher rank than his fellow-*panghulu andiko*, and is called the *putjue' aue*, the "summit" ¹⁴. Descriptions of this kind are also available from the most widely separated areas of Minangkabau and the *rantau*: in Lubue' Sikaping the *panghulu* of the founding family is more influential than the others ¹⁵; in Painan the *putjue'* is always a chief of the original "colonisers" or founders of the *nagari* ¹⁶, etcetera.

Several times we pointed out that there are many local variations in social organisation and in terminology. Whether a *nagari* belongs to the Koto-Piliang or to the Bodi-Tjaniago *adat* is to a great extent decisive for the arrangements within its confines. J o u s t r a ¹⁷ describes the two modes of internal organisation as follows: the government of a Koto-Piliang *nagari* is made up of heads of *parui'* (*kapalo parui'*), the heads of *kampueng* (*panghulu kampueng*) and the heads of the four *suku* (*panghulu nan ka-ampè' suku*). The government of a Bodi-Tjaniago *nagari* consists exclusively of *panghulu andiko*, who correspond to the *panghulu kampueng* in a Koto-Piliang *nagari*. He adds that in Bodi-Tjaniago territories the heads of *parui'* often like to call themselves *panghulu andiko*, thereby usurping a title that actually pertains to chiefs who stand one rank higher in the hierarchy.

V a n V o l l e n h o v e n, as we have seen, describes a territory where *andiko* is specially an appellation for heads of the original *parui'*, and he describes as a typically Koto-Piliang custom that the *kampueng* has its own head, called *putjue'* or *datue' nan ka-ampè* (Literally "Lord of the Four", properly a term for a head of one of the four *suku*), while Bodi-Tjaniago *kampueng* are ruled by the combined heads of the constituent *parui'* ¹⁸.

All agree at any rate that it is typical for Koto-Piliang to have the four *suku*, with a chief each, hierarchically above the *kampueng*, and often a *putjue'* above all as head of the *nagari*.

Another institution hardly ever, if at all, found in Bodi-Tjaniago villages, but common among the Koto-Piliang, is the *urang ampè djinih*, the "men of four kinds" ¹⁹. Where it is encountered this expression refers to a chief and his three assistants. According to J o u s t r a ²⁰ the head of a *suku*, according to Willinck ²¹ the head of a *parui'* (of an "original" *parui'* according to Westenenk) ²² is assisted by three other dignitaries appointed from among his subordinates, and called *manti* (or *pagawai*), *malim*, and *dubalang*. These three, together with their *panghulu*, are the *urang ampè' djinih*. It is not an institution of great importance, and I only mention it as an instance of the dif-

ference between Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago custom. It is no wonder it is said to be absent in Agam, the *luha'* considered to be typically Bodji-Tjaniago ²³.

Some more striking local differences may also be briefly reviewed here. In Bukittinggi, *luha'* Agam, each "family" (i.e. *parui'*) has a *panghulu andiko* as head, the *nagari* is governed by a council, *rapè'*, or *panghulu andiko* ²⁴. This agrees with van Vollenhoven's description of a typical Bodi-Tjaniago *adat*, the *kampueng*, the intermediary units between the *parui'* and the *nagari*, being governed by the combined *parui'* chiefs.

If Agam is considered to be Bodi-Tjaniago, the *luha'* L Koto is always described as the representative of the Koto-Piliang *adat*. Two *nagari* of L Koto may be mentioned :

In Pajokumbueh the head of the *parui'* is called *panghulu andiko* ; there are several such *panghulu andiko* per *kampueng*, and the highest governing body of the *nagari* is a *rapè' ka-IV suku* ²⁵.

Suliki is governed by the *panghulu nan IV suku*; there are *kampueng*, which lack chiefs of their own, but are headed by *panghulu andiko*, the heads of the *parui'* ²⁶.

Although the wording of the descriptions is different, there is a striking resemblance. The fact also emerges that the absence of a distinct *kampueng*-chief is not only to be observed in Bodi-Tjaniago areas, as van Vollenhoven would suggest; at least, if we are to believe this description; Westenenk's "Minangkabausche nagari" (p. 126) gives a quite different picture: the *nagari* is headed by a *putjue'* ; each *suku* by a *panghulu ka-IV suku* (each of whom has three assistants, so that each *suku* has a governing body of *urang IV djinih*), and each *kampueng* by a *panghulu kampueng*; if, as is mostly the case, the *kampueng* is subdivided into *parui'*, each of these is headed by a *kapalo parui'*. It must be said that this description does make a more truly "Koto-Piliang-like" impression.

The third *luha'*, Tanah Data, is supposed to be a territory of "mixed" *adat*, a combination of the two main forms. Three important *nagari* in this district are Solo', Singkara', and Batusangkar.

Solo' has "families", called *suku*, headed by a *panghulu andiko*; frequently the entire *suku* lives together in one dwelling, so that the *panghulu andiko* is one and the same person as the head of the dwelling, the *mama'*. If the *suku* is divided over several houses, this entails the *panghulu andiko* being chief over several *mama'*. The *nagari*

as a whole has a *putjue'* as highest authority; he is one of the *panghulu andiko*, and does not actually rule the others, but is considered as *primus inter pares* ²⁷.

Singkara' has an organisation entirely similar to that of Solo', with the only difference that the "family" is not called *suku* but *kampueng*.

Batusangkar also has *panghulu andiko*; we are not told the name of the genealogical units of which they are the head, but apparently they correspond to the *kampueng*. The *kampueng*, each with their *panghulu andiko*, are grouped together in four *suku*, each with a *panghulu suku*. One of the latter is acknowledged as *putjue'* ²⁸.

The information given by van Ronkel and Pamuntjak ²⁹, that in Agam the head of a *parui'* is generally called *panghulu*, in Tanah Data *tungganai*, does not appear to be borne out by the facts.

From time to time we met with a dignitary called *putjue'*, who acts as head of the *nagari*. It should be noted that in the periphery of the Minangkabau World, in the *rantau*, this *putjue'* is often called *radjo* ³⁰, or, especially in the south, *radjo panghulu* ³¹. So when the word *radjo* is met with, it does not always refer to the former Rulers of Minangkabau, the Jangdipatuans; in fact, in customary sayings it may sometimes even be applied to heads in general, for instance to a *panghulu kampueng* in the Minangkabau nuclear territories ³².

From all data it appears that the framework within which the genealogical groups can be observed is formed by the *nagari*; each *nagari* is, as it were, a miniature replica of the Minangkabau "World" as a whole. This also holds good for the *rantau*, only Indragiri * is explicitly mentioned as having a different organisation ³³. There the *luha'*, the district, takes the place of the *nagari* elsewhere, the *luha'* being governed by a *putjue'* or a council of *suku* chiefs, according to whether it is "unitarian" or "federative", a distinction corresponding to the Minangkabau terms Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago respectively. It is remarkable that in Negri Sembilan, too, we shall find the *luha'* occupying the place of the *nagari* in Minangkabau.

One other characteristic of the *rantau*, in this case the southern marches, may be mentioned, viz. that the conjugal nuclear family,

* It is doubtful whether we may include Indragiri among the *rantau* of Minangkabau. Here again the only measure would be whether the inhabitants consider themselves as Minangkabau or not, and on this point I am not informed.

father, mother, and child, which in Minangkabau plays a very small rôle in an individual's life, and may be said to be frequently quite in abeyance, is of greater importance, and is also more independent of the larger units there ³⁴.

It may be convenient, in view of this welter of possibly rather confusing terms, to summarise the socio-political groups with their chiefs as given by five writers who have more or less thoroughly dealt with Minangkabau social structure. We may add that P a u w's very reliable Bestuursmemorie on L Koto uses the same set of terms as J o u s t r a does for Koto-Piliang *nagari* in general.

The names of the genealogical units are printed in *italics*, the titles of their chiefs in CAPITALS.

J o u s t r a :

- I. *suku* — PANGHULU KA-AMPÈ' SUKU.
- II. *kampueng* (called *suku* in Bodi-Tjaniago areas) — PANGHULU ANDIKO.
- III. *parui'* — KAPALO PARUI', TUNGGANAI, MAMA' RUMAH.
- IV. *kaum* — MAMA'.

W i l k e n :

- I. *suku*.
- II. *kampueng* — KAPALO KAMPUENG.
- III. *parui'* — TUNGGANAI, PANGHULU RUMAH.

W i l l i n c k :

- I. *suku*.
- II.
- III. *parui'* — PANGHULU ANDIKO.
- IV. *djurai* — MAMA'
(a *parui'* is called *sakampueng*, i. e. "forming one *kampueng*", when it consists of several *djurais*, and therefore of several houses, under one common chief).

S c h ä f e r :

- I. *suku*.
- II. *parui'* = *kaum* = *kampueng* — PANGHULU ANDIKO.
- III. *djurai* — MAMA', TUNGGANAI.

van Vollenhoven:

- I. *suku*.
- II. *kampueng* — PANGHULU KAMPUENG
(the PANGHULU KAMPUENG is not actually the head of a *kampueng*, but the most important *parui'* — chief of that *kampueng*).
- III. *parui'* — MAMA' RUMAH, TUNGGANAI
(the MAMA' RUMAH of the original *parui'* is called ANDIKO).
- IV. *djurai*.

The sense in which we ourselves use the terms has already been given in Chapter II. Our terminology will be :

- I. *suku* — PANGHULU KA-AMPÈ' SUKU.
- II. *kampueng* — PANGHULU KAMPUENG.
- III. *parui'* — KAPALO PARUI'.
- IV. *rumah* — MAMA' RUMAH.

We are, however, aware that in some districts the same terms are used in another meaning, or the same units are designated by other terms, or some units may be missing altogether (as the *suku* in Bodi-Tjaniago districts).

These groups we have been describing are not only of importance for Minangkabau government, but also for the regulation of marriage (as will be further discussed in § 2), and as property-owning bodies. As we have remarked, data on the rules of inheritance are far more abundant for Negri Sembilan than for Minangkabau, and will be dealt with more fully in Chapter VIII ; but some Minangkabau facts can be given here.

The most important distinction is that between individual property and communal, or ancestral, property. The latter, *harto pusako*, belongs to a *parui'* (Wilken 54), or to what J o u s t r a calls a "family", which may be either a *parui'* (*kaum*) (J o u s t r a 131), or according to Willinck, to either *djurai* or *parui'* (57). We are probably not far wrong if we explain this discrepancy as follows : if a *parui'* is not split up into *rumah*, it is the property-owning unit. If the whole *parui'* becomes extinct, its property comes under administration of the *kampueng* of which it was a part. If a *parui'* has several *rumah*, each *rumah* has its own property, but on becoming extinct this again becomes *parui'*-property; also goods which were ancestral property before the *parui'* split up into subdivisions are *parui'*-goods, and probably

kept in the communal dwelling of the subdivision that represents the "original" *parui*', the parent body. There are sure to be local variations, which would have to be investigated in the field.

The *harto pusako* is administered by the head of the property-owning unit, and kept in the room of his oldest sister³⁵. He can allot part of it to any female member of the *parui*' who has need of it for herself or her children; by way of exception, men can sometimes also receive a particle of the *harto pusako* for their use, generally ancestral weapons or male ornaments, but only if the women have been provided for. Whoever receives part of the *harto pusako* only has the loan of it, communal ownership is maintained. The ancestral property has for this reason been called a "family aid fund" (Kooresman, quoted by Jousstra)³⁶. It, or part of it, may only be sold in very serious cases, defined by customary sayings: to cover the cost of 1) a funeral of a member of the *parui*', 2) a wedding, 3) repairing the communal dwelling, 4) blood-money demanded by the relatives of a person killed by a *parui*'-member, 5) the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Individual property is called *tjarian* or *pantjarian*, i. e. "earnings".

In case of marriage both spouses will usually bring in some property that they acquired before the wedding. This is called, in the wife's case, (*harto*) *dapatan*, "gainings", in the husband's (*harto*) *pambao(an)*, "goods brought". Both *dapatan* and *pambaoan* can consist of individual earnings (*tjarian*), and of each individual's share of the *pusako* of his or her *parui*'.

In this sector of Minangkabau custom, too, there are local differences in terminology. Korintji for instance uses the term *pamundjangan* for *pambaoan*, *pananti* for *dapatan*, and *pambaoan* for both together³⁷.

Further, husband and wife may acquire property by common effort during marriage. This is called *suarang*. The saying which governs the rules of inheritance is:

suarang baragieh
sakutu babalah
harto pambao kombali
harto dapatan tingga, translated:
 joint earnings are divided
 the partnership is dissolved
 the husband's brought goods return
 the wife's gainings remain³⁸.

The version we find cited by Wilken :

harto dapatan tinggal

harto pambaoan turun

harto suarang diagieh, translated :

the wife's gainings remain

the husband's brought goods are inherited

joint earnings are divided ³⁹,

is not corroborated by any other authority, and is probably incorrect.

The saying we quoted, in its unqualified form, is applied in cases of divorce. When a marriage is dissolved by death, the *suarang* is divided between the survivor and the relatives (*rumah* or *parui'*) of the deceased.

A woman's *pantjarian* is generally devoted in the first place to the benefit of her children, so that in practice it may be said to be inherited by her daughters. (Only if she dies without issue can her property be inherited by her siblings; they are excluded from inheritance by children of the deceased) ⁴⁰. After these daughters' decease it is added to the *harto pusako*; this is a general rule: *harto pantjarian* (of either a man or a woman) once inherited becomes *harto pusako* ⁴¹. Now and again one meets with cases that the *pantjarian* is inherited by the sons to the exclusion of the daughters ⁴². A probable explanation is that the daughters are provided for anyway by the *harto pusako*.

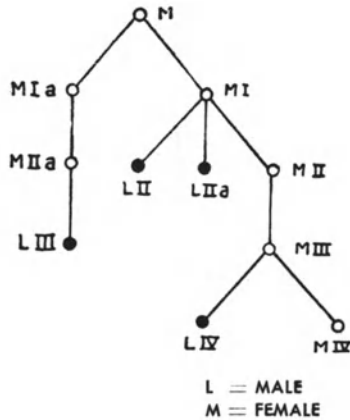
A man's *pambaoan* reverts to his *parui'* (or *rumah*) on his decease. The *pusako* part of it is, of course, immediately added again to the *pusako* stock; the *pantjarian* may not be entirely recoverable, as the deceased, if he had children, may have given considerable amounts of it to his sons during his life. This is obviously a case where strict matrilineal theory is vitiated in practice, with paternal affection undoubtedly playing a part of importance. Those presents of a father to his son are justified by Muslim law, and may take the form of a *hibah*, a legally recognized gift. As this entails a rather complicated procedure one often avoids it, and gives *pantjarian*-earnings to one's sons surreptitiously ⁴³. Custom nowadays approves of such donations to a total of one half of a man's *pantjarian*.

A married man usually stores his *pambaoan* in his wife's room in her family-dwelling. On the news of his death members of his *parui'*,

generally his siblings, gather there to collect the *pusako*-goods which he had been using, and as much of his *pantjarian* as may be left ⁴⁴.

All the data given above refer to portable goods, but land is subject to the same general rule : it may be *tanah pusako*, ancestral land, or *pantjarian*, individually acquired, e. g. by cultivating a plot formerly covered by jungle or shrub. In the latter case the newly cultivated land is inherited once, and then becomes *tanah pusako*. Unfortunately, in the only detailed account on inheritance of fresh clearings obviously a mistake has crept in. The description as it stands is ⁴⁵ :

If L II were the first to bring the plot into cultivation, it would be inherited, on his death, by M I, M II, M IIa, L IIa ; after their death it would come, as *tanah pusako*, to M III, M IV, L IV ; and after their decease to M Ia, M IIa, L III.



We notice that M IIa occurs twice, and this obvious inconsistency is particularly inconvenient as now we cannot make out whether it is only the “branch” to which L II belonged (the descendants of M I) that claims the *pusako*, or all the descendants of M, both branches of what is probably a *parui*’. Possibly here, as with moveables, it is first the “branch” or *rumah*, and afterwards, if the *rumah* has become extinct, the *parui*’.

The rights of a land-owning body on its *tanah pusako* is called *ha’ ulajat*, and may lie with either the *panghulu ka-IV suku*, as in Kota-Piliang districts, or with the *panghulu andiko*, as the *parui*’-chiefs style themselves in Bodi-Tjaniago areas ⁴⁶. When the *ha’ ulajat* is vested in the *panghulu andiko*, this may either mean: in all of them together, as forming the governing council of the *nagari*, or in each separately,

as heads of the *parui*', or exclusively in the *andiko* of the "original" *parui*' of the *nagari*.

Rather different rules prevail depending on whether the land in question is cultivated, uncultivated, or ancient clearings which have reverted to jungle, but these variations do not concern us here.

A peculiar type of ground is formed by stretches of land running along the traditionally fixed boundaries of the *nagari*. They are known as *tanah radjo*, "royal land", and form a veritable no-man's land. No Minangkabau will willingly settle on such ground, and no person or body can claim property rights on it.

Succession is governed by quite different rules than inheritance proper. A tribal function, and the much-prized *gala* (title) that goes with it, is usually inherited first by the chief's brothers in order of age, then by his *kamanakan*, beginning by his oldest sister's oldest son⁴⁷. A variant is mentioned by Verkerk Pistorius⁴⁸, who states that the succession passes first to the deceased dignitary's "oldest nephew on his mother's side" (probably *mo-si-so* is meant), and then to brothers and *kamanakan* respectively. The reason for this apparent contradiction might possibly be that this last datum explicitly refers to the inheritance of the function of *panghulu kapalo kampueng*, the earlier ones to chieftainship in general; it would be quite possible for a chief to belong to one *rumah* or *parui*', and his *mo-si-so* to another, which would automatically render succession of this nephew to the post impossible.

There is some difference between succession in Koto-Piliang and in Bodi-Tjaniago *nagari*: in the former it takes place more or less automatically, deviations from the rules only occurring if the successor designated by custom is obviously unfit for the post; in the latter, a functionary has some powers to indicate whom he would like to have appointed as his successor after his death.

A more important deviation from the otherwise prevailing primogeniture and unilineal succession is the *adat sansako* already referred to, and occurring in different parts of the country. In this way we find that sometimes the *gala* of a *suku* chief devolves upon a member of each *kampueng* of that *suku* in succession⁴⁹. In Batusangkar the position of *panghulu suku* can be filled by men from each "*kaum*" in rotation, the position of *kapalo parui*' by the various *tungganai* (*rumah* chiefs) in rotation⁵⁰. In the same way van Vollenhoven says that if several *parui*' have one common chief, he is a man from each

of the *parui* in succession ⁵¹. This is said to apply to Agam, but also to Rau and Kampar ⁵². In Lubue' Sikaping the function of *radja* was fulfilled by men of each of the branches (here called *baris*) of the ruling family in succession ⁵³; and in Painan the heads of the *kaum* (comparable with the *kampueng* elsewhere) are men from each of the *parui*, the heads of the *nagari* men from each of the *kaum* in rotation ⁵⁴. Our opinion on the significance of this custom will be given in § 5 of this chapter.

Finally it may be noted that the Minangkabau notion of nobility is connected with that of customary office. The nobles, perhaps better styled "patricians" or "upper classes" (in Minangkabau *urang baie'*, "good people", or *urang patui'*, "decent people") form a loosely-defined class of people whose main characteristic is a sense of their own importance, derived from their own, or their close relatives', *panghulu* dignity. They try to avoid *mésalliances* with the *urang banja'*, οἱ πολλοί.

§ 2. Circulating connubium.

The fundamental rule governing marriage relations is matrilineal exogamy; but what are the exogamous units? Here again we meet with local variations, the contrast between Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago, and a conflict between ideal and practice. Actually the *parui* are usually the units within which one may not marry, but which may intermarry mutually. This certainly holds good for those Bodi-Tjaniago districts where the *parui* is the largest functioning unit within the *nagari*. Intermarriage of smaller units, *djurai* or *rumah*, within one *parui* is universally and severally condemned. Also in *nagari* where *kampueng* and *suku* are met with, the *parui* often act as largest exogamous units, so that marriage between a man and a woman belonging to different *parui* but to the same *suku*, or even *kampueng*, not infrequently occur ⁵⁵; but in this case such a marriage seems to be more or less in the nature of a concession to everyday men and women, who never can be expected to live up to the theoretically formulated ideal. The ideal is that *kampueng*, too, impose exogamy on their members. It may even happen that in one and the same territory some *kampueng* enforce this demand for marriage outside the *kampueng*, while others are more lax in this matter.

In Pangkalan Koto Baru, for instance, the *kampueng* Piliang, Domo, and Tjaniago are rigidly exogamous, while Patapang, Malaju, and

Mandéling are content as long as the *parui*'-exogamy is maintained ⁵⁶. But not only the *kampueng*, but even "related" *kampueng* should, according to the ideal, not permit marriages between their members ⁵⁷. These "related" *kampueng* form the four *kampueng* groups or *suku*, and a trace of *suku*-exogamy is found e.g. in Suliki, where inter-marriage of Djamba' and Patapang, and of Gutji and Piliang are forbidden ⁵⁸; we know that in Suliki one of the four *suku* comprises Koto, Piliang, Pisang, Tandjung, Pajobada, Pagatjantjang, Sikumbang, Gutji and Simabue, and another Patapang, Kotianjer, Djamba', Salo, Banuhampu ⁵⁹. Actually, however, *suku*-exogamy seems seldom to be enforced, and *kampueng*-exogamy is the most we can expect to find.

More detailed marriage-regulations are the prohibition of marriage between a man and a woman and, at the same time, that woman's mo-si or fa-si or sister ; also prohibited is marriage with divorced wife's sister ⁶⁰. This first two prohibitions also prevail in Islamic law (being based on Koran IV:27), but need not be attributed to Muslim influence exclusively. The underlying principle appears to be an aversion to marriage of one man with two women from the same *parui*' (or *kampueng*) simultaneously, whether such a marriage be polygynous or after a divorce.

The prohibition of marriage between foster-siblings, mentioned by Fay-Cooper Cole ⁶¹, is however purely Islamic, and is not given as part of the *adat* by any other author ⁶².

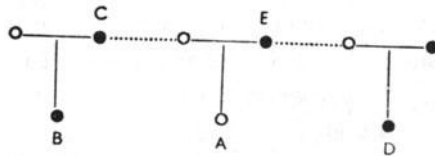
Marriage between parallel-cousins is definitely prohibited ⁶³, even if it be between children of two brothers, although matrilineally they would not be related to one another.

Willinck also remarks on the prohibition of marriage between a man and his sister-in-law ⁶⁴, and a woman and her brother-in-law. He thinks this is Islamic as well, as Minangkabau custom "does not recognize affinity". This last statement is incorrect, and the prohibition in question is one preventing brother and sister exchange. Incidentally, this rule probably also explains the legend of the settling of Rau ⁶⁵. The legend is that a man, Radjo Sjahbandar, and his sister Putri Intan Biludu, of *kampueng* Djamba', were married to Putri Sangkaban and Sutan Nuralam of *kampueng* Mandéling, who were also brother and sister. As their "families objected to the match" the two couples fled from Pagarrujueng, where they lived, to Rau, and so became the first colonisers in this *rantau*. The reason for the family's "objection" may well have been the very fact that by the marriages,

entailing brother and sister exchange, a serious breach of *adat* was committed.

So far we have only mentioned prohibitions. Favoured matches are those with cross-cousins, and from some data it would appear that marriage with *mo-br-da* or with *fa-si-da* are equally acceptable. This is said by Loebl for instance⁶⁶, but his data are not always reliable. More explicit is van Eerde⁶⁷, who says that the ideal match for a girl (A) is the son (B) of her *mama'* (C), or the *kamanakan* (D) of her father (E). (See diagram).

This obviously refers to symmetrical cross-cousin marriage. On the other hand there are many indications that, although nowadays marriage with *fa-si-da* is considered very acceptable, at least in some parts of the country, the really ideal marriage, and the one that underlies the Minangkabau social structure, is the e.c.c.m. In the first place there is always and everywhere the important rôle of the *mama'* in the life



of his *kamanakan*, while the *fa-si-husband*, who would be an important personage as future father-in-law if symmetrical c.c.m. was the custom, hardly ever emerges from the background, and is never the object of a pronounced, culturally conditioned, affective relationship, as the *mama'* certainly is.

Also, in the *kaba*, the traditional stories and legends of Minangkabau (which often take the form of epic poems), it is always the e.c.c.m. that we meet with, and which is accepted as a matter of course; the *mama'* is always the father-in-law. Whether we read the *Kaba Tjindue Mato*⁶⁸, or the *Kaba Mama' Si Hélong*⁶⁹, or any other, we are always confronted with the same pattern.

Then again, when a modern Minangkabau explains the customary saying "*manjalahkan djangdjang*", he makes it clear by referring to the dislike of marriage with *fa-si-da*. The explanation that is given for this dislike is that if a divorce occurs, it is always disagreeable for a man to visit his divorced wife's relatives. But in case of *fa-si-da* marriage, the "in-laws" would be his nearest relatives in his father's *parui*, so that he would be forced to avoid them. Now this explanation

would appear to be a rationalization, but the fact remains that in parts, at least, of Minangkabau even to-day the fa-si-da marriage is not considered right. We even have an informant who mentioned cases in which mo-br-da marriage is obligatory: if a young man has a married *mama'*, then the latter must (*sic* !) offer the daughter to whom his wife may possibly give life, to his nephew ⁷⁰. I do not think it too rash to conclude that the e.c.c.m. is the ideal and basic form of marriage in Minangkabau.

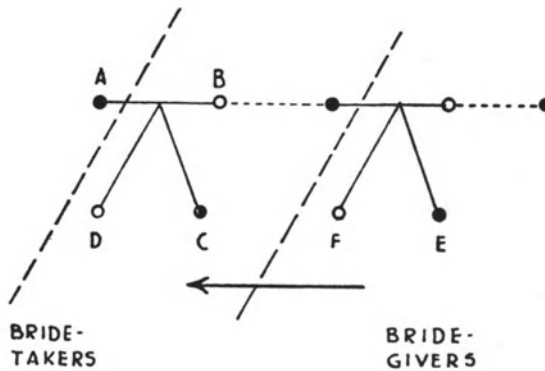
The fact that marriage with fa-si-da is nowadays considered perfectly correct need not vitiate this conclusion, as the Minangkabau social organisation allows quite considerable latitude in many particulars, as long as certain basic prohibitions (in this case : *parui'*, *kam-pueng*-, or *suku*-exogamy) are respected ; and also in other cultures one frequently meets with cases in which the system may demand e.c.c.m., but fa-si-da marriage is nevertheless also met with ⁷¹.

The marriage is not simply an affair between individuals, but forms a connubial relationship between the matrilineal clans. This is of prime importance, and can be proved in many ways. In the first place there is a strong tendency to preserve the link between two clans which is forged by marriage : a man's marriage to his deceased wife's sister, or with his brother's widow, is considered highly desirable. This is attested to by various authors ⁷². The outlying district of Rawas supplies the only exception — probably the one that proves the rule — as prohibiting marriage with deceased wife's sister ⁷³. The levirate and sororate, so esteemed in all other parts of Minangkabau, are both called *manjiliehkan* or *manggantikan lapie'*, "to exchange one's sleeping-mat" ⁷⁴.

Furthermore we have seen in an earlier chapter that for a circulating connubium the participation of at least three clans is needed ; and, even if there are more clans to join in the connubial ring, each individual always has to deal with three clans of greater importance to him than all the others : his own, the one from which he gets his wife, and the one from which his sisters get their husbands ; with other words : his own clan, the bride-giving clan, and the bride-taking clan. In social systems with circulating connubium there are often special terms to designate not only one's own group but also the two others with which one stands in close relationship. In this way the Batak use the words *hulahula* and *boru*, the Sumbanese *loka* and *doma*, etc. to designate bride-givers and bride-takers respectively ⁷⁵. This is

also the cases in Minangkabau, where there are the words *sumando* for the bride-taking and *pasumandan* for the 'bride-giving groups'⁷⁶. There is also the expression *urang bako*, used to indicate one's father's matrilineal relatives, who in their turn call the children of their male kinsman *ana' pisang*. In circulating connubium the word *bako* would also serve to indicate the bride-taking group, who call the children of their bride-givers *ana' pisang*. The diagram below illustrates this:

E and F call B, C, D, (and, of course, other fa-br, fa-si, and fa-si-children) *bako*, the latter call E and F *ana' pisang*. Now it has often been observed that in Indonesia (to confine ourselves to this single area) a circulating system entails superiority of the bride-giving over



the bride-taking group, and that, for Indonesia at least, no exceptions appear to occur⁷⁷. The Batak *hulahula*, for instance, call their *boru*-group their "perpetual slaves"; in Tanimbar the analogous group of *nduwe* say that their *uranak* (bride-takers) "prepare our palm-wine for us", and so forth⁷⁸. When we see, then, that in Minangkabau the *bako*-group are obviously subservient to the *ana' pisang*, the most satisfactory explanation is offered by the circulative connubial system, in which the *urang bako* are the bride-takers, and the *ana' pisang* represent the bride-givers.

We are told that during the wedding period the husband's relatives show marked benevolence towards the wife's⁷⁹; it is said to be the duty of the *urang bako* "always to aid the family of their daughter-in-law"⁸⁰; they always grant the seat of honour in their own communal dwelling to members of their *pasumandan*-group⁸¹. They are always very respectful towards the *ana' pisang*, and at various ceremonies they are

supposed to give presents to them, among others at the ceremony of the first cutting of the child's hair ⁸². Conversely, the *ana' pisang* may make rude or sarcastic remarks to his or her *urang bako*, who are supposed to take them in good part ⁸³.

Incidentally, we may remark that this appears to be the only pronounced case of a joking relationship in Minangkabau. L o e b says that there is a joking relationship comprising practically all members of another *suku* than one's own ⁸⁴, but this relationship would appear to be of much less importance and not highly institutionalised. He makes another rather positive statement on this matter in an article in "Anthropos" ⁸⁵, when he speaks of a kind of avoidance custom between male and female members of the same *suku*, and a kind of joking relationship between marriageable men and women of different *suku*. It seems to me, however, that this writer has been attempting to suggest a connection between joking relationship and avoidance customs on the one hand, and permitted or prohibited marriage on the other, without too much regard for actual facts; for it is an indubitable fact that, if not the only, then certainly the most important avoidance custom in Minangkabau is between parents-in-law and their sons-in-law (between *mantuo* and *binantu*, in the Minangkabau language) ⁸⁶, so between members of different *suku*.

An important part of Indonesian marriage ceremonies is often the exchange of presents between the bride's and the bridegroom's genealogical groups, and frequently the goods exchanged grant us a revealing insight into the nature of the social organisation as it is. Unfortunately Minangkabau data on this point are very incomplete; on Negri Sembilan they are slightly more substantial, and we shall therefore return to this point in Chapter VIII. Practically the only explicit information on the demands of the *adat* as to gift exchange is that the presents of both parties should be, as far as possible, of equal value, and that there should be true reciprocity: *djoko' diudji samo mérah*,

djoko' dikati samo barè',

djoko' diukue samo pandjang,

djoko' dibidang samo lawèh,

i. e. : "when they are tested they should be equally red,

"when weighed, equally heavy,

"when measured, equally long,

"when surveyed, equal in surface" ⁸⁷.

If we may consider it proved that the Minangkabau social system ideally implies a circulating connubium of at least three clans, we must, finally, deal with the question : what forms the limits within which this connubium functions, *nagari*, *luha'* or *Alam Minangkabau* in its entirety ? This amounts to the same thing as asking : what, if the *parui'*, *kampueng* and *suku* are exogamous, is the endogamous unit, if any ? F a y - C o o p e r C o l e makes the very positive statement "the *nagari* is endogamous" ⁸⁸. Now this statement as a description of present-day fact is incorrect: in practice marriage within the *nagari* is not demanded, marriage outside it is not punished, nor are marriages outside one's own *nagari* infrequent. We do agree, though, that *nagari* endogamy was, in all probability, formerly the rule, and it is still considered ideal in several parts of the country. We know for a certainty that e. g. the *nagari* Koto Gadang (near Bukittinggi) demands local endogamy, and that legal action was brought to bear on a girl of this village who violated the rule ⁸⁹. In the *luha'* L Koto some *nagari* are explicitly stated to be endogamous in the Bestuursmemorie by J. P a u w, who further notes that in such *nagari* the *parui'*, and not the *kampueng*, form the exogamous bodies ⁹⁰.

L o e b, too, is of the opinion that *nagari*-endogamy was formerly obligatory, at least in cases when the bride was a virgin. This proviso fits in well with Minangkabau custom, as in general a girl's first marriage is considered of great importance, so that the many ceremonies connected with such a wedding are usually punctiliously carried out ; while the re-marriage of a divorcée or widow arouses less interest, the choice of mates in the latter case is also more a question of personal choice and less of what is considered desirable by the *adat*, and a greater freedom from traditional restrictions and ceremonial prevails ⁹¹. What may also be an indication of preference for *nagari*-endogamy is the custom, observed in *luha'* Tanah Data : women of the *nagari* Solo' may only marry men from the *nagari* Talang, Kinari, Saningbaka, Sao' Lawèh, and Tandjung Bali' ⁹². Now here, too, further information is lacking just where we need it ; all we can say is that these *nagari* do not border on one another. If they should prove to be related (Solo' being the "mother-*nagari*", the others the "daughters", i.e. founded by settlers originally from Solo') the custom would also be a rule of endogamy, only extended to related *nagari* as well. But even if this should not prove to be the case, it does at least point to a tendency to keep the marriage ring functioning within a limited extent of territory,

as is the case with the, even in recent times not infrequent, true *nagari*-endogamy.

§ 3. The four *suku*.

If we accept the evidence that Minangkabau social organisation is based on an ideal pattern of circulating connubium, functioning within the confines of each *nagari*, we have now to answer the question : how many clans does the system recognize as participating in the connubial ring ? So far we limited ourselves to saying that there must be "at least three". Further investigation shows that the actual number was four.

In the first place, all legends on the origin of Minangkabau refer to the two ancestors, Kjai Katumanggungan and Parapatih nan Sabatang, whose followers were grouped together in the *larèh* Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago respectively ⁹³ ; so each *larèh* bore a double name, and each half-name : Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Tjaniago is the name of a *suku*, a word that itself also means "leg of an animal", or "quarter". Nowadays too the word *suku* indicates the four original clans, as stated by J o u s t r a, among others ⁹⁴.

J. P. h. D u y v e n d a k considers the four-*suku* organisation of such interest that in his "Inleiding tot de Ethnologie van de Indische Archipel" (Introduction to the Ethnology of the Indian Archipelago) he calls his chapter on Minangkabau after it : "Quadripartition in Minangkabau".

V a n V o l l e n h o v e n also accepts this division into four *suku* as an institution of basic importance for the Minangkabau social system, and compares it with rather similar forms of quadripartition elsewhere, viz. in Atjeh ⁹⁵.

On the other hand a fact to be well noted is that nowadays Bodi, Tjaniago, etc. not only designate *suku*, but also *kampueng*, the units which at present can best be described as clans. There are 96 of them, according to W e s t e n e n k ; some of them occur in only one or two *nagari*, others practically in all Minangkabau. The most frequently met with are Koto, Piliang, Tjaniago, Malaju, Sikumbang, Tandjueng, Pajobada, Djamba', Mandéling, Bèndang, Patapang, and Kutianjie ⁹⁶. There are two manners in which the original four *suku* developed into such a large amount of "sub-*suku*" or *kampueng*: subdivision and immigration. Subdivision has been described in V e t h and V a n H a s s e l t's "Midden-Sumatra" ⁹⁷.

Supposing, V a n H a s s e l t says, that people belonging to *suku* Piliang settle in a strange *nagari* ; they then usually add the name of their original village as a distinctive mark to their *suku* name, and call themselves e. g. Piliang Kumpai. Gradually the non-distinctive "Piliang" drops off, and they are only designated as "Kumpai". In this way a new *suku*, or rather *kampueng*, Kumpai is born.

Immigration as a factor that forms new *kampueng* is attested to by the names of many *kampueng*, which are territorial designations. The most striking examples are "Malaju", i. e. Malay, and "Mandéling", a district in the Batak lands; this serves to show how settlers in Minangkabau, if they were not for ever to remain in the unpleasant position of utter outsiders, had to conform to Minangkabau structure in order to fit in, and either seek adoption into an existing Minangkabau *kampueng*, or form a new *kampueng* for themselves ⁹⁸. In the case of Mandéling we can even, as it were, see the Batak immigrants from the north spreading out over Minangkabau: the Minangkabau territory was under the Dutch administration divided into 17 "*onderafdelingen*" ; and from W e s t e n e n k's statistics we can see that Mandéling is present in these *onderafdelingen* that form a more or less straight line from the fringe of the Batak territory southward, while it does not occur in the four which more or less bulge out westwards (Agam, Manindjau, Palambajan, and Padang-Pandjang), nor in the three in the extreme south (Supajang, Alahan Pandjang, and Muaro Labu) ⁹⁹. In Negeri Sembilan *kampueng* (there always *suku*) based on a common country of origin are even the rule.

So we have seen that the present day situation is that the original four *suku* have multiplied until 96 *kampueng* can be observed, but that conversely these *kampueng* * are traditionally grouped together into four *kampueng*-phratries, again called *suku*. Now it is worth mentioning that these four *suku* not only go by the names of Bodi, Tjaniago, Koto, and Piliang, but also by more prosaic terms, denoting the number of *kampueng* united in each *suku*. In many *nagari* of L Koto, for instance, the *suku* are called: "Nine", "Five", "Four" and "Six Ancestresses", usually written "IX (etc.) Ninie'", or "Nan IX", "Nan V", etc. Sometimes this new nomenclature runs

* At least, the *kampueng* which occur in districts where the four-*suku* organisation still functions. This is not always the case in Bodi-Tjaniago *nagari*, as we have seen (p. 52).

parallel to the traditional one, so that Adatrechtbundels XXXIII can state that Nan IX corresponds to Koto, and Nan V, IV, and VI or VII with Piliang, Bodi, and Tjaniago respectively ¹⁰⁰; but in most cases we notice the remarkable fact that the old *suku*, Koto, Piliang, etc. are not divided evenly over the new, Nan V etc., but bunched together two by two. In this way we find, to take a random example, that *nagari* Gugue consists of Nan IX, Nan V, Nan IV, and Nan VI. *Suku* Nan IX comprises the *kampueng* : Koto, Piliang, Simabue, Sikumbang, Sipisang, Pajobada, Tandjueng, Paga Tjantjang, and Dalimo ;

Nan V : Djamba', Patapang, Kutianjie, Salo, Banuhampu ;

Nan IV : Malaju, Mandéling, Bèndang, Kampai ;

Nan VI : Bodi, Tjaniago, Sipandjang, Singkueng, Simagè', Tjapue' Napa ¹⁰¹.

The data supplied by De Rooy on L Koto ¹⁰², and by Wil-
linck on Minangkabau in general ¹⁰³, are substantially in agreement with this outline.

This other form of quadripartition also finds its justification in legends dealing with the primeval settlements in Minangkabau : in the very earliest times, even before the first kings of Minangkabau had arrived in the country, there were four *suku* chiefs in the *nagari* Kumanih : Nie' Papatih (i. e. Parapatih) of suku Tjaniago, Nie' Katomanggungan of Malaju, Radjo Mangawa of Piliang, and Nie' Paduko of Patapang ¹⁰⁴. The legend then goes on to tell of the honour paid to Papatih nan Sabatang by the newly-arrived king, an honour shared by the *nagari* as a whole. It will be noted that the original Kumanih *suku* are drawn from each of the present-day *suku*, Nan IX, V, IV and VI.

Before we attempt to explain the discrepancy between the two forms which the four-*suku* organisation can assume, we would like to point out that the quadripartition as such is at any rate maintained. This appears to be the case in all parts of Minangkabau where *suku* are recognized at all, both in the eastern and in the western *rantau*, and in the *darè'*. In the Painan area in the west there are six *suku*, Malaju, Panai, Kampai, Sikumbang, Djamba' and Tjaniago, but the last three are grouped together as *Tigo larèh*, so that again four groups emerge : Malaju, Panai, Kampai, and Tigo larèh ¹⁰⁵. In exactly the same way the eastern *rantau* of Batang Hari has six *suku* which yet re-group to form a four-*suku* configuration. The *suku* are Malaju,

Panai, Kampai, Piliang, Tjaniago, and Patapang, but here again the three latter *suku* together form a unit, called Tigo larèh ¹⁰⁶.

Native *adat* explicitly recognizes the four-*suku* configuration as ideal pattern, as is evident from the saying *nagari barampè' suku, ampè' suku sakoto* ¹⁰⁷; (a *nagari* contains four *suku*, four *suku* make up one village); and Willen's hypothesis that originally each *nagari* consisted of one *suku* is almost certainly incorrect * ¹⁰⁸.

Now why do the two forms of quadripartition in Minangkabau not coincide? In the first place we would like to point out that to a certain extent they do: if we compare the grouping given by de Rooy ¹¹⁰:

Nan IX: Koto, Piliang, Pisang, Tandjueng, Pajobada, Pagatjantjang, Sikumbang, Gutji, Simabue;

Nan V: Patapang, Kutianjie, Djamba', Salo, Banuhampu;

Nan IV: Malaju, Mandéling, Bèndang, Kampai;

Nan VI: Bodi, Tjaniago, Sipandjang, Singkueng, Panjalai, Lubue' Batang;

with that given by Willinck ¹¹¹:

1. Malaju, Mandéling, Kampai, Bèndang, Adji, Domo, Panai;

2. Bodi, Tjaniago, Djamba', Mandaliko, Sipandjang, Panjalai, Kutianjie, Lubue' Batang;

3. Patapang, Simabue, Pauh;

4. Koto, Piliang, Tandjueng, Sikumbang, Paga Tjangtjang, Pajobada, Gutji, Dalimo, Sapisan;

and both with the situation registered in Padang in 1839 ¹¹²:

Koto-Piliang: Koto, Tandjueng, Balai Masiang, Malaju;

Bodi-Tjaniago: Djamba', Mandaliko, Lamagèh, Pangalu;

it will become apparent that the Koto-Piliang-Bodi-Tjaniago grouping imposes itself on the other, certain *kampueng* being associated with each of the phratries Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago, even if they themselves do not share with Koto and Piliang the membership of Nan IX, or with Bodi and Tjaniago that of Nan VI ¹¹³.

* In the light of the evidence to hand Willinck's supposition ¹⁰⁹ that the town of Padang, which recognizes eight *suku*, is the product of a merging of two original *nagari*, is not *a priori* unreasonable; whether it is actually correct is another matter, however.

Still, the fact remains that Bodi and Tjaniago, Koto and Piliang are grouped together in the "Nan" system. There are two probable reasons for this : the first, that the coupling together of Bodi and Tjaniago, Koto and Piliang had so long been sanctioned by usage and had become so familiar, that when gradually, with the increase in the number of *kampueng*, a re-shuffle took place, they more or less automatically were considered to belong, two by two, together. It may be remarked that the *kampueng* with the most strikingly "foreign" names, Malaju and Mandéling, are always classed together. It may well be that it was considered an anomaly to have these obvious aliens incorporated in the true-blue Minangkabau four-*suku* configuration, so that they, and other immigrants' *kampueng*, were first kept apart, while later on the four-*suku* system manifested itself anew, including the *parvenus*, but separating them from the traditional indigenous *kampueng*.

The other possible explanation is connected with exogamy rules. According to legend, Kjai Katumanggungan originally divided the Minangkabau nation into two sections (Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago), and no-one was permitted to marry within his own section, "besides the Regent of Menangkabo" ¹¹⁴. This phratry-exogamy was no longer met with in historical times, but the groups Nan IX, Nan V etc. certainly were, and in some parts still are, exogamous ¹¹⁵. It is possible that the traditional ideal, if not the actual fact, of phratry exogamy exerted its influence in the re-shuffle which resulted in the Nan organisation, Koto and Piliang, not being allowed to intermarry according to the phratry rule, coming together into a new group, Nan IX, which also prohibits intermarriage of its members (and the same with Bodi-Tjaniago, *mutatis mutandis*).

A final remark on present-day *kampueng* names: Przyluski ¹¹⁶ says that before the era of North-Indian Mahâyânic influence in Indonesia, there was a period of South-Indian Saiwa penetration, which left its traces, i. a., in "Sumatran clan names". Examples given are : Choliya, derived from Chola ; Pandiya, from Pândya ; Meliyala, from Malayalâm ; and Pelawi, from Pallawa. It may be as well to state here that these names do *not* occur in Minangkabau. Przyluski's data are taken from an article by J ou s t r a ¹¹⁷ — later discussed by H. K e r n ¹¹⁸ — in which the presence of these South-Indian names is noted among the Karo-Batak, and among them only.

§ 4. Phratries.

I hope the preceding § has convincingly shown that ideally the circulating connubium is shared in by four *suku*; in the course of the *exposé* we noticed several times that Koto and Piliang, Bodi and Tjaniago are supposed to belong together, and we already ventured to call these two groups "phratries". We shall now try to show that they were not only called so because they form a group of clans traditionally belonging together, but also because they do in fact show all the typical characteristics of phratries in a dual organisation, which H e l d has summed up in the expression "hostile friendship" ¹¹⁹. At the same time we shall see to what extent the phratries can be said to function in modern Minangkabau. We preferred not to call Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago "moieties", because, although they do bisect the entire community, they do not consist of clans that are, at present, genealogically related.

The phratry-organisation takes us back to legendary times. It is said to have been instituted by the two ancestors, Kjai Katumanggungan and Datue' Parapatih nan Sabatang. There are different versions of the tales about their descent and adventures; the one given by Willinck is ¹²⁰: the first King of Minangkabau, Sri Maharadjo, married Indo Tjalita, their son was Parapatih. Later Indo Tjalita married a smith, Tjaté Bilang Pandai, and from this marriage a daughter, Putri Zamilau, and a son, Katumanggungan, were born. In this version we meet with Parapatih as the oldest son, and the one of bluest blood; in the version related by N e t s c h e r ¹²¹, too, Parapatih is the eldest. There are however, other legends in which it is the other way round, Katumanggungan being the eldest, and sometimes also the more aristocratic of the two half-brothers, as in that case Parapatih is the son of a man "of lesser rank", though of the same mother. So in various versions of the same story ¹²² there is already a continual struggle for supremacy between the two ancestors, neither is universally considered superior to the other in birth. (There are also yet other versions, in which Parapatih and Katumanggungan, together with a Radjo Mangawa and Nie' Paduko were already chieftains before Maharadjo Diradjo — i.e. Sri Maharadjo — arrived in Minangkabau ¹²³; or in which the first Minangkabau were of the generation of Katumanggungan's and Parapatih's *mama'*) ¹²⁴.

According to the legend given by Willinck¹²⁵, Parapatih as a young man goes on a long journey. After his return he marries his half-sister, Putri Zamilau, without knowing her for whom she is. When, after some time, they come to know of their being blood-relations there is such horror at the incest that Parapatih and Katumanggungan (or Katumanggungan alone)¹²⁶ divide the Minangkabau into two parts, Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago, and rule that henceforth nobody may marry within his own group.

Another form of the legend, found in a *pantun*, a short verse¹²⁷, has it that the bipartition is a result of a quarrel between the two primeval legislators, but this is not the usual explanation. All stories do agree that later on there was a long-drawn-out struggle between the two¹²⁸. It was a real ding-dong battle with, according to the source just quoted, Koto-Piliang finally gaining the upper hand. In parts of Minangkabau (and, in fact, in Negri Sembilan) one can still see monoliths pierced by a round hole, the so-called *batu batikam*, or "stabbed stones". The explanation given is that, during the period of strife, both antagonists drew their swords and thrust them into a stone, crying "Thus, too, I shall stab my adversary"¹²⁹. In spite of this enmity during their lifetime, the two great leaders, when near to death, exhorted their followers to preserve their unity. Katumanggungan's last message to his partisans was that Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago belong together in perpetuity¹³⁰; one writer gives a fuller report of what he is supposed to have said on this occasion: the two parties must remain together, for "Bodi-Tjaniago pays our taxes, decorates our *balai*, and *mandirikan karadjoan kito*; *adapun mandirikan pajueng Koto-Piliang hanjo Bodi-Tjaniago*"¹³¹. The last sentence may best be translated: "..... and forms the foundation of our rule; it is only Bodi-Tjaniago that sets up the umbrella* of Koto-Piliang". A well-known customary saying also expresses the way in which Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago are always united: *Datue' Katumanggungan punjo karadjoan, Datue' Parapatih punjo pajueng* i. e. Katumanggungan is the possessor of the kingship, Parapatih is the possessor of the (royal) umbrella¹³².

All this is extremely typical for a phratry-relationship: the frequently sharp rivalry, with nevertheless an underlying sense of unity,

* The umbrella used as symbol of sovereignty.

as one cannot exist without the other, and the co-operation of both is needed to make up the total community. A striking illustration of this interlocking is afforded by the custom that when, in Koto-Piliang territory, a *panghulu* had to be punished according to *adat*, the sentence was pronounced by "panghulu of Bodi-Tjaniago" ¹³³. Also, the council-hall of Tabé', in Koto-Piliang territory, was the meeting-place of the Bodi-Tjaniago dignitaries ¹³⁴.

Now it has frequently been observed that the opposition between two phratries serves as a *point d'appui* for an all-pervading dichotomy, by which the most diverse phenomena are classified in either of the two groups; and so the phratry-dualism can coincide with contrasts such as: heaven—earth, male—female, light—darkness, etc. In Minangkabau such a dualism also appears, influencing many spheres of Minangkabau society. One of the earliest Netherlands-Indies government officials in Minangkabau, De Stuers, was already struck by this dualism. In a report of 1825 he described the "two larasses or tribes (*geslachten*), called laras Bodi-tjieniago and laras Kotta-pilihan", and went on to say "the distinction between these tribes is scrupulously observed, and brought forward with undescribable jealousy in all circumstances" ¹³⁵. Some of the shapes this dualism assumes are as follows: we have noted the proverb *Datue' Katumanggungan punjo karadjoan, Datue' Parapatih punjo pajueng* ¹³⁶; a possible interpretation is: Katumanggungan holds the temporal power, Parapatih the area over which the power extends. A less cryptic saying attributes to Katumanggungan sway over salt, to Parapatih over fresh water ¹³⁷, that is to say, over the coast and the interior respectively (a contrast also met with in other areas).

Katumanggungan is often more closely associated with the Minangkabau kings than Parapatih; one legend makes Katumanggungan recognize the new rulers, while Parapatih remained "republican" ¹³⁸. Also Parapatih is said to have founded the customary law, *adat*, and Katumanggungan Muslim law, *shara'* ¹³⁹. In the last two cases Katumanggungan was associated each time with a form of patrilineal organisation, so that possibly a contrast male—female is also latent here. There is also a legend that contrasts Katumanggungan's and Parapatih's attitudes towards crime: Datue' Katumanggungan demanded an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but Parapatih persuaded him to accept a fine in lieu of retaliation ¹⁴⁰. This brings us to the present-day differences between the two phratries, for there is a clearly recog-

nized distinction between the *adat Katumanggungan* and the *adat Parapatih*. One of the differences is just this attitude towards crimes and torts, the *adat Parapatih* striving after a reparation of the damage done, the *adat Katumanggungan* demanding vengeance.

A fundamental *adat Katumanggungan* rule is (in Malay) :

siapa berhutang siapa membajar

siapa salah siapa bertimbang

siapa bunuh siapa kena bunuh, in translation :

The debtor shall quit the debt,

The sinner shall pay the forfeit,

The slayer shall be slain.

Adat Parapatih says : *Tjèntjang berpampas, bunuh berbalas* ;

....., *Anak-buah disorongkan balas*,¹⁴¹

i. e. : Whoso wounds shall atone, whoso slays shall replace,

..... Sending a clansman to replace the slain.

In matters of government Bodi-Tjaniago may be styled more egalitarian, Koto-Piliang more autocratic. We have already seen in § 1 of this chapter, how a Bodi-Tjaniago *nagari* is governed by the *kapalo parui'* together, while Koto-Piliang villages have a hierarchy, ranging from the *kapalo parui'* upwards to the *panghulu nan ka-IV suku* and sometimes the *putjue'*. The *balai* or council hall in which those chiefs hold their meetings reflect the same difference in spirit : a Bodi-Tjaniago *balai* has a level floor, so that, as the proverb says of the *panghulu*, "when they sit they are equally low, when they stand they are equally tall" ; a Koto-Piliang *balai* has a raised dais at each end for the heads of the hierarchy¹⁴².

The *adat Parapatih* and *Katumanggungan* also differ in the way they regulate the succession to a function in the village community, *adat Katumanggungan* entailing a more or less automatic replacement of a dignitary by his successor, while *adat Parapatih* gives more scope to the principle of discussion and election¹⁴³.

During the reign of the Minangkabau kings, the two *adat* also differed in the way an individual could appeal against a sentence of the chiefs of his own village. According to Koto-Piliang *adat* the procedure was : appeal to a *rapè' salarèh* (meeting of a federation of *nagari*) ; next to the *rapè' saluha'*, then to the Bandaharo of Sungai Taro'. Then to the Radjo Adat, and finally to the Jangdipatuan him-

self. According to the Bodi-Tjaniago custom, the procedure was to appeal to a *rapè'* of all Bodi-Tjaniago, taking place in the *balai* of Tabè', instead of to the Bandaharo ¹⁴⁴. In this way more examples could be summed up, but the given examples may suffice.

Each *nagari* is considered to be either Koto-Piliang or Bodi-Tjaniago, depending on whether the *adat Parapatih* or *adat Katumangungan* prevails. There are no large compact areas of either *adat*, but *nagari* of both *adat* are scattered in a rather random fashion. It is true that *luha'* Agam is supposed to be Bodi-Tjaniago, L Koto, Koto-Piliang, and Tanah Data "mixed", but this is more a generalisation than an actual description of fact; one gets the impression that all three *luha'* are pretty well "mixed", with indeed some preponderance of Bodi-Tjaniago *nagari* in Agam, and of Koto-Piliang in L Koto. Unfortunately we cannot plot out the areas of each *adat* in detail, as the most recent information of large scope dates from 1715 ¹⁴⁵. In this report, reprinted in Stapel's article, a list of 33 "Tziniago" and 28 "Cotta-Duplian" *nagari* and territories is given. Even allowing for a number of mistakes and changes (e. g. Agam can hardly have been Koto-Piliang), it yet shows that both *adat* are scattered fairly evenly over all Minangkabau ¹⁴⁶.

Leyds has mapped the area of the two *adat* in Tanah Data, from which it appears that the residences of the Basa IV Balai (see Chapter II) form an *enclave* of Koto-Piliang *adat* in otherwise Bodi-Tjaniago territory ¹⁴⁷.

As to the outlying areas, Alahan Pandjang in the south is said to have a mixture of Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago *adat*; Korintji is supposed to have been entirely populated by people of Bodi ¹⁴⁸ (but the list of 1715 includes Korintsche among the Cotta-Duplian territories); Kwantan, in the east, is again said to be mixed, apart from the Koto-Piliang *nagari* Ibul and Pantai ¹⁴⁹. It is remarkable that these are just the most easterly villages, i. e. farthest away from Minangkabau proper (this agrees with the classification of Katumangungan and Parapatih with salt and fresh water respectively, and with the contrast *rantau—darè'*) ¹⁵⁰.

In the north, in Lubue' Sikaping and Rau, the entire contrast between the two *adat* is unknown ¹⁵¹.

If we wish to observe phratries in action, the best occasion is probably offered by a wedding with all its ceremonial. It will be clear that a four-clan system with circulating connubium implies the

existence of two exogamous phratries (see Chapter IV, Diagram VIII) ; and where, as in Minangkabau, the phratries are actually recognized and named, each marriage forges a new link between the two phratries. This is partly the significance of a marriage. The whole community is divided into two parts, which are mutually antagonistic, yet complementary ; the total community can only exist if both occur and if both actively come into contact with each other. A marriage is the occasion for them to do just that. It is a ceremony in which we may expect the phratry antagonism to manifest itself, but at the same time by its very nature it binds the two together and strengthens the community as a whole.

For a good description of Minangkabau engagement and wedding ceremonies we can turn to *van Eerde* ¹⁵². The overtures towards a match are often made by the *parui* of the girl. If from negotiations it appears that the relatives of the bridegroom-to-be are willing, the girl's relatives send a ring to the other party, which is henceforth the *tando* or token of the engagement ¹⁵³. A little later they send a present of *sirih* (betel) to the prospective groom's *parui*, who send another parcel of *sirih* in return. Then the girl's people send money, with which the man's relatives buy vegetables, fruit and other delicacies ¹⁵⁴, to return to the other family. The engagement becomes, as it were, officially recognized through the bride's family inviting all relatives and notables to a gathering (each person being invited by a messenger bearing gifts of food) ¹⁵⁵ and then holding an elaborate meal, to provide for which also cattle are slaughtered ¹⁵⁶.

The wedding ceremony is also accompanied by gift-exchange, the girl's party giving rice and money, the man's rice and clothing ¹⁵⁷. Towards the end of the festivities the curious custom called *mandirikan panghulu*, literally "installing a chief", takes place : relatives of the groom (and also less closely related kinsfolk of the bride ? This is not clear in the account) in grandiloquent terms announce the presents they are going to give to the bride's *parui*, making believe they are offering a horse, or a buffalo, etc. Actually the gifts consist of small sums of money, usually about 50 Dutch cents (tenpence).

The above is but a bare outline of the elaborate ceremonial, which is accompanied throughout by a spate of oratory. *Van Eerde's* description is much more detailed, but our account shows up some of the main characteristics. In the first place we see how the engagement is cemented by a ceremonial meal, with representatives of the whole

nagari present. Such feasts have in them much of the nature of a communion : eating together makes all who are present, one ¹⁵⁸. Thus the bringing together of the young man and woman at the same time brings together the entire community, it builds up the totality within which the social organisation functions. The joining together of the two marriage partners, representatives of the two phratries, takes place on a basis of strict reciprocity : each gift elicits a counter-gift of equal value, as is especially noticeable when the groom's family spend the very money they have just received on a counter-gift of foodstuffs. We have already quoted a saying which demands the equality of gifts given and received (*supra*, p. 66). The significance of this reciprocity is so well-known that we need not enlarge on it here ¹⁵⁹.

Another striking trait is the conspicuous bestowing of largesse. The distribution of presents to all who are invited to the engagement feast is one instance of this, but a far more spectacular case is furnished by the *mandirikan panghulu* custom. This has the characteristics of a real potlatch, in the great value of the gifts offered (horses, buffaloes — even if in actual fact they are replaced by sums of money of only a fraction of their value); and in the vaunting of one's liberality and importance in being able to part with such valuables, this behaviour being markedly in contrast with the otherwise so decorous and self-effacing demeanour of all participants at the ceremony. The very name of the ceremony may be an indication of its potlatch character. It certainly is not appropriate to its rôle as part of the wedding ceremonies, but would seem to refer to the distribution of wealth that is needed if one is to acquire a social rank, each ascent in the scale of dignities being accompanied by new distributions, the "classical" potlatch, in fact ¹⁶⁰. (A highly institutionalised form of potlatch ritual coupled with prestige grading persists in South Sumatra, among the Lampongs).

"Potlatch is the typical ritual of the moieties" ¹⁶¹, and the potlatch has been described as a combat ¹⁶², a battle of gifts. This antagonistic aspect of the meeting of the two moieties, or, as we prefer to say in the present case, phratries, is even more apparent at Negri Sembilan weddings (or perhaps the descriptions of the ceremonies there only bring out this aspect better), but Minangkabau also had a form of marriage in which the spirit of rivalry was very much to the fore: the *kawin djo galanggang*, or "marriage with a cock-pit". As cock-fighting had already for a long time been prohibited by the Nether-

lands Indies authorities, and was only practiced surreptitiously, this form of marriage, too, has long been extinct, and descriptions of it are few and incomplete. Cock-fights were held either purely as amusement (*sabueng di-balai*, "cock-fight in the council house"), or as accompaniment to private feasts given by people of high social rank (*sabueng adat*, "traditional cock-fight"). They also formed part of the ritual of house-building, the harvest festival and the construction of an irrigation-channel ¹⁶³. When it accompanied a marriage, the procedure apparently was as follows: the close relatives of a marriageable girl ordered a cock-pit to be built, and then let it be known that suitors could take part in the fight to be held there. Several days were then devoted to cock-fights, each suitor bringing his own cock, and wagering great sums on the results. During this period the girl's relatives were enable to make their choice of a suitable husband among the gamblers ¹⁶⁴.

The whole arrangement rather reminds one of the *swayamwara* of the Indian epics, in which the husband for the marriageable girl was chosen from several suitors on account of his skill — for instance, when Sîtâ marries Râma ¹⁶⁵, or Draupadi the five Pândawas ¹⁶⁶.

Now one will notice that there are many points on which we are left in uncertainty: who were invited to the cock-fights? What decided the choice of a suitable husband? Were the cock-fights themselves a gaming-match *omnium contra omnes*, or did the gambling cock-owners group themselves into *suku* or *larèh* or in some other way? We even do not know for how long the actual practice of the *kawin djo galanggang* persisted, for we only know it as it occurs in literature, where it embodies certain social ideals; but eye-witness accounts are completely lacking. In spite of all this vagueness, some things do emerge rather clearly. It was a privilege of the people of rank, the *urang baie'*, only the select could participate in the combat ¹⁶⁷. It was an occasion for frequently tremendous expenditure. In the old Minangkabau *kaba*, and even in modern Minangkabau historical novels, the "nobleman" returning home bankrupt from a far-off cock-fight is quite a cliché figure ¹⁶⁸. It these things remind us of a potlatch, so too does the bearing of the combatants during the *sabueng* itself. A good eye-witness account comes not from Minangkabau itself, but from Celebes, where M a t t h e s describes how "before the fight each participant praises his own cock in high-flown language" ¹⁶⁹. I think that for an interpretation of the *galanggang* ceremony we may agree with H e l d. Referring to

the gambling scenes in the Mahâbhârata, he explains that the supernatural risk of the potlatch is expressed, and conventionalized, in games of chance and other forms of rivalry ¹⁷⁰. So also in Annam a gril's initiation into the marriageable state is accompanied by a game of chess with living "men", by competitions between a boy and a girl in eloquence, catching animals, etc. ¹⁷¹. This rôle was fulfilled in Minangkabau by the cock-fight. An aid to understanding the significance of the *sabueng* in Minangkabau culture might be furnished by considering it as one of the ritual battles which accompany *rites de passage*, but this would surpass the scope of our present study. What we would like to point out is the fact that cock-fights are affairs which concern the entire community: they are held when works are undertaken that benefit the *nagari* as a whole (harvest etc.). Also a cock-pit is one of the features without which a *nagari* would not be complete. A well-known proverb says that each *nagari* should be *babalai*, *bamusadji*, *balabueh*, *bagalanggang*, *batapi tampè' mandi* ¹⁷², i. e. "provided with a council-hall, a mosque, pathways, a cock-pit and a bathing-place". Von Heine-Geldern has also stressed the ritual character of the *galanggang*: it is often surrounded by *batu sandaran*, "support stones", such as also feature in other sacred places in South-East Asia ¹⁷³; and the significance of a cock-fight largely lies in its being an occasion for the total community to gather on sacred ground.

Like the cock-fight on the occasion of a wedding, there is one other ceremony in which the entire *nagari* resolves itself into two mutually opposed parties, and which, incidentally, forms a remarkable link with Negri Sembilan custom. In a very recent article on autobiographies of Indonesians (BKI commemoration number, 1951), Professor Drewes devoted several pages to a review of one of the liveliest and most attractive specimens of this *genre*, Muhamad Radjab's *Semasa Ketjil Dikampung* ("Childhood in the Village"), which was published in 1950 by Balai Pustaka in Djakarta. On pp. 172 *seq.* of this book we are given a description of a mock battle between two halves of a *nagari*, called *kampung*, the built-up village area, and *bukit*, the outlying hill district. The field of battle was the yard of the *balai adat*; the pathway leading to the steps of the *balai* cut the field in half, and was itself neutral territory, on which the village chief and his assistants took up their positions. The native name for the custom is *badunie*, what may be translated simply as "merry-making".

One evening both parties appeared there in fancy dress, the *bukit* party dressed as soldiers and as "Arabs" (wearing the *tarbush*), the *kampung* men as sailors and as women. Both parties had bands playing and set off fireworks, and greeted the arrival of their opponents with loud cries of "The adversary is coming, the enemy is coming". They then each left the *nagari*, by the west and the east side respectively, then, making a full turn, reassembled on the *balai* courtyard. The subsequent happenings clearly demonstrate the rivalry between the two groups.

Both, still in fancy dress, started to cut capers and to perform all kinds of tricks. The group whose clowning drew the greatest number of onlookers was considered to have gained a victory at this stage of the proceedings; but the final outcome was decided in a firework contest. Both parties had, long before this feast, invested the money they had earned that year as tradesmen in foreign parts (the *marantau*-period, of which we have already spoken) in stupendous quantities of fireworks. The last act of the contest now consisted of the letting-off of these fireworks, which were brought to the scene of the battle by crates at a time. At last *kampung* had used up all its supply, and had to admit defeat; *bukit* gained a resounding victory by keeping up the good work for another full hour, until five o'clock in the morning.

Now there are several points on which precise information is lacking, as the author purposely refrains from comment or explanation, but only describes the night's happenings as seen by a boy of about ten years old. Still, it permits us to draw this important conclusion, that in the nineteen-twenties a part, at least, of Minangkabau still knew manifestations of dualistic rivalry of a definite potlatch character. The dualistic opposition is obvious: "village" is contrasted with "hill", soldiers with sailors, west with east, and each group calls the other the "enemy" (*musuh*). We also note the conspicuous expenditure and waste, typical of a potlatch: the year's earnings all serve to buy fireworks, fantastic costumes for the men, and ornaments for the women — the women of both groups attended the feat with sometimes three bracelets on each arm, and with many rings on their fingers — and the whole proceeding hinges on the question which party had spent the greatest amount of money for the occasion.

We do not know whether this custom was, in one form or another, widely practised, or whether it was confined to the place where the author observed it, Tandjung Alai, in the *luha'* Tanah Data. It would

be of even more interest to know whether the contrast of *kampung* and *bukit* coincided with that of Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago. What we can say is that we are faced by a very vigorous type of dualism, and that its manifestation as an opposition between *kampung* and *bukit* (which probably was an aspect of the true phratry-dualism) has perpetuated itself, as will be shown later on, in Negri Sembilan to the virtual exclusion of the Koto-Piliang — Bodi-Tjaniago dichotomy.

If the cock-fight and the *badunie* are to be seen as a ritual during which the *nagari* is split into two opposing halves, there was also another institution which had its foundation in a dualism, and probably in phratry-antagonism, but which overstepped the boundaries of the village; I mean the *parang adat*, the "customary war", or *parang batu*, "war of stones". Information on this custom is even more incomplete than on the *sabueng*, but we at least know this much, that frequently regular battles were waged between the inhabitants of adjoining *nagari* which belonged to different *larèh* ¹⁷⁴. Now our informant, Westenenk, here uses *larèh* in the sense of federation of *nagari*, but in the footnote he makes it clear that such federations were generally *sa-adat*, belonging to the same *adat*, so that fights between two federations may well be considered as fights between the two phratries, Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago, *adat Katumangungan* and *adat Parapatih*. The *parang adat* was subject to definite rules: it was always fought on the strips of neutral ground between the *nagari*, the *tanah kubu* or *tanah radjo* ¹⁷⁵; the *panghulu* of both parties looked on from a raised earthen wall alongside the arena ¹⁷⁶, but did not themselves join in what was practically always a bloodless battle, the antagonists hurling stones and other missiles at each other at long range, or firing off blank cartridges.

Goldsmiths were neutral, and in the days of the Minangkabau kings they or their envoys could stop the battle at will by planting a royal yellow umbrella on the *tanah radjo*. The fact that the two sides never really came to grips makes it plain that Westenenk's view, that the *parang adat* were "safety-valves for a flaring-up of passions, or mere manifestations of hooliganism", is absurd. It was obviously a ceremonial mock-combat, and in all probability one between the two phratries. The rôle of the king here is of great interest, and will be further discussed in the next chapter. Unfortunately we do not know on what occasions such battles took place, but it is clear that, just as

the clash of the phratries at a wedding cemented the unity of the nagari, so the ritual fight of the *nagari* was a manifestation of the coming-together, always antagonistically and yet always complementarily, of the two *larèh* which together make up the totality of the *Alam Minangkabau*.

§ 5. Double descent.

So far we have come to know Minangkabau social organisation as a typical matriliney, perhaps even quite an extreme example of one, as it even to a certain extent sacrifices the nuclear family to the demands of the matrilineal descent group. In view of these facts Lévi-Strauss can cite Minangkabau as an exceptional case, as having a *régime harmonique matrilineaire*¹⁷⁷; and when Moret & Davy, after summing up the eight characteristics of matriliney as given by Sidney Hartland, say: "*Ces caractères évidemment sont théoriques et ils ne se rencontrent à l'état pur dans aucun clan utérin*"¹⁷⁸, we can say that this last clause is incorrect, as all eight characteristics do in fact occur in Minangkabau: matrilineal descent, matrilineal clans, clan-exogamy, vendetta as a duty of the entire clan, clan authority theoretically in hands of the "mother", but rarely exercised by her in practice, authority of the mother's brother, matrilineal marriage or visits of the husband to his wife, succession of dignities from mother to sister*. Nevertheless I think that even in Minangkabau we can see that patrilineal descent is recognized too; that, although at present the importance attached to patriliney and the function it fulfills is minimal, yet it formerly was of greater weight; and that we can still observe traces of true double descent, which system affords an explanation of some phenomena which must remain inexplicable from an exclusively matrilineal standpoint.

One example of an occasion on which both matrilineages and patrilineages appear to be recognized as such is the swearing of the *sumpah djo piri'*, the most sacred Minangkabau oath. Oaths are an important element in Minangkabau justice, and, although perjury in a court of justice, i. e. after swearing an oath on the Koran, is not

* Hartland himself does not add the restricting clause¹⁷⁹, although one would get that impression from reading Moret & Davy.

considered a serious misdemeanour, a far greater value is attached to the *sumpah djo piri*, and such an oath is not lightly sworn. Their purpose is generally to testify to the innocence of an accused person. or, as is the case of the great oath to which we referred, to claim a piece of land and express one's certainty that one's own claim is just and the disputed plot does not belong to any other party. As part of the oath, the swearer invokes a curse on himself and his descendants in case his claim should be unjust.

There are three traditional oaths, the "oath with the great-grand-children", the "oath on a sacred place", and the *sumpah djo piri*, what Westenenk translates as "oath with remote relatives" ¹⁸⁰. Ballot calls it *sumpah djo piring* ¹⁸¹, but as this would give the nonsensical meaning "oath with saucers", *piring* must surely be a mistake for *piri*. This most awe-inspiring oath takes place on Friday, in front of a mosque ¹⁸². Those who swear the oath stand within a charmed circle of leaves of the sugar-palm, and invoke curses on all their kin if their claim be unjust ¹⁸³. Now the remarkable fact is that the participants in this ceremony are explicitly said to belong to both the male and the female lineages — this we read in Ballot's report ¹⁸⁴. This not very clear expression "male and female lineages" may, of course, refer to a man's own (matrilineal) clan and his father's, i. e. the clan that stands in bride-taker relationship to his own. There is, however, no reason why that clan should be drawn into the dispute that in no way concerns it; and as the participation of such a clan could be easily ascertained, one might expect other authors — in the first place Westenenk and Stibbe — to have mentioned this fact. None of them do, however, and therefore there seems to be a reasonable chance that the expression "male and female lineages" may mean what it says; lineages reckoned by patrilineal and matrilineal descent. Westenenk is even less precise, and only notes that those taking part "represent the *entire* family"; but he does say that the principal actor in the drama is the "head of the family" (i. e. *kapalo parui*) that claims the land, and he is joined in the magic circle by his *tarueh* and *piri*, translated as "close and remote relatives", each represented by one man and woman. Now "close and remote relatives" is of course also a very vague term, which makes it clear that Westenenk himself never investigated who exactly were classed as such. The literal meaning of the words *tarueh* and *piri* is quite different, *tarueh* meaning the sum of money one stakes in a wager or bids at an auction, and *piri* the amount by

which one's opponent overbids the *tarueh*. Therefore, *sumpah djo piri'* might be literally translated as "oath with a surplus"; and the words *tarueh* and *piri'*, if applied to groups of relatives, as Westenenk says they are, are then used figuratively. This being so, it is possible that nowadays the Minangkabau themselves do not attach a sharply-defined meaning to what may be a traditional circumlocution. Even the slightly more explicit information given by Ballot, and the fact that each group, *tarueh* and *piri'*, has to be represented by one man and one woman, not bring us very much further. A quite striking fact does emerge when we enquire upon which individuals the curse is invoked; they are: the swearer of the oath himself, *ana'*, *kamanakan*, "child" (or son), "si child" (or si-son), grandchildren and great-grandchildren¹⁸⁵. If it was purely an affair of the matri-lineage no man could extend the consequences of his oath to his own children and grandchildren, but here both his closest matrilineal (*kamanakan*) and patrilineal (children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren) are involved. Here the objection might be raised that the words *tjutju* and *piui'*, grandchild and great-grandchild, are used in a "generation" sense, so as to comprise also si-da children and si-da-da-children, i. e. grand-nephews and great-grand-nephews and -nieces. The fact remains that none of our informants give this meaning for *tjutju* and *piui'*, all limiting it to the meaning of (great) grandchildren.

Altogether we shall not insist on the *sumpah djo piri'* being recognized as a clear case of double descent, but only as a ceremony where there do seem to be indications of both descent lines being brought into play. If this conclusion is accepted, we might add that it is probably no coincidence that the recognition of patrilineal descent, so weak as to be almost non-existent in present-day Minangkabau, crops up again precisely in a ceremony which the Minangkabau themselves hold in high veneration as an age-old institution, and which is, as much as possible, preserved in its ancient form.

In societies with double descent inheritance generally also follows the two separate lines, some goods being inherited matrilineally, others according to patriliney. In Minangkabau there is a proverb which, although not clearly contrasting two types of goods, does distinguish between the two possible modes of inheritance, and makes it clear that both occur in Minangkabau. The proverb is: *sako dari mama'*, *warih dari bapa'*¹⁸⁶, "*sako* is inherited from the *mama'*, *warih* from the father". Now the question is: what is meant by *sako* and *warih*? *Sako*

is a shortened form of *pusako*, that we have already met with as denoting ancestral property, in the expressions *harto pusako* and *tanah pusako*. *Warih* is derived from Arabic *wârith* = heir, so one might object that the proverb simply contrasts the traditional Minangkabau form of inheritance with the alien form introduced by Muslim law, but this would be an over-simplification. The Minangkabau themselves are perfectly aware of the distinction between *adat* and *shara'*, ancestral custom and canon law, and if the proverb only meant to distinguish between the two, it is very likely that the Minangkabau school-teacher, who comments on this and other sayings, would have said so. The explanation he actually gives is: The *adat* rank of a *mama'* becomes the rank of his *kamanakan* also; if their father is also a man of rank and standing (*urang patui'*), then these *kamanakan* become still better (*bertambah bai'*), so that one calls it 'gilding the lily' (literally: 'silver-plating steel'). He then goes on to state that such men are much sought after as bridegrooms, and are generally very well aware of their own high price on the marriage-market.

As one will have observed, the terms *sako* and *warih* do not manifestly distinguish between two types of goods, as each makes their possessor an *urang patui'* or *baie'*; terms literally meaning "decent people", but always indicating the Minangkabau "nobility" — van der Toorn translates: "man of property, man of rank". We do, however, find two modes of inheritance contrasted, the patrilinear (*dari bapa'*) and the matrilinear (*dari mama'*); and this recognition of two lines of descent in matters of inheritance is quite different from the rules of Muslim law which might be suggested by the word *warih*, and appears to be a native Minangkabau concept. The fact that one of the descent lines bears a name taken from the Muslim *shara'* need not argue against the concept itself being native: after all, the very word *adat*, used to denote the whole complex of customs, rules, beliefs and etiquette handed down by tradition from immemorial times is also Arabic, but what is designated by the word certainly is not.

There are some customs that are in my opinion explicable only if we see them as part of a double-unilateral system. One of these customs is that a *djurai*, a branch of the *parui'*, may only constitute itself as a separate *parui'* in the fifth generation — *ko' limo kali turun* — reckoned from the ancestress which this *djurai* still had in common with the other *djurai* of the *parui'* ¹⁸⁷.

Wilken refers to the same rule, only considering it as it affects

inheritance rather than social organisation as such, when he says that *harto pusako*, the ancestral property of the *parui'*, may only be divided up into *harto pusako* of the *rumah*, branches of the *parui'*, *ko' limo kali turun* ¹⁸⁸. It is, therefore, a highly important rule, as it affects the *harto pusako*, the fundamental store of wealth of the community, which also comprises greatly venerated heirlooms; it also affects the position of the head of the new *parui'*, and it is of great influence on marriage regulations: as in actual practice the *parui'* is generally the exogamous unit, when a *djurai (rumah)* becomes a separate *parui'*, this means for the men of this new group that the girls of the parent *parui'*, whom they were formerly unable to marry, now become legitimate potential wives. In view of the many implications of this five-generation rule it is not surprising that a Minangkabau work on native customs, the "Kitab tjurai-paparan adat-lembaka Alam Minangkabau", draws up a whole table of numerical correspondences, in which the five generations are equated with the five parts of the communal dwelling, the five components of the universe, and other quinquedivisions ¹⁸⁹.

Now it is interesting to note that Lévi-Strauss cites two cases in which a branching-off of a genealogical unit from a larger body can occur, but only in each fifth generation, viz. with the Manchu and in the "*système hindou*" ¹⁹⁰. They show striking similarities with the Minangkabau custom, but Lévi-Strauss describes them from a rather different angle: before the fission took place, the undivided genealogical group was the exogamous unit, but after fission, the offshoots. In this way it is possible to describe what has taken place as a limit set to the rule of exogamy, and this is indeed the way Lévi-Strauss puts it: "*la règle d'exogamie Shang s'arrêtait après la cinquième génération*" ¹⁹¹. When there is also a rule operative that the fission is not only permitted, but even obligatory in every *n*th generation (as is the case among the Yakut, Kazak and Buriat, the "*n*" among them being 9, 7, and 9 respectively) it is clear that there is a regular reduction of exogamy, a "*rythme d'extinction exogamique*" ¹⁹², which Lévi-Strauss elsewhere calls a *phénomène de périodicité* ¹⁹³. He explains the origin of this *périodicité* when discussing the continental Asiatic types of social organisation. In his study of the Burma-China-Siberia area he comes to the conclusion that there the social structures are changing (among the Naga and the Manchu) or did change (in China during the proto-historical Shang era) from a circulating to a symmetrical connubial type. The symmetrical con-

nubium causes the clans — that used to be *classes* in an asymmetrical connubium — to split up into intermarrying halves. That this process is of recent date and still in an *état de devenir* is indicated by the restrictions imposed on the splitting-up by the five-generation rule¹⁹⁴.

Now we are loth to accept this explanation as universally applicable. For Minangkabau at least such an interpretation, based on a transient developmental stage, seems unsatisfactory, and we prefer to seek for an explanation of the *périodicité* in the nature of the social system itself. For one thing, Lévi-Strauss' interpretation fails to explain why the splitting-up may only take place every *five* (c.q. 7 or 9) generations; for another, it is not proved that the newly formed units actually enter into constant symmetrical connubial relations with one another.

If we turn to Diagram VIII, Chapter IV, which summarises the working of a double-unilateral system with four clans taking part in an asymmetrical connubium, we see that successive generations of members of one matrilineal clan belong to each patrilineal clan in turn. Each matri-clan circulates, as it were, through the ranks of the patri-clans until they have each had their turn. The same combination of matri- and patri-clan recurs after as many generations as there are unilateral clans participating, in this case after four. The fifth generation reproduces the type of the first. This, in our opinion, is the explanation, and indeed the only satisfactory explanation, of the situation that obtains in Minangkabau. The woman of the fifth generation equals the ancestress of five generations back, and only she may therefore assume the rôle of becoming an ancestress of a new independent unit, a *parui'*. Furthermore, before the fifth generation, the cycle was not yet complete ; a breaking-off the connubial process during that period would damage the integration of the entire community in its two aspects, patrilineal and matrilineal. The five-generation rule, or, to use Lévi-Strauss' more inclusive formula, the periodical extinction of exogamy, is so firmly anchored in Minangkabau consciousness, and also occurs in cultures of such variety outside Indonesia, that it cannot be dismissed as a mere arbitrary convention. No conclusive explanation appears to be forthcoming if we confine ourselves to studying the unilateral descent groups, but as soon as we consider the Minangkabau social system as possibly having double-descent, a perfectly satisfying result is gained. (It might be worth

while considering whether, for instance, the Dobu way of reckoning descent, where "back of the fourth generation is an ancestress common to all the *susu* of the village" ¹⁹⁵, is to be seen in a similar context. Dobu social structure has many double-unilateral traits).

An element in the same complex is probably to be found in the *adat sansako*. As a matter of fact Lévi-Strauss already connects the two. He refers to the Petchenegs, where succession to the post of clan chief was not by direct (viz. patrilineal) descent, but through the collateral lineages, a chief being succeeded by his cousin or cousin's son, so as to avoid a perpetual inheritance of the chieftaincy by only one family of the clan. Lévi-Strauss tentatively explains this by supposing a rule of *périodicité* which caused the clan to split up into sub-clans as far as marriage regulation was concerned, while maintaining its "political" unity ¹⁹⁶. Then the leadership of the clan would be exercised by each sub-clan in succession.

This supposition is borne out by what we see in Minangkabau, where with *adat sansako* there is a similar rotation of functions through the subdivisions of a larger unit, but there is more to it than this.

We have seen how in Minangkabau succession can conform to either of two procedures, primogeniture or *adat sansako*. In the first case it is the oldest sister's oldest son, the "oldest" *parui* of the *kampueng*, etc. who are entitled to the inherited dignities ¹⁹⁷; in the second, a function will be claimed by all *djurai* of a *parui* ¹⁹⁸, all *parui* of a *kampueng* ¹⁹⁹, and all *kampueng* of a *suku* in succession ²⁰⁰. This is probably a re-interpretation in exclusively matrilineal terms of what occurs in the same double-unilateral system we have just dealt with. There, the men of, say, clan C belong in successive generations to patri-clans 1, 2, 3, and 4, and this also holds good for the clan chiefs. In each subsequent generation a clan-chief of a matri-clan belongs to a different patri-clan. At the same time the rule of primogeniture will probably have been in vigour, a natural manifestation of Minangkabau differentiation between older and younger members of the same generation — as manifested by the use of separate terms for older and for younger sibling, for fa-br older and younger than father, etc. — and of the respect shown by the younger to the elder. As patrilineal descent lost much of its significance and came to be almost overlooked, the fact that successive chiefs belonged to different combinations of the same matri-clans with varying patri-clans may well have been re-stated as a rule that successive chiefs should belong to different subdivisions of

the same matri-clan, that is to say, *adat sansako* arose. Where the principle of primogeniture within the unilateral descent-group outweighed in importance the process of double-unilateral combinations between clans, this gave rise to the other mode of succession.

If we balk at this introduction of double descent to explain the *adat sansako*, and seek an explanation in "pure" matriliney, the only acceptable interpretation would be the idea of equity : all subdivisions should have equal powers. As we have seen, this interpretation is actually given by the present-day inhabitants of Negri Sembilan ; but we have also already given as our opinion that it savours too much of a rationalisation, and is so foreign to the important Minangkabau (and Negri Sembilan) ideas on the superiority of the elder member of a generation and the prior rights of the most "ancient" families, that we cannot accept it as an explanation.

Even at present, if we look beneath the surface, we now and then notice that not all consciousness of patrilineal descent, and of the contrast between the two unilateral principles, is absent. One of the ways in which a feeling for patrilineal descent could become manifest is in matters of inheritance. We have, earlier in this §, seen this in the rule *sako dari mama'*, *warih dari bapa'*, but also more material goods can, in fact, be inherited by a son from his father. What goods they precisely are is not (perhaps we should say : no longer), clearly defined by custom, and may therefore give rise to bad feeling and tension between a man's sons and his sister's sons; we shall treat of this more fully in Chapter VII, but we may point out here that this tension between two forms of inheritance is not only a recent development, arising from contact with Muslim and modern European practice. K o r n expressly states that to neglect the father-son relationship in matters of inheritance is not in accordance with the *adat*, the traditionally-based custom²⁰¹. Legendary tales, too, do not accept a purely matrilineal form of inheritance and succession (*adat kamanakan*) as a self-evident fact that needs no further explanation, but definitely contrast it with the patrilineal mode, and consider the Minangkabau *adat* a compromise between the two. The most frequently occurring version of the story²⁰² tells how the two ancestors, trying to launch a boat, could not manage it, as the keel stuck in the ground. They thereupon told their sons to lie down on the slipway so as to serve as rollers over which the boat could be wheeled down to the water. They refused to risk their lives for this purpose, but Parapatih's and Ka-

tumanggungan's sisters' sons readily volunteered for the task. To reward this self-sacrificing act Tjaté Bilang Pandai, the wonder-working smith who accompanied the two ancestors, instituted the *adat kamanakan*. This is one version; another, related by the authority of 1715 whom we had occasion to quote in the preceding §, says that it was Parapatih who ordained that inheritance and succession should no longer be the exclusive prerogative of one's own children (*Berpatty ontnam regt der erfflattinge en opvolginge d'eygen kinders*), but be shared between own children and sister's children (*de susters kinderen met d'eygen kinderen gelykelijck sullen erven en delen*)²⁰³.

This theme of interplay and tension between the two types of linear descendants, typified in the persons of the *ana'* and the *kamanakan*, constantly recurs in Minangkabau life and lore. When reading a collection of Minangkabau proverbs and sayings with commentary by a present-day Minangkabau, one is struck by the number of such sayings that refer to a conflict between *ana'* and *kamanakan*, the unpleasantness such a conflict causes, and the discretion with which one must try to appease the two parties. We shall quote one or two examples²⁰⁴ :

Bab 26, proverb nr. 23. *Tjantjang aie tidak' putuih, artinja : kalau basalisih orang nan bakarib, bakirabat atau ana' dengan kamanakan*, i. e. :

"Water will not break, even if you chop it ; this is applied to quarrels between relatives, or between children and sister's children".

Proverb nr. 43. *Ba' mahélo rambui' dalam tapueng, rambui' djangan putuih, tapueng djangan tasérah, artinja : saperti ana' basalisih dengan kamanakan, disalasaikan sopaja dapat kebaikan*, i. e. :

"Like drawing a hair out of flour, so that the hair does not break and the flour is not scattered; meaning: like when a child has a quarrel with a sister's child, it should be made up so that they can be reconciled."

On p. 43 we again meet with discord between *ana'* and *kamanakan*, where it is cited as a case that needs to be treated very circumspectly.

In spite of all possibilities of strife, *ana'* and *kamanakan* yet remain closely related²⁰⁵, and in fact the expression "*ana' atau kamanakan*" is used to denote one's nearest relatives²⁰⁶. This also appears from the proverb-collection, for instance in nr. 60: *saperti radja dalam negri anaknja atau kamanakannja membuat salah dihukum djuga*, i. e. :

.....“like a king who punishes a wrongdoer in his country, even though it be his own child or sister’s child.”

Altogether Minangkabau social structures shows quite an amount of traits which are in contrast to a rigidly and exclusively matrilineal organisation. A fuller understanding of many of these traits is still desirable, and it seems likely that a study of South Sumatran socio-political organisation would greatly aid such an understanding. South Sumatra, with its *kambil-anak* marriage, its partition of children equally over the “families” of father and mother, and many other manifestation of double-unilateral structure * should be a territory where the working of double descent is more clearly observable than in areas with pronounced unilateral stress, such as Minangkabau.

Another interesting fact to bear in mind is that the societies to the north of Minangkabau, the Batak and Atjeh, which are predominantly patrilineal, show certain undeniably matrilineal features. Although it would be rash to draw any definite conclusions before a thorough re-examination of these societies has taken place, we may tentatively suggest that many facts in Sumatran social structure appear to point in one and the same direction, viz. that Minangkabau should not be considered as a matrilineal island in the midst of surrounding patrilineally organized societies, but the various Sumatran social systems may prove to be based on a double-unilateral organisation, which assumed a patrilineal stress in the Atjeh and Batak territories, and a matrilineal stress in Minangkabau, while the communities in South Sumatra show the slightest preponderance of one unilateral principle and the clearest form of double descent.

We are inclined to think that patrilineal descent in Minangkabau was formerly of greater importance than it is at present, for now it has been thoroughly forced into the background. There was, however, one field in Minangkabau socio-political structure where until fairly recently patrilineal organisation came into its own: the institution of the Monarchy. A study of the position of the King in the Minangkabau World should make it much clearer to us how the double-unilateral system functioned, and it may also give us some inkling of the circumstances under which the far-reaching matrilineal preponderance came about.

* *N'en deplaise* M u r d o c k, who clearly distinguishes them, as temporary forms of bilateral descent, from real double descent ²⁰⁷.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Willinck, 363.
- ² Willinck, 781.
- ³ Willinck, 370; Besse-
ling, 349.
- ⁴ see Van Ossenbruggen
(1), 27.
- ⁵ Joustra (2), 106, 128.
- ⁶ Willinck, 84.
- ⁷ Willinck, 170.
- ⁸ Willinck, 362.
- ⁹ Willinck, 362 *seq.*
- ¹⁰ Willinck, 251.
- ¹¹ Schäfer 40, 42.
- ¹² Van Vollenhoven, 38.
- ¹³ Pauw, 4.
- ¹⁴ Adatrechtbundels I, 94.
- ¹⁵ Ballot (1), 343.
- ¹⁶ Lapré (2), 12.
- ¹⁷ Joustra (2), 114.
- ¹⁸ Van Vollenhoven, 255.
- ¹⁹ Schäfer, 52.
- ²⁰ Joustra (2), 116.
- ²¹ Willinck, 218.
- ²² Westenenk (1), 220.
- ²³ Van Ronkel & Pamontjak, 416.
- ²⁴ Adatrechtbundels XI, 116.
- ²⁵ Adatrechtbundels XI, 121.
- ²⁶ Leyds, 403.
- ²⁷ Adatrechtbundels XI, 116.
- ²⁸ Adatrechtbundels XI, 119, 124.
- ²⁹ Van Ronkel & Pamontjak, 416.
- ³⁰ Joustra (2), 118.
- ³¹ Veth, 186.
- ³² Westenenk, (1), 103.
- ³³ Adatrechtbundels XXVII, 335.
- ³⁴ Willinck, 524.
- ³⁵ Verkerk Pistorius, 48.
- ³⁶ Joustra (2), 131.
- ³⁷ Willinck, 622.
- ³⁸ Adatrechtbundels XXII, 307.
- ³⁹ Wilken (2), 56.
- ⁴⁰ Willinck, 777.
- ⁴¹ Joustra (2), 131.
- ⁴² Wilken (2), 227.
- ⁴³ Verkerk Pistorius, 45.
- ⁴⁴ Willinck, 776.
- ⁴⁵ Adatrechtbundels XI, 120.
- ⁴⁶ Westenenk (1), 104.
- ⁴⁷ Wilken (2), 54; Verkerk
Pistorius, 44; Willinck, 777.
- ⁴⁸ Verkerk Pistorius, 92.
- ⁴⁹ Veth, 273.
- ⁵⁰ Schäfer, 52.
- ⁵¹ Van Vollenhoven, 254.
- ⁵² Willinck, 801.
- ⁵³ Ballot (1), 340.
- ⁵⁴ Lapré (2), 10.
- ⁵⁵ e.g. Adatrechtbundels XI, 139;
Willinck, 431.
- ⁵⁶ Willinck, 431.
- ⁵⁷ Harrebomee, 1284.
- ⁵⁸ Hamerster, 1459.
- ⁵⁹ de Rooy (1), 644;
Leyds, 411.
- ⁶⁰ Willinck, 452.
- ⁶¹ Cole, 23.
- ⁶² cf. Willinck, 451.
- ⁶³ Besseling, 349.
- ⁶⁴ Willinck, 451.
- ⁶⁵ Ballot (1), 346.
- ⁶⁶ Loeb (3), 44; (cf. Wil-
linck, 370).
- ⁶⁷ van Eerde, 394.
- ⁶⁸ Kaba Tjindue Mato, 41.
- ⁶⁹ Kaba Mama' Si Hétong, 55.
- ⁷⁰ Encyclopaedie van Neder-
landsch-Indië, 749.
- ⁷¹ Lévi-Strauss, 488.
- ⁷² Willinck, 453; Loeb (1),
656; Prins, 253.
- ⁷³ Veth, 293.
- ⁷⁴ van Eerde, 394; van
Ronkel & Pamontjak, 426.
- ⁷⁵ Fischer (2), 111.
- ⁷⁶ Korn (1), 324.
- ⁷⁷ Rassers (3), 544; Duy-

vendak (1), 126; Fischer (2), 110.

⁷⁸ Fischer (2), 110—112.

⁷⁹ Korn (1), 311.

⁸⁰ Korn (1), 313.

⁸¹ Korn (1), 323.

⁸² Korn (1), 312.

⁸³ Korn (1), 334.

⁸⁴ Loeb (3), 43.

⁸⁵ Loeb (1), 655.

⁸⁶ Willinck, 372.

⁸⁷ Van Ronkel & Pamontjak, 450.

⁸⁸ Cole, 24.

⁸⁹ Adatrechtbundels XX, 144.

⁹⁰ Pauw, 17.

⁹¹ Willinck, 458; van Eerde, 391, 449.

⁹² ter Haar, 201.

⁹³ Willinck, 121; Netscher, 51—68, etc.

⁹⁴ Joustra (2), 106.

⁹⁵ van Vollenhoven, 251.

⁹⁶ Westenenk (7).

⁹⁷ Veth, 183.

⁹⁸ Willinck, 150; Adatrechtbundels XI, 131.

⁹⁹ Westenenk (7).

¹⁰⁰ Adatrechtbundels XXIII, 284.

¹⁰¹ Leyds, 411.

¹⁰² de Rooy (1), 644.

¹⁰³ Willinck, 100.

¹⁰⁴ Westenenk (2), 238.

¹⁰⁵ Willinck, 88.

¹⁰⁶ Adatrechtbundels XXVII, 323;

Damsté (2), 337.

¹⁰⁷ Willinck, 91.

¹⁰⁸ Wilken (2), 34.

¹⁰⁹ Willinck, 265.

¹¹⁰ de Rooy (1), 644.

¹¹¹ Willinck, 100.

¹¹² Adatrechtbundels XX, 160.

¹¹³ de Rooy (1), 644.

¹¹⁴ S. Müller, Bijdragen tot de kennis van Sumatra (Leiden, 1846),

80.

¹¹⁵ Harrebomee, 1284.

¹¹⁶ Przyluski, 35.

¹¹⁷ Joustra (1), 542, 554..

¹¹⁸ H. Kern III, 69 *seq.*

¹¹⁹ Held, 298.

¹²⁰ Willinck, 121.

¹²¹ Netscher, 47.

¹²² S. Müller, *loc. cit.*, 79;

Willinck, 22; Stapel, 463.

¹²³ Westenenk (2), 238.

¹²⁴ Hosman, 1, 2.

¹²⁵ Willinck, 121.

¹²⁶ S. Müller, *loc. cit.*, 80.

¹²⁷ Kaba Sutan Manangkéran,

210, 270.

¹²⁸ Netscher, 58, 51.

¹²⁹ Leyds, 395.

¹³⁰ Netscher, 52, 68.

¹³¹ Hamerster, 1455.

¹³² Hosman, 11.

¹³³ Westenenk (1), 173.

note 1.

¹³⁴ Leyds, 400; Schäfer; 60.

¹³⁵ Kielstra (2), 136.

¹³⁶ Hosman, 9.

¹³⁷ Westenenk (1), 115.

¹³⁸ Adatrechtbundels XX, 102.

¹³⁹ MS School of Oriental & African Studies 46942, 13, 14.

¹⁴⁰ Willinck, 813.

¹⁴¹ Humphreys (2), 13, 15.

¹⁴² Joustra (2), 180.

¹⁴³ Westenenk (1), 122;

Adatrechtbundels I, 114.

¹⁴⁴ Leyds, 400.

¹⁴⁵ Stapel, 464.

¹⁴⁶ Leyds, 392.

¹⁴⁷ Lapré (1), 3.

¹⁴⁸ Militaire Memorie Padang, 58.

¹⁴⁹ Adatrechtbundels XXXV, 493.

¹⁵⁰ Joustra (2), 4.

¹⁵¹ Ballot (1), 345.

¹⁵² van Eerde, 393 *seq.*

¹⁵³ van Eerde, 399.

- ¹⁵⁴ van Eerde, 401.
¹⁵⁵ van Eerde, 412.
¹⁵⁶ van Eerde, 422.
¹⁵⁷ van Eerde, 430, 436.
¹⁵⁸ van Ossenbruggen
 (3), 65.
¹⁵⁹ Mauss.
¹⁶⁰ Boas, 342, *seq.*
¹⁶¹ Rassers (2), 379.
¹⁶² Locher, 82.
¹⁶³ Rookmaker, 9.
¹⁶⁴ Willinck, 479.
¹⁶⁵ Râmâyan I, 66, 67
 (p. 106 *seq.*).
¹⁶⁶ Mahâbhârata I, 175,
 - *seq.* (p. 713 *seq.*); cf. Held, 33.
¹⁶⁷ Westenenk (6).
¹⁶⁸ Iskander (3).
¹⁶⁹ Matthes, 123.
¹⁷⁰ Held, 248.
¹⁷¹ Held, 255; Nguyen van
 Huyen, 211.
¹⁷² Schäfer, 39.
¹⁷³ von Heine-Geldern
 (1), 301.
¹⁷⁴ Westenenk (1), 93.
¹⁷⁵ Joustra (2), 113.
¹⁷⁶ Willinck, 119.
¹⁷⁷ Lévi-Strauss, 119.
¹⁷⁸ Moret & Davy, 49.
¹⁷⁹ Hartland, 34.
¹⁸⁰ Stibbe, 225; Westenenk
 (1), 179.
¹⁸¹ Ballot (2), 22.
¹⁸² Stibbe, 226.
¹⁸³ Westenenk (1), 179.
¹⁸⁴ Ballot (2), 22.
¹⁸⁵ Stibbe, 226.
¹⁸⁶ Van Ronkel & Pamontjak, 427.
¹⁸⁷ Willinck, 351, 362.
¹⁸⁸ Wilken (2), 55.
¹⁸⁹ see ter Haar, 155.
¹⁹⁰ Lévi-Strauss, 482, 489.
¹⁹¹ Lévi-Strauss, 482.
¹⁹² Lévi-Strauss, 571.
¹⁹³ Lévi-Strauss, 510.
¹⁹⁴ Lévi-Strauss, 483.
¹⁹⁵ Fortune, 30,31.
¹⁹⁶ Lévi-Strauss, 571.
¹⁹⁷ Pauw, 9.
¹⁹⁸ Willinck, 801.
¹⁹⁹ van Vollenhoven, 254.
²⁰⁰ Veth, 273.
²⁰¹ Korn (1), 315.
²⁰² Netscher, 61; Graaf-
 land, 41.
²⁰³ Stapel, 465.
²⁰⁴ Hosman, *Bab* 26.
²⁰⁵ Hosman, 23.
²⁰⁶ Hosman, 60.
²⁰⁷ Murdock (2), 45.
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CHAPTER VI.

MINANGKABAU POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

As we saw in Chapter III the usually held point of view is, that a study of Minangkabau kingship can hardly be of any use to explain the socio-political structure, as the kings were of alien origin (usually being called either "Hindus" or "Hindu-Javanese") and always kept apart from the main current of Minangkabau life. They were mere excrescences on the body politic, exerting no influence during their semblance of a reign and causing no commotion when they were finally, in the first half of the nineteenth century, set aside.

Some of our objections to this point of view have already been given, and others will become apparent in the course of this chapter ; at this point we shall only make some remarks on the origin of the Minangkabau rulers. A thorough research must of course be the task of the historian, we can only make use of the easily accessible data.

Apparently there was a state called Malayu in South Sumatra about 500 A.D., which was soon (after the 7th century) completely overshadowed by the far greater power Sriwijaya, which completely dominated the Sumatran and Peninsular scene for well-nigh five centuries until decline set in, beginning in its Sumatran possessions¹. The 13th century saw Sriwijaya dwindled away to insignificance in Sumatra (on the Peninsula it still had one century's lease of life), and a new Malayu, also styled Dharmmâsraya, attaining some importance. This realm centred on present-day Djambi. In 1275 * the Javanese king Krtanâgara entered into close contact with Sumatra, and either reduced the king of Dharmmâsraya, Tribhûwanarâja Mauliwarmmadewa, to the status of a vassal, or formed a very firm alliance with him. Inscriptions on a Manjusrî-statue show that in 1343 a prince of Malayu, or a related dynasty, was in Java; possibly he was even born there. A few years later (1347) this same prince is back in Sumatra, and is

* Or 1292, according to a new theory of Professor Berg's — see his article "Kertanagara" in the periodical "*Oriëntatie*", No. 34.

extending his sway over Minangkabau, and he remained in Minangkabau as its ruler. The activity of this prince, Adityawarman, in the middle of the 14th century, may be said to mark the beginning of Minangkabau kingship². Now it is clear from this account that Adityawarman, probably Minangkabau's first king, was not such an alien as he has often been described. There is not the slightest reason for supposing him to have been a Javanese. The Malayu-Dharmmasraya dynasty, with which he was closely related, seems to have arisen on Sumatran soil, and the royal house to which he belonged, the Kulisadharawamsa, was certainly Sumatran³. The Dharmmasraya dynasty, together with its predecessors, Sriwijaya and Old-Malayu, together are responsible for an eight centuries' tradition of kingship in South Sumatra, and even without knowing any more about the ultimate origin of the institution in Indonesia we may surely assume eight centuries a sufficiently long stretch of time for it to become assimilated and integrated in the socio-political structure. While admitting the undeniable "Hindu" Indian influence on the Sumatran courts, we yet think there is more reason to believe kingship was brought to the Minangkabau with, as it were, a ready-made technique for integration into the existing system, and by a people closely related in customs and ways of life, rather than as an utterly incongruous concept following in the wake of foreign invaders.

Malay and Minangkabau legends dealing with the advent of the Minangkabau kings fall into two groups: those as found in the *Sadjarah Malaju* or Malay Annals, which we might call the Malay group, and a Minangkabau group.

The legend as found in the *Sadjarah Malaju*, ed. Shellabear⁴, is, very briefly, as follows: Near Palembang, on the Malaju river, there dwelt a native chief, Demang Lébar Daun. He, or in other versions⁵ his daughters, first observed three mysterious strangers, who were endowed with supernatural powers: Nila Pahlawan, accompanied by Karna Pandita and Nila Utama. Their leader, Nila Pahlawan, was riding a cow or ox. The spittle of this ox (*muntah lembu*) becomes a man, Bata or Batala, who proclaims Nila Pahlawan king with the royal name Sang Sapurba Trimurti Tribuwana. This Sang Sapurba marries one of Lébar Daun's daughters, Wan Sendari, and becomes king of Minangkabau after having killed the monster Si Katimono that was devastating the land.

Variants of this legend are to be found in the Raffles text of the

Sadjarah Malaju⁶, in the Hikajat Hang Tuah, and other Malay histories. The differences between the various forms of the legend are of a relatively unimportant nature.

The legends of the Minangkabau group give the following account: Several brothers, descendants of Alexander the Great, sail round the world on a voyage of conquest. All accounts agree as to Maharadjo Diradjo, Maharadjo Alif, also called Radjo Rum (King of "Rome", i. e. Byzantium or Constantinople), and Maharadjo Dapang^{*} (King of Japan or China); sometimes a fourth is added, Sri Alam⁷, or else a *Sultân Hadîth Allâh fî'l'Alam*⁸ ("Allah's Tradition upon Earth"; possibly *Khalîfat Allâh*, "Allah's Successor upon Earth" is meant). They fall out among themselves as they cannot agree who is the rightful owner of the crown they inherited, and during the struggle the crown falls into the sea, near Ceylon. Tjaté Bilang Pandai, the goldsmith, who is a follower of Maharadjo Diradjo (and who, incidentally, is a very fine specimen of trickster-cum-culture hero)⁹, makes an exact copy of it, and advises his master to claim that he has recovered the original crown. Maharadjo Diradjo follows this advice, and his brothers believe him and admit his superiority. Then they separate, and each claims one country for his own: Radjo Alif takes Rum and becomes Sultan of Turkey, Maharadjo Dapang becomes Emperor of China or Japan, Maharadjo Diradjo King of Minangkabau. (Sri Alam, in a Peninsular version, becomes Sultan of Djohor).

Then there are the legends which serve to explain the name "Minangkabau", and are to be found in the Hikajat Radja-Radja Pasai¹⁰. According to these stories, in the days of "Patih Siwatang" and "Patih Katumenggungan" a Javanese army invaded Minangkabau. They were so numerous that, after they had all whetted their swords on a rock in the Kuantan valley, the entire rock was whittled away and had become a gorge, which to this day bears the name *Kilieran Djao*, the Javanese whetting-stone. In the Minangkabau country itself an agreement was reached, that the supremacy in the land was to be decided by the outcome of a battle between two buffaloes, one chosen by the Javanese, the other by the natives; in other versions the Javanese were represented by a tiger, the Minangkabau by a buffalo¹¹. This battle was won by the buffalo of the natives, and henceforth the inhabitants call themselves *MinangKubau*, i. e. "The buffalo was victorious". The

* In other versions Dipang or Djipang.

Javanese army then withdrew, but during their retreat were fallen on by the local population and massacred in such numbers that the dead could not be buried, and the scene of the slaughter is even today called *Padang Si Busue*, the "Field of Stench". This legend has been explained as referring to an attempted invasion and subsequent retreat of Krtanâgara and his newly-gained ally, Tribhuwanarâja of Malayu-Dharmmasraya, in the Malay Expedition, *Pamalayu*, of 1275—1292¹². A more detailed treatment of this legend lies outside the scope of this study. We would only like to say that it would be worth while to deal with the tiger-and-buffalo fight not only in connection with the "ancient legend" from Palembang, noted in the "Chu fan-chi"¹³, about a supernatural herd of buffaloes, but also with the Javanese ceremonial animal fights¹⁴, and, more in general, the opposing rôles played by the tiger (or lion) and the buffalo (or bull) in Indian myths¹⁵.

The legendary history in the *Sadjarah Malaju* may well also be based on the *Pamalayu*, as here, too, there is a King Tribuwana who enters Minangkabau from the south. The difference is that this king is not defeated and chased out of the country again, but is a benefactor (killing the monster Katimono), who founds a permanent dynasty there. It is possible that the two kings, Tribhûwanarâja Mauliwarmmadewa and Adityawarman, and their two penetrations into Minangkabau territory, are in the Malay Annals' legendary version merged into one.

The legends belonging to what we termed the Minangkabau group have been discussed by T. Braddell, who points out their resemblance to Persian tales. He first notes that in the *Sadjarah Malaju* three kings occur, Radja Heiran, Radja Suran and Radja Pandan, who may be equated with the three kings in the Persian Feridun-saga. Then, he says, it is noticeable that a triad of kings figure in other parts of Indonesia as well, and cites as example the three rulers of Minangkabau legend: Maharadjo Diradjo, Radjo Rum, and Radjo Dapang¹⁶. We may add that the version of the Minangkabau legend in which *four* kings play a part appears to contain some Indian elements. India makes much use of quadripartition in cosmological classification-systems, and one of the forms it can take is the idea of the Four Rulers of the Earth; they may be called *narapati*, *gajapati*, *aswapati*, and *chatrapati*, i. e. Lord of Men, Lord of Elephants, Lord of Horses, and Lord of Umbrellas; or they are specified as Mahârâja of India, Râjâtirâja of Persia, Kaisara of Rum, and Dewaputra of China¹⁷. There is, indeed, a striking correspondence to the Minang-

kabau version, with this difference that in Minangkabau there are usually only three princes (or, if there is a fourth, he is a rather nebulous, unimportant figure). The Lords of Rome and Japan (China) are found in both Indian and Minangkabau versions, but the ruler of Minangkabau seems to combine in his person the rôles of King of India and King of Persia ; he is, in fact, styled Maharadjo Diradjo, a combination of the Indian *Mahârâja* and the Persian *Râjâtirâja*. The title serves to accentuate the Minangkabau ruler's absolute supremacy as Lord of the World. This is apparent from an inscription of 1286, in which the lesser king Tribhuwanarâja is called Mahârâja, but the Paramount Lord, Krtanâgara: Mahârâjâdhirâja ¹⁸. As the Jangdipatuans of Minangkabau had no overlord above them, they too could assume the title Maharadjo Diradjo.

Of greater interest for our present purpose are those legends which tell of the Ruler's position within the Minangkabau community. There are, for instance, many stories which relate that Sri Maharadjo Diradjo contracted marriages with creatures from different parts of Minangkabau, and that the present inhabitants are the offspring of that couple. When the first King married a tigress (*harimau Tjampu*), the offspring became the inhabitants of Agam; and in the same way the people of L Koto and of XIII Koto (i. e. Solo' and environs) are descendants of Sri Maharadjo, and a cat (*kutjieng Siam*) and a dog (*andjieng Mqalam*) respectively ¹⁹. Other legends show some variations, in that Sri Maharadjo marries various animals, each match resulting in the birth of a girl; the girls then marry aboriginal men, and become the ancestresses of the present-day *luha'* ²⁰. Or again, the mode of descent is the same, but the correspondence between the *luha'* and the animal is different ²¹. The present author has met with four versions ; in all four Agam's population resulted from a marriage of Maharadjo with a tigress ;

Solo' in all four versions descended from a dog,

L Koto from a goat (2 ×), or a cat (2 ×),

Tanah Data from a cat (1 ×), or from a woman (2 ×).

Now in my opinion this legend-group shows up the essential function and position of the Minangkabau Ruler. He was the representative of the patrilineal, male, principle which enters into combinations with the matrilineal, female principle as expressed by Minangkabau social structure. The different parts of Minangkabau, divided into matrilineal clans and phratries as far as its socio-political organisation is concern-

ed, are gathered together, find their focus, as it were, in the Ruler, who acts as a kind of universal husband ; the male, patrilineal principle (the Minangkabau dynasty) being wedded to the female, matrilineal principle, the Minangkabau territory ²². Just as, in a system of double descent, the patrilineal clan encompasses all matri-clans in its connubia, so the Ruler by his marriages gathers the different *luha'*, in their female aspects, into one fold.

Why Agam has to be represented by a tigress, L Koto by a dog, etc., cannot be stated with certainty. It may well be that the tigress, the dog, and other animals were the matrilineal totems, either of the *luha'* as a whole, or of the "first families" of each district. Animal names as titles are far from scarce in Minangkabau. The formerly very mighty chief, the *Tuan Gadang* ("Great Lord") of Batipueh was styled the *Harimau Koto-Piliang*, "Tiger of Koto-Piliang" (other chieftains bearing titles as "The Mirror", "The Bright Torch", etc.) ²³. A whole district may also be called after an animal : Kubueng XIII is known as "The Elephant", etcetera ²⁴.

Indications of real totemism (what the cases just mentioned, of course, are not) are quite frequent, and are generally connected with a *kampueng*. The *kampueng* Domo may never cut down a *lasa*-tree, as their ancestress (*ninie'*) came forth from one ; nor may they kill a *domo*-bird. *Kampueng* Tjaniago must show respect towards *tijueng*-birds, as their *ninie'* was saved from danger by one ²⁵. *Kampueng* Piliang must always be careful to show due honour to crocodiles, for instance when washing or bathing in in a river, as their ancestor Katu-manggungan was reborn as a crocodile ²⁶. In the same way *kampueng* Djampa' must carefully observe certain ceremonial practices and taboos (*pantangan*) towards sharks, for a shark once helped their ancestress ²⁷. In view of this evident totemism, it is not surprising that the Radja of Djambi should be described as the son of a female tortoise, that had become pregnant through swallowing the betel-quid of a Jangdipatuan of Minangkabau ²⁸ ; and the stories of Sri Maharadjo's marriages must also be seen in this light *.

So far we have always spoken of *the* Minangkabau Ruler, or King ; actually there were three, of whom one was the most prominent in

* In the story of the tortoise and the betel-quid, the latter would seem to represent the male principle. So also Bundo Kandueng (the Queen-Mother) in Minangkabau legend), and a buffalo-cow, a mare, and a hen all become pregnant by eating a piece of the same coconut ²⁹.

political matters. He is the one we mean, and he was the only one who bore the title Jangdipatuan Basa, "He who is recognized as Great Lord". (Wilkinson perpetrated what must surely be one of the most fantastic etymologies in the Indonesian field when he wrote that the expression *da-punta-hyang*, occurring on an ancient inscription, "suggests *dipertuan*".) ³⁰

The Three Princes together were called the Radjo nan Tigo Sélo, a term which comprised the actual Jangdipatuan, or Radjo Alam (King of the World), the Radjo Adat (King of Custom), and Radjo Ibadat (King of Religion). The residence of the Radjo Alam, and therefore what one may call the capital of Minangkabau, was Pagarrujueng. The Radjo Adat and Radjo Ibadat were connected with the *nagari* Buo and Sumpu Kuduih respectively; probably they held these villages in fief. All three Rulers dwelt in Pagarrujueng (nowadays called *Nagari Tigo Balai*, a village near Batusangkar), in which each had one third part as his residence. The part belonging to Radjo Alam was Gudam, to Radjo Adat: Balai Djanggo, and to Radjo Ibadat: Kampueng Tengah ³¹. Another name for Gudam was Batu Patah (not, as Verkerk Pistorius says, Batu Ampil) ³².

This system of fiefs and residences has given rise to some misunderstanding. Datue' Sangguno Diradjo for instance, whose work on *adat* has the tendency to classify the most diverse elements of Minangkabau culture by fives, also mentions five Radjos, those of Pagarrujueng, Buo and Sumpu Kuduih, and two extra Radjos Adat, at Kampueng Tengah and Balai Djanggo.

There is a tradition, mentioned in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, that in 1680 a king of Minangkabau, Radjo Alif, on dying divided his realm among his three sons, who henceforth were to reign at Sungai Taro', Suruaso, and Pagarrujueng ³³. As Winstedt point out, this story is extremely improbable; no mention of it is made in the *Dagh-register* of 1680, as would almost certainly have happened in a matter of such importance ³⁴. The earliest reference to the supposed partition would appear to have been made by Van Babel (1761) ³⁵, and this seems to have been the source for the article in the *Encyclopaedie*. Wilkinson accepts the story as fact ³⁶, and Willinck equates this partition of Minangkabau into Sungai Taro', Suruaso, and Pagarrujueng with the occurrence of the three Radjos at Pagarrujueng, Buo, and Sumpu Kuduih, and the division of the *Alam* into three *luha*'s, Agam, L Koto, and Tanah Data ³⁷. It is ob-

vious that this theory is internally contradictory, and it is also geographically impossible, as all five places mentioned are within the *luha'* Tanah Data, and can therefore impossibly be connected with a division of the country into three *luha'*. It seems safest to reject the story of the tripartition of 1680 *in toto*.

As we have already said, the Royal House of the Radjo nan Tigo Sélo was patrilineally organised, and succession was from father to son. We repeat this on purpose, as B e g b i e, apparently confusing the rules applying to the ruling dynasty with those of the "commoners", says that the succession to the dignity of Ruler at Pagarrujueng went by matriliney "instead of, as it naturally should do", by patriliney ³⁸, and in another passage states that in Rembau, Sungai Udjong, Naning, and Djohol succession went to the oldest sister's son, as in Pagarrujueng ³⁹.

The Radjo nan III Sélo were considered to belong to three different *parui'* with one common *ninie'*; intermarriage between the *parui'* was permitted, as was even marriage within one's own *parui'*. K o o r e - m a n, from whom this information comes, explains it as a device to keep the royal blood pure ⁴⁰.

It is worth mentioning that the institution, and even the title, of Radjo nan III Sélo is also met with outside the Minangkabau nuclear territory, notably along the Batang Hari, where Radjo nan Tigo Sélo (or Silo) are met with either as district rulers ⁴¹, or as representatives of the Jangdipatuan of Pagarrujueng ⁴².

Another group of high dignitaries, whose functions were narrowly bound up with those of the rulers, and who seem to have disappeared from the scene when the Minangkabau dynasty was forcibly expelled in the eighteen-twenties, was formed by the Basa Ampè' Balai, the Great Men of the Four Council Halls. We know little about their rights and duties (a rather vague indication is given in the Kaba Tjindue Mato) ⁴³, but as to their titles all sources agree; they were the Bandaharo of Sungai Taro'

Tuan Kali of Padang Gantieng

Mangkudum of Sumanie'

Indomo (or Tuan Pandjang) of Suruaso ⁴⁴.

Not included among the Basa IV Balai, but of equal rank and importance, was the Tuan Gadang of Batipueh, the "Tiger of Koto-Piliang".

W i n s t e d t appears now and then to confuse the Basa IV Balai

with the Radjo nan III Sélo, as appears from his articles of 1934 and 1935. In the first he says that the Radjo nan III Sélo were *under* the Jangdipatuan ⁴⁵. This is incorrect, as we have seen : the Jangdipatuan himself was one of the Radjo nan III Sélo. In the second article he writes of a Jangdipatuan, Sultan Ahmed. "Below" him there were three "great chiefs", i. a. the Makhdum ⁴⁶ ; actually the Makhdum (Mangkudum) was one of the *four* "great chiefs".

Their function, as described in the Kaba Tjindue Mato, was something like that of messengers or inspectors sent out by the Jangdipatuan to different parts of his realm. The Bandaharo and Tuan Kali acted as deputy to the Radjo Adat and the Radjo Ibadat respectively, and as a preliminary court of appeal. The Kaba says that disputes on points of custom were to be heard by the Bandaharo first, and then could come up before the Radjo Adat ; in the same way religious problems were a matter for the Tuan Kali, and subsequently for the Radjo Ibadat. In both cases in final instance an appeal was possible to the Radjo Alam ⁴⁷.

The settlements of disputes on matters of custom is described more fully in Le y d s' article ⁴⁸. They were first to be discussed, if they assumed a more than purely village importance, by a council of the *nagari*-federation (*rapè' salarèh'*) ; next by a *rapè' saluha'* (*luha'* council) ; and at last to come before the Bandaharo, Radjo Adat, and Radjo Alam successively. This applies to matters affecting people of the Koto-Piliang phratry ; Bodi-Tjaniago procedure followed three stages : a *rapè' salarèh'*, next a *rapè' saluha'*, finally a *rapè'*, in the *Balai nan Pandjang*, at Tabè'. This is characteristic, as it shows how Bodi-Tjaniago custom by-passes both the Basa IV Balai and the Radjo nan III Sélo. All the Basa IV Balai were, in fact, bound up with the *adat Katumanggungan*. Their very titles prove this, as a honorific for the Bandaharo was *Pamuntja' Koto-Piliang* (Apex of Koto-Piliang), and so also for the Tuan Kali : *Sulueh Bèndang* (Clear Torch) *Koto-Piliang*, and for the Indomo : *Pajueng Pandji* (Umbrella-Flag) *Koto-Piliang* ⁴⁹. The Mangkudum, according to a different source, was styled *Peti Buniu* (probably *Pati Bunian*, Treasure-Chest) *Koto-Piliang* ⁵⁰. Furthermore, Le y d s has pointed out that the territory in which the four *nagari* Sungai Taro', Padang Gantieng, Sumanie', and Suruaso were situated, formed a solid block of Koto-Piliang *adat within* a larger Bodi-Tjaniago area ; and he notes that this Bodi-Tjaniago area had a

panghulu whose title, *Datue' Bandaharo nan Kunieng*, (the Yellow Bandaharo) appears to be in deliberate contrast with that of *Datue' Bandaharo nan Putih* (the White Bandaharo), one of the designations of the Bandaharo of Sungai Taro' ⁵¹.

Now the data on these four dignitaries are hardly sufficient to allow us to venture an explanation of what facts we have. One does get the impression that the Basa IV Balai, were local *panghulu*, with other words, subjected to the usual *adat* as applied to Minangkabau outside the royal household ; but to what circumstances they owed their special position, and why these powers "close to the throne" should all come forth from the Koto-Piliang phratry, is hard to say, and proof of any hypothesis would be even harder to give. Possibly the fact that the *adat Katumanggungan* laid greater stress on the principle of one chief per *nagari* (or at most four chiefs, one per *suku*) made it more suited to supply ministers to the ruling house than Bodi-Tjaniago with its $\pi\sigma\lambda\chi\sigma\iota\phi\alpha\chi\tau\upsilon\eta$. Or it may be that the dichotomy Koto-Piliang *versus* Bodi-Tjaniago was also bound up with the contrast, familiar in dual organisations, of male—female, and that this was the reason why Koto-Piliang was considered to some extent analogous to the group of the Ruler, who embodied the male principle. Even if this last supposition is correct, we know so little of how that idea took shape in practice, that it seems wiser to refrain from what must be mere speculation until, perhaps, more information can be gained, or another writer draws more satisfactory conclusions from the available data.

Of the Basa IV Balai, the Mangkudum merits some special attention, as he was rather exceptional in several respects. An *Undang-Undang* (Code of Laws, generally preceded by an historical introduction) tells of the appointment of the Indomo, the Tuan Kali, and the Pamuntjak of Sungai Taro', but the Mangkudum is not mentioned ; nor is he among the chiefs who receive honorific titles (*gala*) ⁵². Francis, administrator of the Minangkabau territories about 1830, speaks of three of the Basa IV Balai — not of the Mangkudum ⁵³. When the Jangdipatuan levied a toll, the inhabitants of Suruaso, Sungai Taro', and Padang Gantieng were exempt — but not those of Sumanie', the Mangkudum's *nagari* ⁵⁴. The inference is, that he did not really belong to the group of four. His task, too, was extraordinary. The Kaba Tjindue Mato describes him as the authority in military matters, but his important task was to maintain the relations with

the Minangkabau settlements on the Malay Peninsula : “*Rantau Mangkudum : Rembau, Si Mananti, diulèh urang Pahang Patani*” (The Mangkudum’s sphere of influence is Rembau and Sri Menanti, and the people of Pahang and Patani) ⁵⁵. Now as regular political relations between Minangkabau and the Negri Sembilan territories seem only to have commenced *circa* 1770, when the Peninsular Minangkabau sought help in the home-land for their struggle against Djohor, it is possible that the Mangkudum only rose to prominence at this relatively late date, and that his exceptional position among the Basa IV Balai is that of the newly-arrived interloper ; but here again we leave the realm of hard facts and substantiated hypotheses, and we must leave the question open for the present.

Now that a description has been given of the position of the Radjo nan III Sélo and their close collaborators, the Basa IV Balai — unfortunately a very sketchy one, based on very scant information — we may return to a closer examination on the rôle the Jangdipatuan played in Minangkabau life, and what he was really supposed to be and do according to the socio-political ideal.

As we saw, the generally accepted view is that he did nothing whatever ; Willinck characterized him as a real *roi fainéant*, and as far as I know this opinion has never been refuted. This point of view is based on the application of too exclusively European norms. We undoubtedly do not know much of the Jangdipatuan’s activities in the purely political sphere, but this does not mean that the Minangkabau considered him a nonentity. Marsden, writing in 1783, describes how the Jangdipatuan was “seen in a sacred light” by the inhabitants, and how an “air of mystery” surrounded him ⁵⁶. This is already an indication that, whatever the Ruler’s rôle in profane matters, he appears clearly to have been of some significance from a cultic, sacral standpoint. The veneration for his person was also felt outside the Minangkabau World, viz. in the Batak lands, where this attitude of respect was also extended to the “sacred messengers” who from time to time arrived there from Pagarrujueng ⁵⁷.

At the beginning of this chapter we described how in the legend the Jangdipatuan gathered together, so to speak, the different matrilineal groups and united them by the action of the patrilineal principle he represents. As to a certain extent similar idea appears to underlie the partition of Minangkabau into three *luha*. Agam is considered

Bodi-Tjaniago, L Koto : Koto-Piliang, while Tanah Data is said to be "mixed", i. e. to combine Bodi-Tjaniago and Koto-Piliang features ⁵⁸. In actual fact a plotting of the two *adat* according to *nagari*s shows all three *luha'* to be more or less mixed, and the two *adat* fairly evenly scattered over all Minangkabau. The characterisation of the three *luha'* given by Minangkabau tradition therefore must be taken to refer to the ideal pattern, not to actual fact. Now Tanah Data is very much the *luha'* of the Radjo nan III Sélo and the Basa IV Balai : all seven of their *nagari* are within the Tanah Data boundaries, and occupy quite a large part of the northern half of the district.

Our conclusion can only be, that Agam and L Koto each represent one of the phratries which divide the whole Minangkabau World, while the third, the *luha'* of the Jangdipatuan, combines the two, and holds them together. The Jangdipatuan again is the representative of the *total* community, and the Minangkabau two—three principle of partition (two phratries, and a third party representing the totality) appears as a Minangkabau variant of similar partitioning elsewhere in Indonesia, such as the four—five principle found in Java, and ably described by van Oss en b r u g g e n ⁵⁹.

Parenthetically we may remark that Minangkabau too has an institution that manifests a four—five partition. The Javanese *mantjapat* is an organisation of five villages, grouped in such a way that four of them form a ring round a fifth in the centre. The author just mentioned convincingly demonstrates that in this federation of villages the fifth is the representative of the group as a whole. The fact that Minangkabau also recognized a special bond between a central territory and its four surrounding neighbours (not necessarily associated with the cosmological theories which are bound up with the *mantjapat*) appears in disputes about landownership : to decide such disputes the unanimous testimony was required of the heads of the four "families" that owned the surrounding plots of land, who are called the *pasupadan* ⁶⁰. We shall refer to the *pasupadan*-complex again in connection with Negri Sembilan political organisation.

The Jangdipatuan's function of unifying, of almost literally incorporating all of his territories could not be fulfilled by his residence in Pagarrujueng alone; he had actively to maintain the bonds connecting him with his realm, and this was done by travelling through the country, along a route immutably fixed by tradition, spending an equal

amount of time at each, also traditionally determined, point along the route. On some of these *tracés* we have reasonably precise information, e. g. on the prescribed journey from Pagarrujueng to Mapat Tunggul, in Rau ⁶¹, or the circuit through the Kampar area ⁶². This prescribed track with its equally prescribed stopping-places was for Willinck one more indication of the insignificance of the Jangdipatuan: his subjects never came to him, but he had to visit them; and even then he could not go as he pleased, but his subjects forced him to keep within certain limits; nor was he allowed to sojourn for a more than short amount of time in each of the places he visited ⁶³. Actually the journey and the sojourn was a means of cementing the union between Ruler and realm, and between the different parts of the realm *inter se*.

This is probably also what Hamerster meant when he wrote to Westenenk that the prescribed route "connects the Ruler with his domain" ⁶⁴. The same procedure was followed in Korintji. This country was subject to Djambi; when a new King of Djambi ascended the throne, the bond with his subjects in Korintji also had to be renewed; this was done by sending envoys to collect tribute, and these envoys always followed the same traditionally fixed route, with the three high dignitaries of Korintji always included in the circuit ⁶⁵. In fact, the Minangkabau "commoners" themselves observe a similar custom, annually visiting the *nagari* where dwell the people with whom they are traditionally related, and in this way preserving the ancient connection ⁶⁶.

In the Kaba Sutan Manangkéran the bond between Solo' and Singkara' on the one hand, and Sungai Pagu on the other, is also manifested by a traditional route: a man in legendary times once travelled from Tjinangkie' to Sungai Pagu, and therefore "when we * visit Sungai Pagu, we must always say we come from Tjinangkie' " ⁶⁷.

The rôle of the Jangdipatuan as third party, comprising both phratries, is also apparent in the way he can make an end to the ceremonial battles of the *larèh*, the *parang adat*. If he, or his envoy, appears between the two antagonists, and his emblem, the yellow umbrella, is planted on the field of battle, the fight must stop. Here again the ruler reconciles, combines the two phratries.

The very ground on which the *parang adat* took place also testifies

* "we" are probably the inhabitants of Solo' and Singkara', the area where the Kaba in question had its origin.

to this: it was called *tanah radjo*, King's Ground, and belonged to neither *nagari*. Each *nagari* was surrounded by such a plot, which was neutral territory, neither Koto-Piliang nor Bodi-Tjaniago, but directly connected with the Radjo, the ruler. W e s t e n e n k tells that the inhabitants of the *nagari* always had (perhaps have, even now, after the abolition of the kingship) a certain feeling of awe towards these stretches of land, so that no one could be induced permanently to settle on it, or cultivate it; one would not feel safe there⁶⁸. Undoubtedly a feeling of deference towards the supernatural powers of the Jangdipatuan and everything connected with him is an important factor here.

As is the case in the Javanese courts, the Jangdipatuan had in his *entourage* persons whose abnormality in one respect or another made them feared and considered to be particularly richly endowed with *mana*. In Java the Rulers of Surakarta and Djokjakarta were (are?) accompanied by the *palawidja*, i.e. hunchbacks and other freaks⁶⁹. Their *mana* served to strengthen that of the Ruler. The Ruler himself was the depositary *par excellence* of a mysterious power, the royal "*mana*", or "*daulat*", to use the Arabic-Minangkabau term⁷⁰. Thus too, the Jangdipatuan's *entourage* included criminals who came to him seeking sanctuary, which was accorded them if they became servants, or slaves, of the Ruler, *handam di rumâh gadang*, i. e. "confined to the Great House"⁷¹. Illegitimate children also became slaves of the Jangdipatuan⁷². In both cases the "*handam*" are individuals who are outside the *adat*, true "out-laws", and who therefore constitute a danger to the community; but in the Jangdipatuan's surroundings there was place for the weird and the dangerous.

It is probably this danger inherent in the royal *daulat*, that finds its expression in the legendary history of the early days of the Jangdipatuans' rule⁷³. First, according to this story, they reigned at Sungai Taro'; but at that place their rule was harsh and severe, "*sangat keras parèntah*", so that the residence had to be transferred to Batu Patah (Pagarrjueng *).

All in all, the conclusion seems justified that the Jangdipatuan's duties were mainly of a sacred nature. He imparted his *daulat* to the

* There is a remarkable correspondence between this legend, and the tales about the "Sonnebait" (or rather Sonbai) dynasty on the island of Timor, who are described as harsh and cruel; and the purport of this characterisation is probably the same in both Minangkabau and Timor⁷⁴.

country and embodied the unity of the Minangkabau World as a whole. Possibly this can also be deduced from the Jangdipatuan's position among the Radjo nan III Sélo. All three were members of the patrilineal royal family. The Radjo-Adat, however, bore the title of Tuan Gadih, i. e. "Lord Virgin", or "Lady" ⁷⁵. Was this Radjo actually a woman, or a man bearing a female title? I do not know; the last descendant of the Pagarrujueng Royal House, who died in 1912, bore the title of Tuan Gadih Réno Sumpueh, and she was a woman ⁷⁶. Legend also says that the first Radjo Adat was a sister of the Jangdipatuan ⁷⁷. On the other hand, in Mapat Tjangtjang one of the three branches of the ruling family had a hereditary gala, "*Datue' Parampuan*", "*Female Datue'*" ; but the person who bore this title was a man ⁷⁸. Djohol, one of the Negri Sembilan states, also has a *Datue'* who is a male, but has (or had until recently) to wear his hair in female style, and whose office is said first to have been filled by a woman ⁷⁹. A possible conclusion is, that whether Radjo Adat was a man or a woman, he (or she) at any rate represented a female, or female principle. Combined with the title "Radjo Adat", the King of, or : who deals with, Custom, this would appear to indicate that Radjo Adat represents the matrilineal grouping, which is predominant in *social* and *political* matters. The Radjo Ibadat is King in sacred matters, i. e. represents the community as organised for *sacral* purposes, in which case patrilineal grouping is predominant. The Radjo Alam is able to combine both functions (in matters belonging to the jurisdiction of Radjo Adat as well as of Radjo Ibadat, final appeal to the Radjo Alam is permitted) ⁸⁰, as in dealings with his subjects he stands for the royal house in its entirety, and even for the unity of Minangkabau in all its aspects.

Our idea of the meaning and function of Minangkabau kingship is still far from complete, and the very brief sketch we have just given is still largely tentative and may prove to need correction on various scores. To get a clearer picture of the *rôle* played by the Ruler and especially of this triad of kings, which is not infrequently met with in other parts of Indonesia as well ⁸¹, one would need to study comparable institutions in a wider field, say western Indonesia, or Indonesia in its entirety.

Professor K o r n, in a recent article, has indicated what the most suitable approach for a study of this kind would be ⁸² ; it is of course understood that the data gathered from each society should be seen in

the context of that society's culture as a whole, but in spite of variations it is very well possible that the situation in one society, on which the data are abundant, may clarify at least some features of another, on which we are less well informed.

We ventured the opinion that Minangkabau society assumes its matrilineal aspect in socio-political matters, and that patrilineal organisation is bound up with religious, or sacral, life. This was based partly on an observation of the way in which the patrilineal royal house, represented by the Jangdipatuan, comes into contact with its Minangkabau subjects: the Jangdipatuan's actions and contacts serve mainly supernatural ends. The other reasons for our opinion was the contrast Radjo Adat—Radjo Ibadat. The contrast social and profane matters—sacred matters is evident here; and whereas the Radjo Adat appears to have been classified with the female principle, there is no such indication for the Radjo Ibadat, so that we may tentatively draw him into a male—female dichotomy, as representing the male side (with which he was closely connected anyway, *quâ* member of the patrilineal royal family). It should be noted here again, that although the word Ibadat is Arabic and specifically denotes the religion of Islam, that does not necessarily mean that the post of Radjo Ibadat itself only arose with the introduction of the Muslim faith. Islamic Canon Law is definitely based on patriliney; and if the theory is accepted that sacred functions were connected with patriliney, we may even suppose that the advent of Islam, a religion laying obvious stress on patrilinear organisation, did not cause a great upheaval, but rather introduced a new religious system which could more or less fit in with the accepted order of things — the details of this process can of course not be discussed here, although such a study should prove extremely interesting.

The contrast : male—female, sacred—profane need not necessarily always coincide with the bipartition royalty—commoners, but also finds its expression in the life of the Minangkabau "common man"; this would seem to be the explanation of the patrilineal traits discussed in the preceding chapter, which imparted to Minangkabau social organisation some of the characteristics of double descent. Here again, in our opinion, the patrilineal organisation makes its appearance as soon as supernatural, or sacred, matters are involved. This would explain the recognition of patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups

during the ceremony of the "*sumpah djo piri*", which undoubtedly bears a sacred character, and perhaps further study along these lines would also supply an explanation of the rather cryptic saying "*sako dari mama', warih dari bapa'*".

In this connection, too, we should consider the part played by Islam, as it may well largely explain the present day predominance of the matrilinear principle. As Islam gained ground, more and more "sacred", or "religious" matters would be considered the domain of this Faith; and as Islam absorbed these interests, they were proportionately withdrawn from the grip of the *adat*, so that finally there were very few sacred affairs with which the *adat* had to concern itself (the "magician", in Negri Sembilan called "*pawang*", does not appear to be a person of much importance in Minangkabau). As the *adat* came to deal almost exclusively with socio-political, legal and economic matters, and sacred affairs were drawn into the Muslim orbit, the patrilineal organisation, so closely bound up with the supernatural, dwindled into insignificance, leaving only slight traces in the field of ancestral custom, but assuming new importance as part and parcel of the *shari'a*.

We have little more to add to this *exposé* of our views of the significance of Minangkabau royalty and their place in a double-unilateral organisation. There is, however, one more question which we should not altogether ignore; it may be discussed here, as it were in an appendix to the rest of the chapter. There is a legend which says that before Maharadjo Diradjo came to Minangkabau there were already four *sukuchiefs* in function in the *nagari* Kumanih, viz. Papatih of *suku* Tjaniago, Katumanggungan of Malaju, Radjo Mangawa of Piliang, and Nie' Paduko of Patapang⁸³. When the Maharadjo arrived at Kumanih he called to Papatih nan Sabatang, asking to be admitted to the latter's house, and using the word *Datue'* as mode of address. Papatih refused, and did so again when Maharadjo repeated his request, now using the term "Father" (*Pa'*). Only when Maharadjo addressed Papatih as "Grandfather" (*Ninie'*), was he permitted to enter. For this reason the *panghulus* of Kumanih were always addressed by the Jangdipatuans as *Ninie'*, and they need never perform obeisance (*sambah*) before the Ruler. Two other dignitaries, the Bandaharo nan Kunieng of V Kaum, and the Tuan Gadang of Batipueh (respectively a Bodi-Tjaniago and a Koto-Piliang *panghulu* of Tanah Data) were likewise exempt from making the customary humble bow before the Jangdipatuan, and were

permitted to greet him standing and accompanied by their insignia of office, the umbrella. Such manifestations of an opposition between Rulers and the customary chiefs of their subjects are met with in other parts of Indonesia as well *. *V a n N a e r s s e n*⁸⁵ explains a comparable phenomenon in Java as an aversion to Hindu-Javanese acculturation on the part of communities on the periphery of the sphere of influence of the royal courts **. A similar explanation is given by *J o u s t r a*⁸⁶ for the situation in Minangkabau, while *W e s t e n e n k* more explicitly describes it as a conflict between the ancient inhabitants of Minangkabau, who were settled in the country prior to the advent of the Jangdipatuan *cum suis*, and these comparative newcomers, the members of the royal dynasty⁸⁷. This explanation — which is essentially in agreement with the one given by the Minangkabau themselves in the legend just quoted — may or may not be correct; but as long as Minangkabau ancient history is still so little known it may be safer not to put forward unverifiable historical hypotheses. Let us rather confine ourselves to a purely descriptive statement: in the legend and the customs just mentioned there appears a deliberate confrontation of the royal power on the one hand with, on the other, the social organisation of the “commoners”, represented in one version by one chief of Bodi-Tjaniago and one of Koto-Piliang (together standing for both phratries, that is to say, for all Minangkabau), in another version by one of Minangkabau’s two ancestors, Parapatih nan Sabatang. (As Koto-Piliang was the phratry closest to the royal house, Parapatih probably acts here as foreman of Bodi-Tjaniago, the phratry most sharply distinct from it). The Jangdipatuan, for all his power, is represented as showing deference to the local chiefs, who are described as belonging to an older, more venerable form of government. The whole situation thus resolves itself into an opposition between the Jangdipatuan and the local chiefs, who are represented as more closely connected with the Minangkabau territory. It is at the same time a contrast between two principles of social organisation, the patrilineal and the matrilineal.

It may be worth while to note that in eastern Indonesia, where the double-unilateral organisation is much more clearly expressed than in Minangkabau, and even entails a true double dualism, one often

* Atjeh, for instance⁸⁴.

** I am indebted to Mr. J. B. A v é for this reference.

finds four rulers in a remarkable interrelationship. In Fialarang (Timor), for instance, the Astanara (chief ruler) is contrasted to the Fettor (his "Right Hand"), as each belongs to a different patrilineal phratry; but a matrilineal dualism contrasts both to the Surik ulun and the Mak o'an⁸⁸:



Now Minangkabau has a far less pronounced double-unilateral organisation, let alone a true double dualism, so it would be foolish to expect far-reaching resemblances to the East-Indonesian system. All the same, there may be this analogy, that the legend we are dealing with also contrasts Parapatih and Katumanggungan on the one hand to the Jangdipatuan on the other, as representatives of two different principles of social organisation. The difference from the Timorese pattern is obvious, but one gets the impression that, as in the eastern part of the Archipelago the double-unilateral system finds its expression in the political organisation, so also Minangkabau expresses a contrast between the patrilineal rulers and the matrilineal ancestors in its own way, in accordance with its own peculiar social structure.

Chapter references.

¹ F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Amsterdam 1938), I, 248.

² Stutterheim (2), II, 92; IAL 1938, 101; Westenenk (5), 15.

³ Stapel, *loc. cit.*, 280.

⁴ Sedjarah Malaju, *tjeritera* II.

⁵ Wilkinson (4), 28.

⁶ Sedjarah Malaju, 55 seq.; Hang Tuah, 22.

⁷ Wilkinson (10), 9.

⁸ Veth, *2e gedeelte*, 177.

⁹ de Josselin de Jong (1).

¹⁰ Singapore-edition.

¹¹ Willinck, 38; Hijmans van Anrooy, 295.

¹² Westenenk (3), 257; Westenenk (5), 16.

- ¹³ Blagden (1), 127.
- ¹⁴ Veth, Java (Haarlem, 1896—1907), IV, 382.
- ¹⁵ Chatterji, 81.
- ¹⁶ T. Braddell, 132, 133; R. Braddel, 43; Wilkinson (3), 168.
- ¹⁷ Przyłuski, 33.
- ¹⁸ Krom, 333.
- ¹⁹ Willinck, 22.
- ²⁰ Netscher, 44.
- ²¹ Joustra (2), 51; Graafland, 77.
- ²² Korn (2), 180.
- ²³ Hosman, 14.
- ²⁴ Kaba Tjindue Mato, 45.
- ²⁵ de Waal, 106.
- ²⁶ Graafland, 76.
- ²⁷ Graafland, 76.
- ²⁸ Damsté (1), 282.
- ²⁹ Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, 744.
- ³⁰ Wilkinson, Early Indian Influence (JMBRAS XIII), 7.
- ³¹ Westenenk (1), 135.
- ³² Verkerk Pistorius, 81.
- ³³ Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, 739.
- ³⁴ Winstedt (4), 59.
- ³⁵ Kielstra (1), 500.
- ³⁶ Wilkinson (9), 4.
- ³⁷ Willinck, 126.
- ³⁸ Begbie, 134.
- ³⁹ Adatrechtbundels XXVI, 129.
- ⁴⁰ Adatrechtbundels XI, 141.
- ⁴¹ Adatrechtbundels XXVII, 318; Damsté (2), 328.
- ⁴² Willinck, 253.
- ⁴³ Kaba Tjindue Mato, 8.
- ⁴⁴ Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, 739.
- ⁴⁵ Winstedt (4), 59.
- ⁴⁶ Winstedt (6), 166.
- ⁴⁷ Schäfer, 54.
- ⁴⁸ Leyds, 400.
- ⁴⁹ Hosman, 14.
- ⁵⁰ Schäfer, 55.
- ⁵¹ Leyds, 392.
- ⁵² Hosman, 14.
- ⁵³ Kielstra (1), 500.
- ⁵⁴ Adatrechtbundels XX, 163.
- ⁵⁵ Hamerster, 1466.
- ⁵⁶ Marsden, 269.
- ⁵⁷ Marsden, 305.
- ⁵⁸ Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië.
- ⁵⁹ van Ossenbruggen (1).
- ⁶⁰ van Vollenhoven, 258, 259.
- ⁶¹ Ballot (1), 381.
- ⁶² Willinck, 241.
- ⁶³ Willinck, 224, 227, 235.
- ⁶⁴ Hamerster, private letter to Westenenk, September 16, 1912.
(In the library of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden).
- ⁶⁵ Korn (2), 184.
- ⁶⁶ Adatrechtbundels X, 110.
- ⁶⁷ Kaba Sutan Manangkéran, 210.
- ⁶⁸ Westenenk (1), 99.
- ⁶⁹ Groneman, 18.
- ⁷⁰ Kooyman, 74—79.
- ⁷¹ Willinck, 228.
- ⁷² Willinck, 135.
- ⁷³ Netscher, 52; Hosman, 14.
- ⁷⁴ van Wouden, 117.
- ⁷⁵ Westenenk (1), 143.
- ⁷⁶ Westenenk (1), 117.
- ⁷⁷ Westenenk (2), 245.
- ⁷⁸ Damsté (2), 338; Ballot (1), 368.
- ⁷⁹ Lister (1), 35 seq.
- ⁸⁰ Schäfer, 54.
- ⁸¹ van Wouden, 105.
- ⁸² Korn (2), 184.
- ⁸³ Westenenk (2), 238.
- ⁸⁴ Snouck Hurgronje (1), I, 140.
- ⁸⁵ van Naerssen, 10.
- ⁸⁶ Joustra (2), 50.
- ⁸⁷ Westenenk (2), 239, 236.
- ⁸⁸ van Wouden, 110.

CHAPTER VII.

MODERN TRENDS IN MINANGKABAU.

Towards the end of the previous chapter the time perspective was introduced, both by the theory of a conflict between the Rulers and the pre-monarchical functionaries, and by our description of the possible influence of Islam on Minangkabau religious and political system. Such reconstructions may have the disadvantage of always being largely speculative, but they serve the purpose of underlining the fact that *adat* is not an immutable entity, but is continually subjected to stresses from within and without, and is therefore continually undergoing readaptation and change.

This process is most clearly observable when we no longer try to envisage the changes wrought in past centuries, but look to descriptions of the most recent trends, say during the twentieth century. The most active forces with which Minangkabau culture has to contend are undoubtedly Islam and modern European influence. We do not intend to give an analysis of the way in which the culture contact took place in Minangkabau, but will limit ourselves to a purely descriptive survey of recent tendencies in Minangkabau *adat*, which may well show that we cannot dismiss the impact of European civilisation as a "disruptive force" acting on the static body of native custom, but that the latter is attempting to find its own way of adaptation to outside influence, as it has done before in its history — although the strains to which it is subjected now may be greater than anything it previously experienced.

One of the changes most frequently commented on is the closer bond between father and child (especially son), as manifested in various situations. J o u s t r a already observed this tendency in 1920¹; it is also noted by v a n O s s e n b r u g g e n², who refers to the growing popularity of the *hibah*. According to this practice a man may, during his lifetime, give a present out of his individual earnings (*pantjarian*) to whomever he may choose. If, as nowadays frequently happens, a father makes this kind of gift to his son, the amount given is of course

no longer liable to revert to the father's matrilineal family, to be administered perhaps by the father's oldest sister. De Moub ray has pointed out that the *hibah* thus tends to weaken the unilateral cohesion of the matri-clan³. In a previous chapter we cited evidence to show that the custom of a son receiving goods from his father (as inheritance or as a present) is not only a recent development, but one recognized by tradition. It does, however, appear to be taking place on a larger scale now than formerly, and the absence, or weakening, of any legal or moral objection to a man's absolutely free disposal of his *pantjarian* may in all probability also be accounted a modern feature⁴.

Parallel to the favouring of the son by his father is the tendency to consider the education of a boy the responsibility of his father rather than of his matrilineal relatives. It has become customary for the father to pay his son's school fees⁵.

We also meet with a case, recorded in 1933, of a father acting as guardian of his son. Formerly this rôle would certainly be played by one of the boy's *mama'* (preferably has *mama' par excellence*, mother's oldest brother), or at least a male clan-mate⁶.

Concomitant with the lessening of *parui'* and *kampueng* solidarity is the diminution of the chief's importance. As far back as 1913 Westenenk convened a meeting of Minangkabau authorities on *adat* matters to discuss the modern tendencies and the attitude to adopt towards them. On that occasion one of those present, Datue' Nawawi, mentioned the increasing lack of respect for the rule *pai tampè' batanjo, pulang tampè' babarito*. According to this rule the *mama'* (probably used here as meaning *parui'*-chief) has to be consulted in all kinds of actions: before a house is built or a wedding is arranged; before any important financial transaction, etcetera. As the saying has it: "On going he (the *mama'*) must be asked, on returning he must be informed". This, then, appears to be so seldom done that Nawawi complained of the ignoring of the *mama'* in matters on which he ought to be consulted⁷.

If this points to a lessening of the family spirit in the face of more individualistic action, the same can be said of the attitude towards marriage. The point of view that marriage was largely an affair between genealogical groups (*parui'*, *kampueng*, or *suku*), and therefore also to be arranged by the leaders of the group — a point of view closely connected with the system of connubia, as described in

Chapter V, § 2 — is attacked by the moderns who consider marriage an affair solely of the young people directly concerned. The conflict between romantic lovers whose plans of marriage are frustrated by scheming parents who had planned a different match for their children, and the evils of marriages arranged without consideration for the affections of the bride and groom to-be, furnish favourite themes for the Malay * novels of the nineteen-twenties and thirties ⁸.

Not only the way marriages are arranged, but also the marriages themselves run counter to many traditional conceptions. The novel "Karena Mentoea" ⁹, written in 1932, deals with the conflict that arises when a young Minangkabau, who had gone to the Sunda-lands (West Java) to seek his fortune, returns to his village accompanied by his Sundanese wife. The older people, and especially his mother, are shocked that he should have married a "foreign" girl. As the novels of the period generally dealt with questions which were uppermost in the minds of the reading public, we may safely assume that conflicts of this kind were — to some extent probably still are — no infrequent occurrence in Minangkabau.

Thus also the younger generation is more ready to break with the rule of preferential marriage with *mo-br-da* ¹⁰, and feels less aversion towards marriages within the *kampueng* (or even *parui*) ¹¹.

Not only is the influence of the "family" declining when it comes to arranging marriages, but also as property-owning unit its importance tends to become less. According to *adat* ancestral property may only be sold for certain purposes, explicitly laid down in sayings, and generally known. In areas which have been subjected to the greatest changes, such as Padang, these rules are neglected, and sale of *harto pusako* is no longer considered such a weighty matter that one only resorts to it in utmost need ¹².

Some far-reaching changes have also been noted in the *rantau*. Indragiri is said to show a gradual increase of traits foreign to a matrilineal organisation. Originally husband and wife were considered as remaining in their own *suku* also when married, and each remained an inmate of his or her own communal dwelling. In recent times, however, husband and wife with their children tend to have a house of their own, or else they settle in the communal dwelling of the spouse whose *suku* ranks highest in social prestige ¹³.

* Malay, because written in that language. Those referred to are, however, by Minangkabau authors, and have their scene set in Minangkabau.

In Painan, too, a tendency prevails for the nuclear family to have its own house. The result is that members of the same *suku*, and even of the same *parui'*, no longer live together. As a unit which lives scattered far and wide begins to show less cohesion, the authority of the *panghulu* also diminishes, and finally the government official has to step in. His solution, as reported in 1938, was to institute territorial *panghulu*, thus marking a definite break with the old principles ¹⁴.

Even where the socio-political organisation is not so thoroughly put out of joint as in this case, there is still a continual shifting of emphasis from one form of organisation to another within the confines of the *adat* itself. Thus it has been observed that the *adat Parapatih* is penetrating further and further in the *luha'* L Koto. This is shown by an increased importance of the *panghulu andiko* (heads of *parui'*) ; and also by a more marked preference for succession to a post to be arranged through discussion, and consideration of the wishes of the present occupant — according to the rule *hidui' bakarilahan* ("while alive he — the present head — exercises free will") — rather than to admit an automatic inheritance by the *kamanakan* of the present dignitary, as is the rule according to *adat Katumanggungan* ¹⁵.

So we may end the part of our work devoted to Minangkabau on this note of flux and change. The recent tendencies are, no doubt, largely due to Occidental political, social, and economic influence. It may be remarked that the Minangkabau has proved very much alive to the demands of the modern age, placing himself well to the fore both in the Malay literary revival, and in the political action of the Indonesian Nationalist movement. On the other hand, as we have already remarked, all culture change must not be reduced to a breakdown of ancient ways of life by the impact of an alien system ; in other words, we must avoid the tendency, stigmatized by Herskovits as ethnocentrism, to "see native cultures everywhere forced out of existence by the overwhelming drive of European techniques", and "the feeling that these 'simpler' folk must inevitably accept the sanctions of their more efficient rulers as they do some of the outward modes of life of those under whose control they live" ¹⁶. In fact, some, of the conflict-situations which have just been described are perhaps not a typically modern development at all. When a *panghulu* complains that the *mama'* are no longer consulted as frequently as they ought to and used to be, or when a young man shows a marked lack of enthusiasm for a bride whom the *adat* considers ideal,

we should probably rather see these situations as, in the first case, an idealisation of the past and, in the second, a conflict between the ideal pattern and practice. Neither is typically modern.

A fuller insight into the whole problem can only be gained by a study in the field, based, of course, on a theoretical knowledge of the culture concerned.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Joustra (2), 132.
 - ² van Ossenbruggen (2), 220.
 - ³ de Moubray, 202.
 - ⁴ Joustra (2), 132.
 - ⁵ L., 670.
 - ⁶ ter Haar, 237.
 - ⁷ Adatrechtbundels X, 210.
 - ⁸ Drewes (1), 316 *seq.*, 331; Spat, 123; Gonda (1), 28.
 - ⁹ Iskandar (2).
 - ¹⁰ Pamontjak.
 - ¹¹ Iskander (1).
 - ¹² Joustra (2), 132.
 - ¹³ Graafland, 43—46.
 - ¹⁴ Lapré (2), 20.
 - ¹⁵ Pauw, 22.
 - ¹⁶ Herskovits, 31, 32.
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CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

Negri Sembilan is a state on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, mainly Minangkabau in culture and history. It is ruled by a Jangdi-pertuan Besar whose residence is at Sri Menanti. Before the war it was one of the Federated Malay States.

Its history is closely bound up with that of Malaka and Djohor (Johore, in Anglo-Malay spelling). In 1365 the Nāgarakrtāgama — a poem originating at the Javanese court — mentions Tumasik, a town on the site of present-day Singapore, as a tributary of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. Some fifteen years later a ruler of Tumasik has to flee from the city (because of a Javanese attack ?), and he founds Malaka, further up the Peninsula on the west coast, in 1403. This is the beginning of the rule of a line of Malaka Sultans, which ends with the capture of the town by the Portuguese in 1511. The reigning Sultan escaped to Djohor, and the dynasty continued to rule, now based on Djohor instead of in Malaka ; it is in fact reigning to this day, as both the ruling families of Djohor and of Pérak are descended from the Sultan Mahmud who fled from Malaka to Djohor in 1511¹. Until the eighteenth century Negri Sembilan, as far as it was centrally governed at all, formed part of the Malaka-Djohor Sultanate, and was apparently held in feoff by the *Bendahara*, who may be described as the hereditary Prime Ministers of the Sultanate². This is, at least, fairly certain for the districts of Klang and Djohor³. This lasted until the period of confusion, between 1717 and *circa* 1725, when Djohor, the Bugis, and Radja Ketjil, the adventurer from Siak, were involved in continual warfare, with varying success and ever-changing alliances. In 1748 the battles flared up again, with the Bugis now being led by Daèng Kambodja⁴.

The Dutch attempted to install him as ruler of the Negri Sembilan territories, but to no avail. The inhabitants then took the initiative and invited Pagarrjueng to send them a man of their own nationality to be their ruler. With the installation of the Minangkabau

Radja Maléwar (*ca.* 1770) Negri Sembilan enters history as an independent state.

New Jangdipertuans were sent over from Minangkabau whenever one of the Sri Menanti rulers died, and this practice continued until the eighteen-thirties, probably terminating on account of the massacre of the Minangkabau dynasty by the Padris. Since then the office of Jangdipertuan Besar, Sri Menanti, has been hereditary.

When the Minangkabau element of population initially immigrated into Negri Sembilan, is still far from certain. All we can say is that the notions of Schebesta⁵ and Loeb⁶, that the entire "Malay" population of the Peninsula is of Minangkabau origin, is certainly incorrect; and we know that they were present in considerable numbers in 1602, as they are mentioned by Godinhode Eredia, and another 17th century author, Careri, mentions a king, "Pagarioyon", residing in Naning⁷. According to R. A. Kern, the coming of immigrants from Minangkabau from across the Straits is already mentioned by Albuquerque in 1512⁸. Local legends place the immigration in 1388⁹, or make it follow the Javanese attack on Tumasik (1377)¹⁰. Winstedt puts the immigration in the 15th century or before¹¹, Wilkinson from the first half of the 16th onwards¹². Gullick is fairly definite as to the dates; by the beginning of the 17th century the Minangkabaus had been permanently settled in the districts of Rembau and Naning for a considerable amount of time, but their occupation of Sungai Ujong was just beginning¹³.

When the Minangkabau crossed over to the Malay Peninsula they found it inhabited by a totally strange population, nowadays considered as belonging to two main groups: the Negrito Semang, and the Veddoïd Senoi (often called Sakai)¹⁴. According to Negri Sembilan tradition the Minangkabau immigrants married Sakai women, and the offspring of these mixed marriages inherited the rights to ownership of the land from their mothers — the legends presuming the Sakai to agree with the Minangkabau in having a matrilineal organisation¹⁵. In this manner each of the districts, *negeri* or *luha*, making up Negri Sembilan, has one clan which is supposed to be descended from the aboriginal women, and which is therefore considered originally to have owned all the land, and to which the district chief, the *Undang*, must always belong. This privileged clan is called the *Biduanda* or *Waris* clan. The legend is undoubtedly a fiction, with the tendency to justify the immigrants' possession of the land. The theme of immigrant males marrying ab-

original women is very frequently met with in legendary history, in other countries also. The first king of Bengkulen, to cite only one example, who came from Minangkabau, married the daughter of one of the original inhabitants of the country¹⁶. In spite of the fairly obvious fictitious character of all the tales about the intermarrying with Sakai females, it has not always been accepted as such by European writers. Winstedt, for instance, raises the possibility of its being "a Minangkabau fiction"¹⁷, but on the very next page appears to accept the descent of the Biduanda from "aborigines" or "naked savages" as a fact, and he even interprets a fragment of another legend as showing how the men of Minangkabau were "hoodwinked by a simple jungle tribe"¹⁸. Actually I think that to the idealised picture of the Minangkabau colonists peacefully acquiring land through intermarriage, or even being cheated by the earlier inhabitants, should be opposed Skeat & Blagden's testimony that there is "as little likelihood of Malays being cheated by any of these wild races as there would be of the wolf of the fable being deceived by the lamb"¹⁹. Or we may refer to the many descriptions of the manner in which the simpler tribes were exploited and oppressed by the Malay and Minangkabau population, beginning with Jan Jansz. Menie, who in 1642 described the ravages caused by the "Manicabers" among the "inlanders"²⁰, and amplified in more recent works by Martin²¹, Skeat & Blagden²², Wilkinson²³, and others*.

The position of the Waris may be likened to that of the privileged "families" in Minangkabau who are considered to be the founders of the *nagari* in which they dwell.

Negri Sembilan socio-political organisation at first gives the impression of greater simplicity than is met with in Minangkabau. Here we no longer need to thread a maze of *djurai*, *parui*, *kampueng*, and *suku*, but the units appear to be more sharply defined and clear-cut. The smallest unit is the *perut* (the same word as Minangkabau *parui*),

* As Winstedt accepts the story of the aboriginal descent of the Biduanda as being true, he sees an impossibility in the Minangkabau accepting an Undang belonging to a family of despised aborigines, and granting that family all manners of privileges. He solves the difficulty by not admitting the synonymity of Waris and Biduanda, but taking Biduanda as meaning the semi-aborigines, and Waris the descendants of the Malaka Bendaharas. The privileged, Undang-supplying, families are therefore only the Waris, not the Biduanda²⁴. In our opinion there is no justification for this construction.

headed by an *ibu-bapa'* (literally: mother-father), *buapa'*, or according to de Moubray, *ibu-buapa'*²⁵ (this last term seems rather improbable). I cannot recall ever having found a definition of the extent of a *perut*, but it probably corresponds to a Minangkabau *parui'*. Related *perut* form a *suku* (most closely resembling a Minangkabau *kampueng*), having as its chief a *lembaga*. The *suku* is often designated as a "tribe", but the word "clan" seems preferable. In all Negri Sembilan there are only twelve *suku*, viz. Simalanggang, Pajokumbuh, Mungkar, Sri Lemak, Batu Hampar, Batu Balang, Tanah Datar, Tiga Batu, Tiga Nènè', Ana' Atjeh, Ana' Malaka, and Biduanda²⁶.

The next highest unit, above the *suku*, is no longer genealogical, but territorial. Negri Sembilan is, as its name "The Nine States" implies, traditionally a federation of nine *negeri*. In actual fact the number has varied in the course of history; at present thirteen would appear to be recognized: Sungai Ujong, Djelebu, Djohol, Rembau, Tampin, Ulu Muar, Teratji, Djempol, Gunung Pasir, Inas, Gementjeh, and Linggi²⁷. Another word for these *negeri* is *luha'*; in English we shall use the word "district", reserving "state" for Negri Sembilan as a whole. The *luha'*-chief's title is Undang, and the Undang, as we have seen, is always * a member of the Biduanda-clan. In each district four *suku* occur (one Biduanda and three others), and sometimes a *suku* in one district is considered related to its namesake in another; in this way "a Sri Lemak tribe (i. e. clan; d. J. d. J.) in Teratji may not intermarry with a Sri Lemak tribe in Muar"²⁸.

We can now deal with Negri Sembilan social structure in rather greater detail.

Data on kinship terminology are less complete than for Minangkabau, and must be almost exclusively drawn from two articles, one by Winstedt²⁹ and one by Taylor³⁰. They give the following picture:

br: *saudara* (older br: *abang*; younger br: *ade'*)

si: *saudara* (older si: *kaka'*; younger si: *ade'*)

br-wife, si-husband, br-so, br-da: ?

si-so: *ana' buah*

si-da: *ana' buah*

grandchild: *tjutju*

great-grandchild: *tjitjit*

* Except in Naning and, in a way, in Teratji.

great-great-grandchild, etc. : *piut*, *oneng-oneng*, and *antah-antah*
 da-husband : *minantu*
 so-wife : *minantu*
 half-siblings : *saudara sabaka*, or *saudara sakadim* (same father), *sau-*
 dara sa-indok (same mother)
 mo : *ibu*, *ma'*, or *indo'*
 mo-mo : *wan*
 mo-fa : *to' aki*
 mo-mo-si : *wan sana' ibu*
 mo-mo-br : *to' aki*
 mo-si : *ma' sana' ibu*
 mo-si-husband : ?
 mo-br : *bapa'* ; (*bapa' ketjil* if younger than mo)
 mo-br-wife : ?
 mo-si-so : *sana' ibu*
 mo-si-da : *sana' ibu*
 mo-br-da : *saudara*
 mo-br-so : *saudara*
 fa : *bapa'*
 fa-fa : *to' aki*
 fa-mo : *wan*
 fa-fa-si : *wan*
 fa-fa-br : *to' aki*
 fa-br : *bapa'* (*bapa' ketjil* if younger than fa)
 fa-br-wife : *ma' saudara* (?)
 fa-si : *ma' saudara*
 fa-si-husband : ?
 fa-br-so, fa-br-da, fa-si-so, fa-si-da : *saudara* (?)
 wife's si : *ipar*
 wife's br : *ipar*
 wife's si-husband : *biras*
 wife's br-wife : ?
 wife's si-so, wife's si-da, wife's br-da : ?
 wife's mo : *mintua*
 wife's fa : *bapa' mintua* (a neologism)
 wife's mo-br, wife's mo-si : *mintua sana' ibu*
 husband's si : *ipar*
 husband's br : *ipar*
 husband's si-husband : ?

husband's br-wife : *biras*

husband's si-so, husband's si-da, husband's br-so, husband's br-da : ?

husband's mo : *mintua*

husband's fa : *bapa' mintua* (a neologism)

husband's mo-si : *mintua sana' ibu*.

To this need only be added the way, noted by Taylor, of designating more remote cousins : *sana' ibu*, *sana' dato'*, *sana' mojang*, etc. denote *sana'* (cousins) whose *ibu*, *dato'*, or *mojang* (mother, grandmother, great-grandmother) were sisters.

It will be noted that the terminological system closely approximates the generation type ; its lack of unilateral stress is even more pronounced than in Minangkabau, as here even a separate word for *mama'* is missing, mo-br and fa-br both being called "father", *bapa'*. The remark that lack of a separate term for one special relative often is a sign that the relative in question is of slight importance to the speaker²¹ seems to hold good in this case, as the *mama'* is actually a less important personage in Negri Sembilan than in Minangkabau.

Marriage is regulated by a fairly intricate set of rules. Monogamy would appear to preponderate. The inhabitants themselves explain this by the rationalizing argument that a man married to several wives would never be able to give all his attention to the work he is expected to do for his wife's clan, but would have to divide his energy over various clans²³. We do meet with an uncorroborated statement that the Jangdipertuan was permitted four, an Undang three, and a Lembaga two wives²², but even if correct it apparently refers to privileges accorded to leaders of the community over and above the single marriage as customary with the majority of the population. When polygyny does occur, one very strict prohibition is in force : a man may not be married to two women of the same *suku*²⁴. This is called "putting two ladders against the same palm-trunk" (*enau sebatang dua sigai*), and who broke the rule was liable to be sentenced to death²⁵. It is remarkable that the same expression occurs, in a different context, in a Naning Legend. Parapatih and Katumanggungan prefer to divide the country into two halves rather than together become its dual rulers, as that would be *enau sebatang dua sigai*²⁶. Not only simultaneous, but also successive marriages in the same *suku* are to be avoided: after a divorce, a man should not remarry in his divorced wife's *suku*. A breach of this rule is, however, a less serious matter.

That the rôle of the father is not entirely ignored when descent

is traced is shown by the prohibition of marriage between half-siblings, which holds good also when the half-brother and half-sister have only the *father* in common ²⁷. Such a marriage would probably be reckoned among the worst kinds of incest, one in which closest relatives are involved : *sumbang balai melintang*. This term is translated by P a r r & M a c k r a y as "incest traversing the Law-giver's Hall of Audience" ²⁸, but its actual meaning is, in our opinion : "incest of the Transverse Council-House" ; this gives us a clue to the history of the term, for Balai Malintang is the name of a well-known council-house in Buo, *luha'* Tanah Data, Minangkabau ²⁹. Now Buo was the territory of the Radjo Adat, so that *sumbang balai melintang* probably originally meant : a case of incest forming an exceptionally grave breach of *adat*, to be dealt with in the Balai Malintang, the court of the Radjo Adat himself.

Marriage between sisters' children is prohibited, as it would obviously be a breach of matrilineal exogamy ⁴⁰. Marriage between brothers' children is not allowed either, and this has puzzled various writers. W i n s t e d t calls it "illogical" ⁴¹, and B l a g d e n explains it as Muslim influence ⁴². As W i n s t e d t, in making a comparison with the social structure of the matrilineal Khassis, notes that among them the same prohibition obtains ⁴³, that explanation falls to the ground. What we have here is, of course, a prohibition of parallel-cousin marriage. We need not go into details on this subject, and will only note that a prohibition of marriage with parallel-cousins and a preference for cross-cousin marriage is compatible with any social structure recognizing exogamous moieties (phratries).

Now we have nowhere found indications that such a preference, or demand, for c.c.m. is still in vigour in Negri Sembilan, but only that c.c.m. (apparently in both its forms) is p e r m i t t e d ⁴⁴. There are, however, certain data which can, in our opinion, best be interpreted as traces of such a connubium. From three districts, Teratji ⁴⁵, Naning ⁴⁶, and Djempol ⁴⁷, cases are reported of functionaries always having to marry women from one special *suku* or *perut*. Although the information is far from complete, it does suggest a regular relationship of bride-giver and bride-taker between the *suku* or *perut* concerned. Nevertheless, such indications are rare, and there does not seem to be any pronounced preference for mo-br-da marriage in Negri Sembilan today — except, perhaps, among *adat* chiefs, as noted above, who may be expected to be more meticulous in upholding old customs.

As in Minangkabau, there is a tendency to keep up the bonds between descent groups which a marriage has forged, through the custom of *ganti tikar*, "changing one's sleeping-mat", i. e. remarrying in the clan of one's deceased wife ⁴⁸. In Kuala Pilah (the area round Sri Menanti) the expression *ganti tikar* is only used for a remarriage with the deceased wife's full sister, *sa-ibu sa-bapa'* ⁴⁹ — another indication that descent from the father is taken into account in certain circumstances.

If sororate is favoured, levirate is, remarkably enough, prohibited, at least in Kuala Pilah ⁵⁰.

As to the basic exogamous units, the sources contradict one another. In Rembau, we are told, *perut* belonging to the same *suku* may intermarry, unless a common ancestress can still be traced ⁵¹ (traceability appears to extend to two generations back). On the other hand, another informant says that the rule of exogamy applies not only to *perut*, but also to *suku*, even to *suku* of the same name in different districts ⁵². The most enlightening information is given by Engku Abdul Aziz : in the *suku* Pajokumbuh, *luha'* Muar, in all Djempol, and also elsewhere, marriages within the *suku* sometimes occur. This is said to be permitted by custom, but the Lembagas prefer not to talk about it ⁵³. This is typically a case of conflict between theory and practice : the theoretically ideal marriage is outside the *suku*, but one does not always conform to the ideal now, and has not done so for a considerable length of time; all the same, the Lembagas' reluctance to discuss it proves that the ideal has not yet lost all its force.

In some *luha'* the Biduanda clans make a habit of endogamous marriages. Such is the case with the Biduanda of Djempol and Djohol ⁵⁴, while the Biduanda of Djelebu are said to have practiced endogamy until ca. 1820. It would appear to be a case of the "first families" having developed caste-like tendencies.

Several wedding-ceremonies greatly aid us in understanding the fundamentals of Negri Sembilan social organisation. Wilkinson gives a useful survey of the happenings during the wedding week: the first three days are devoted to the henna-staining ceremony, *berhinai*; the fourth day, with the ceremonial meeting and sitting in state of the young couple (*bersanding*), marks the climax. The fifth and sixth days are less important, and the final stage is reached on the seventh with a ritual bath ⁵⁵. What interests us most at present is the way in which the two groups, the bride's and the groom's, confront one another.

The groups concerned may be the *perut*, if it is a marriage within the *suku*, but ideally it is the *suku*. H u m p h r e y s' description probably refers to cases where two *suku* come into contact, as it tells how the "headman of the tribe" of the bride-groom addresses the "headman of the clan" of the bride ⁵⁶. When anthropologists complain of the trouble caused by vague and inconsistent terminology, this reference may well be cited as a case in point; but from the context one does get the impression that "clan" and "tribe" are here used synonymously, and then they are more likely to refer to a *suku* than to a *perut* *.

When speaking of Minangkabau social organisation we gave as our opinion that the ceremonies accompanying a marriage were partly to be explained as expressive of the rivalry, the antagonistic co-operation, of the two phratries. This is perhaps even more evident in Negri Sembilan. We have, for instance, a very suggestive description of the contest in eloquence which ensues when the spokesmen of the two parties each make their speeches. Anyone who reads the account will be struck by the atmosphere of quite sharp antagonism during this ceremony ⁵⁹.

This rivalry can also manifest itself in mock battles, as when the bridegroom's party has to fight its way in to the dwelling of the bride ⁶⁰. When the bridegroom and his followers arrive in procession at the bride's house, they are welcomed by handfuls of sweetmeats which are hurled as missiles. The groom's *suite* reply in kind, and this battle gives rise to much cheerful excitement ⁶¹. Here again the two phratries clash as they come together to make the marriage possible. The fight itself exerts its beneficent influence, and the throwing of sweetmeats might possibly be considered as a kind of fertility rite, or even as one form of that well-known potlatch feature, the conspicuous spending and distribution of foodstuffs; on this point we are, however, far from certain **.

* In his speech the headman says "*ana' buah dihantar*", what H u m p h r e y s translates as "a bridegroom is sent". Actually *ana' buah* means "subordinate", or "person under one's authority"; in its narrowest sense it means one's *si-so*, and it is often used for members of a *perut* vis-à-vis their *ibu-bapa*; but it may also refer to "subjects" of a *Lembaga* ⁵⁷, and even of an *Undang* ⁵⁸.

** The mock battle at the entrance to the bride's house has too often, even in quite recent works, been interpreted as a survival of an ancient marriage by capture. This theory has been well discussed, and refuted, by E. C. P a r s o n s ⁶².

It is also remarkable that, on his marriage, the bridegroom has an honorary name or title, *gelar*, conferred on him by the relatives of the bride, sometimes by her male relations ***, sometimes by her sisters ⁶³. The *gelar* is a token of a man's maturity, of his initiation as a fully-fledged member of the community ; he is entitled to this status through the fact of his being married ⁶⁴. The fact that this is an initiation into the community as whole makes it a concern of both phratries; they co-operate on this occasion ⁶⁵, and a man belonging to one phratry is formally accepted as member of the community by people belonging to the other, i. e. of the phratry into which he marries.

In Negri Sembilan, where each *luha'* has four *suku*, we notice the attitudes of the bride-giving towards the bride-taking *suku* which are characteristic of asymmetrical connubium in Indonesia ; the superiority of the bride-giving clan. This is especially manifest in the relationship between a married man, *orang semenda*, and his bride's relatives, *tempat semenda*. As T a y l o r expresses it: "A man is very definitely subordinated" to his *tempat semenda* ⁶⁶. This statement refers to Rembau, but the same applies to Kuala Pilah ⁶⁷, and in fact to the entire territory. In a description of a wedding ceremony in Naning we notice the respect paid by the "headman of the tribe" (i. e. Lembaga) of the bridegroom to the "headman of the clan" (i. e. Lembaga) of the bride : thrice he makes an obeisance (*sembah*) before him, with the words "*sembah Datu*" ⁶⁸.

It is also worth noting that, during the engagement ceremonies, the future husband is addressed in a series of verses, in which the following lines occur ⁶⁹ :

kalau tida' mas dikandong

badan dahulu diserahkan, translated :

"If you have no money in your purse

"You will have to surrender your body first".

The meaning is : If you have no money to pay for the customary presents to the bride's clanspeople, you will first have to spend some time as a labourer in their service. This threat to the husband-to-be, representing the bride-taking clan, of having to work for his bride's

*** L i s t e r says "by the *orang semenda* of the bride", with *orang semenda* here meaning "male relations", a very unusual meaning of the word.

relatives, expresses the subservience of the bride-takers to the bride-givers *.

It is also useful to observe the exchange of presents between the two groups before and during the wedding ceremony. It appears that such exchanges take place twice. The first time the groom's clan gives a gold ring, and receives a present of *sirih* (betel) ; the second time the bride's clan takes the initiative, giving a dish of food, and receiving a dish with money in exchange ⁷¹. So we see that the bride-givers' present is always supposed to be produce of the land, the bride-takers' money and gold. This reminds us of well-documented cases from other Indonesian cultures, in which such exchange of goods of two types is a regular concomitant of circulating connubia, one article being always associated with the bride-givers, the other with the bride-takers **. Among the Toba-Batak, for instance, the bride-givers always present the bride-takers with a cloth (considered to be a "female" article), while the bride-takers give "male" goods, i. e. cattle or money, to their *hulahula* (bride-givers) ⁷². Whatever the goods may be that are actually given as presents and counter-presents, they are always designated as *ulos*, i. e. "cloth", in the case of gifts to the bride-takers, and *piso*, i. e. "a knife", for gifts from these to the bride-givers. The custom as it is found in Negri Sembilan can probably be considered a phenomenon of the same kind, although when seen in connection with a circulating connubium it is — in Negri Sembilan — of the nature of a survival.

The data are confusing when it comes to the locality of the marriage. The remarkable Minangkabau system, with the husband commuting between his own and his wife's dwelling, seems at any rate not to prevail in its most rigid form, although there are reminiscences of it, but that is about all we can say with any certainty. Newbold states that the bride (if, at least, she is an adult), is taken by the bridegroom to live "in his own house" ⁷³. Does that mean in his family-

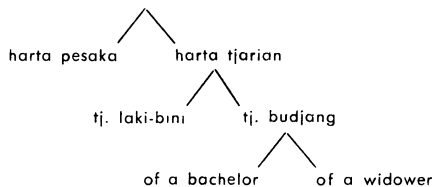
* One may compare the situation in Java, where the bridegroom is sometimes *pro forma* offered to the bride's family as *santri*, i. e. cowherd, or servant ⁷⁴. The underlying meaning is the same.

** In a society with circulating connubium the gift exchange as described above results in the two types of goods circulating, in opposite directions, through the whole community. It seems possible that the *kula*-system of the Trobriands is derived from such a situation, although Malinowski nowhere as much as hints that it is so ⁷⁵.

dwelling? Or does the newly-married couple build a house of their own? It is even doubtful whether the information is correct at all. E. N. Taylor definitely states that in Rembau the husband normally resides with his wife's family⁷⁵; but Wilkinson only says that a married man settles in his wife's "village"⁷⁶. What if he was living there already before the marriage? All these questions can only be answered by a field survey. A priori we have greatest faith in Taylor's description, and note that in Rembau, too, a man does not, on his marriage, break the bonds connecting him with his own maternal dwelling, but resorts thither "in times of stress, ... for in his wife's house he is little more than a lodger". There are probably local differences, also in Negri Sembilan.

We have no information on a married man's being enjoined to avoid his mother-in-law; all we can say is that there appears to be a remarkable number of fables in which birds, or mouse-deer, quarrel with their mother-in-law, often with dire results⁷⁷. I do not know whether we would be justified in considering these stories as illustrative of the dangers connected with a contact between mother-in-law and son-in-law.

Much information is to hand on the rules of inheritance. The categories are largely the same as in Minangkabau. Using the criterium of manner of acquisition the goods can be divided into ancestral (*pesaka*) or acquired (*tjarian*); the acquired into those acquired by a couple during marriage (*tjarian laki-bini*, or *suarang*), and by one individual alone (*tjarian budjang*)⁷⁸. A man's *tjarian budjang* may be acquired while he was a bachelor or a widower. In diagrammatic form:



From the point of view of the sex of the person who owns, or has the loan of, the inheritable goods, the categories are:

harta suarang — of husband and wife together.

harta pembawa — of the husband.

harta dapatan — of the wife.

The fundamental rule of inheritance, as in Minangkabau is:

*Tjarian behagi,
dapatan tinggal,
pembawa kembali.*

"Joint acquisitions are divided, the wife's goods remain (with her relatives), the husband's return (to his relatives)".

Each of these lines needs some further discussion.

P a r r & M a c k r a y give the saying just quoted in this version :

*bersaorangan beragih,
berkutu belah,
tjarian behagi,
dapatan tinggal,
pembawa kembali,*

and translate :

"On separation to each what is due,

"While at one, share alike,

"Divide earnings,

"Relinquish the wife's separate estate,

"Take back effects brought" ⁷⁹.

In our opinion both text and translation here are dubious ; for "*bersaorangan*" it may be preferable to read "*bersuarangan*", and a better translation of the second line would be : 'the partnership is dissolved'. A more important point is that we must distinguish between the treatment of the *suarang* on the occasion of a divorce, and a partition caused by death of husband or wife. In the first case the application of the "*suarang beragih*" rule is simple, the goods being divided between husband and wife ⁸⁰. The only noteworthy features are that the house always is allotted to the wife ⁸¹ (this obviously only applies if the married couple had a house of their own), and that adult children may claim a share of the entire *suarang*, the remainder being divided in the usual manner ; if the children are minors, the husband may give them a part of his share ⁸². The treatment of the *suarang* may also be subject to the clauses of the Muslim marriage contract, if the marriage took the form of a *nikah ta'lik* * ⁸³.

When the *suarang* has to be divided because of the death one of the spouses, complications arise, and our various sources of information are mutually contradictory. The cardinal point is whether or not there

* This *nikah ta'lik* should not be translated as "marriage of convenience" (see Chapter X, p. 166) ⁸⁴.

are children to join in the sharing. If not, then the *suarang* is, on the death of one of the spouses, divided between the other spouse and the relatives (probably the *perut*) of the deceased ; at least, according to De Moub ray⁸⁵. According to Taylor, the entire *suarang* goes to the surviving spouse⁸⁶. This contradiction may be caused by local differences as De Moub ray's data specifically refer to Djelebu, while the generally accepted rule appears to be : *mati laki tinggal kabini, mati bini tinggal kalaki*, i. e. "When the husband dies it (the *suarang*) remains with the wife and vice versa". Now De Moub ray has observed that this rule does not always seem to hold good, as Parr & Mack ray had noticed that on the wife's death the *suarang* went to her daughters, instead of to the husband. The apparent contradiction between this practice and the customary saying just quoted has been solved by Taylor, as he pointed out that the saying as quoted is incomplete, and actually runs :

*mati laki tinggal kabini,
mati bini tinggal kalaki,
kalau tiada ana' antara berduanja*⁸⁷,

i. e. "When the husband dies it remains with the wife and vice versa — unless they have children." But even when we know that the children are taken into account, the details remain uncertain. In Djelebu again, the children get the entire *suarang* on their mother's death⁸⁸ ; this agrees with Parr & Mack ray, who say that on the death of either husband or wife, the *suarang* is allotted to the female children⁸⁹. Taylor, however, distinguishes between what happens on the death of a husband and on the death of the wife. In the first case the *suarang* goes to wife and children together (the mother administering it for all of them together), in the second it is divided between the widower and the children⁹⁰. The main unresolved point of contradiction lies, therefore, in the widower's rights to joint earnings.

The next type of possessions are the *pembawa*, the goods which the husband "brings" with him on his marriage. They may consist of three variously acquired groups of belongings :

1. what he acquired as a bachelor (*tjarian budjang*) ;
2. his share of the *suarang* of a previous marriage ;
3. part of the *harta pesaka* of his *suku*, which he may use during his marriage⁹¹.

According to Parr & Mack ray⁹², the last group of belongings

is designated as *harta TERbawa*, but de Moub ray objects to the use of this term ⁹³, and, in our opinion, rightly so.

Taylor also uses the term *terbawa*, but takes it as meaning the husband's share in the *suarang* ⁹⁴. It seems doubtful whether the term has gained any general acceptance ; as we find it in Taylor's essay, it appears to have been introduced more or less *pour besoin de la cause* by a witness in a lawsuit, and then in a very confused statement. I do not think it will be a great loss if we drop the term *terbawa* altogether.

Bladen, in a description of a part of Malaka where "Minangkabau custom" prevails, introduces the term *membawa*. He says that a man's *pesaka* and *membawa* are, on his decease, divided amongst his children ⁹⁵. Here *membawa* apparently means *tjarian budjang* ; but the whole passage is improbable, as it is out of the question that *pesaka*-goods belonging to a man's matri-clan should be divided among his children. If this ever should occur, we can no longer speak of "Minangkabau custom".

Pembawa kembali, "the husband's bringings return", and this applies both to the *pesaka* and to the *tjarian budjang*. *Pesaka*-goods of which a man may have the loan and usufruct during marriage may consist of money, ornaments, or cattle ⁹⁶. At the wedding a list of them is read, in order to preclude any disagreement if the possessions have to be returned on divorce or death ; only weapons and cattle are exempt from this stock-taking. During the marriage the wife is said to be held responsible for the *pembawa*, the husband being responsible if the *dapatan* are consumed ⁹⁷. This probably refers especially to the *pesaka*-goods, as a diminution or disappearance of these is a really serious matter. In case of divorce, or when a married man dies, the *pesaka* which were lent to him return to his *suku*.

A man only has the usufruct and loan of the *pesaka*, he has free disposal of his *pentjarian* (= *pentjarian budjang*) ⁹⁸. De Moub ray considers this an anomaly, as matriliney, in his opinion, entails "communal" ownership ; he supposes the entire idea of *pentjarian* to have arisen in Negri Sembilan during the pioneering days of the Minangkabau immigrants, when it was each man for himself, and the "tribal" bonds were slackened. Actually *pentjarian* is also met with in Minangkabau, so it cannot be explained as a purely Peninsular speciality. If a man has not disposed of his earnings during his marriage, they are claimed by his *perut* on his decease ⁹⁹. They are then inherited by

“his mother’s family”, according to P a r r & M a c k r a y ¹⁰⁰, who later on state, with greater precision, that any property he leaves at death is inherited by his sisters ¹⁰¹.

Special mention is always made of a man’s *batang tuboh*, his personal equipment. On her husband’s death, a widow returns his knife, a hat, coat, and pair of trousers, and his bedding (*tikar-bantal*) to his *perut* ¹⁰². According to P a r r & M a c k r a y, the widow returns his coat, trousers, and weapons, and the *tikar-bantal* only if she remarries ¹⁰³.

Finally there is the *dapatan*, the wife’s belongings. As it is usual that the husband comes to dwell on his wife’s land, this land is the most important part of the *dapatan*; and as the husband is dependent on it for his sustenance — unless he leaves the village to make his fortune elsewhere — *dapatan* (or *pendapatan*) can be interpreted as the benefit a husband derives from his marriage, in the first place: land, a house, and food ¹⁰⁴. The position therefore is that each woman, through her share of the *pesaka* land, is assured of a dwelling (*tempat tinggal*), but at the same time is under the obligation to “keep” her husband ¹⁰⁵; the husband works for his board and lodging, and for his own share in joint earnings (from which, as we have seen, a house is always excepted, as being considered the wife’s share) ¹⁰⁶.

When a marriage is dissolved by divorce or by the death of the husband, the *dapatan* “remain”, i.e. their position is not affected. When the wife dies, her part of the ancestral land is divided among her daughters ¹⁰⁷; according to d e M o u b r a y, the oldest daughter inherits the house and the plot of land surrounding it, while the *sawah* (wet rice-fields) are partitioned ¹⁰⁸.

In the preceding passage we always spoke of ancestral (*pesaka*) land, for the reason that it is only this kind of land that is subjected to the rule of female inheritance in the form we just described. When a married couple acquire new land for themselves, e.g. by cultivating land that so far had lain waste, or had been part of the jungle, it is *suarang*, and is treated as such. If either a man or a woman acquire it individually, it is *pentjarian*; but an individual’s *pentjarian*-land, or his/her share of the *suarang*, becomes *pesaka* after having been once inherited from the original acquirer ¹⁰⁹. D e M o u b r a y “hazards” the rule that only orchards and *sawah* become ancestral after having been inherited once, while plantations need two generations to pass before they become *pesaka* ¹¹⁰. Once it has become ancestral, it is

reckoned as property of the *perut* or the *suku*, and administered by the women ¹¹¹. It is then "strictly entailed in tail female" ¹¹². This important and fundamental rule excludes the male members of the *perut* from practically all interest in the *perut* land ; and this fact, together with the custom of partitioning the land held by a woman among her daughters when she dies, makes the Negri Sembilan system very closely approach one of individual female landownership, in spite of the theoretical *pesaka* character of the *sawah*, orchards, and plantations. This is probably the reason why in descriptions one so often encounters expressions as "women land-owners", female "ownership" of the land, etc. ¹¹³, although this is contrary to Negri Sembilan legal theory. De Moub ray has contrasted the custom in present-day Negri Sembilan with the rules of a "theoretically pure matriarchy" ¹¹⁴ ; and although his reconstruction of this "theoretically pure" stage is rather too hypothetical, it is good to bear in mind that in Negri Sembilan the individual female's control of ancestral land has progressed further than in Minangkabau.

In spite of the female preponderance, the male is not altogether neglected. It is incorrect to suppose that the *adat* debars him from inheritance on principle, as has been expressly pointed out by Taylor ¹¹⁵. Some special provisions for males may be briefly mentioned. In Naning there is always a fruit tree reserved for the male in the ancestral *kampong* ¹¹⁶. Then there is the *tjénderong mata* : even particles of the *harta pesaka* may, as a favour, be inherited by males ; such goods are weapons, male clothing, and ornaments, which a man may inherit from his mother or other female relatives *via* his sister ¹¹⁷. Even more striking is the Kuala Pilah custom : when a woman dies, her *dapatan* are divided, her daughters getting gold, women's ornaments, and *tanah pesaka*, her sons non-ancestral lands, men's clothes, cattle, and weapons ¹¹⁸. Now if a man has once inherited these goods, it is noteworthy that, when he marries, cattle and weapons are exempt from the declaration he has to make of his *pembawa*. According to Parr & Mackray this is because their possession would be a "matter of notoriety" ¹¹⁹, but this explanation seems insufficient, although it is possible that this rationalisation is nowadays generally accepted. It would rather appear to indicate that these goods are traditionally excluded from the treatment accorded to a man's other possessions (they having to return to his matri-clan), and can be disposed of by himself. Taking both data together (and bearing in mind that

a man will often give his share in the *tjarian laki-bini* to his children) ¹²⁰, the exceptional position accorded to male-owned cattle and weapons can, in our opinion, best be explained if we assume these goods to have been formerly inherited in the male line, as contrasted to land and houses, which were inherited in a strictly female line. In brief, a division of goods into those which are patrilineally and those which are matrilineally inherited, as is often met with in double-unilaterally organized societies ¹²¹.

So far we have dealt with the inheritance of tangible goods. For the inheritance of "tribal" dignities and functions other rules are in force.

The head of a *perut*, the *ibu-bapa'*, is elected to his office by the *perut*-members. The election result is subject to the confirmation by the Lembaga, but the interesting thing about the election itself is that in assessing the relative worth of the candidates to the office, both *saka* and *baka* are taken into account. *Saka*, i. e. *pesaka*, is a man's genealogy in matrilineal line, but *baka* "is a more complex conception ; it is both hereditary characteristics and the lustre of a good family name or of inherited wealth. It relates more particularly to the paternal side of the pedigree but so far as my enquiries go it seems that male ascendants in the maternal line are also taken into account" ¹²². It is quite possible that the Minangkabau term *warih* correspond to *baka*, and also meant "prestige". In discussing the Minangkabau expression we noticed that it referred to a man's patrilineal antecedents, and here too there is a striking similarity with the Negri Sembilan concept of *baka*. We see, therefore, a very remarkable double-unilateral trait here ; it even seems likely that the very title of the dignitary also refers to a system of double descent : *ibu-bapa'*, i. e. mother-father. If he is elected on account of his matrilineal and his patrilineal relationships, one may say that he represents both the patri- and the matri-clan, and the suitable combination of the two ; this would be expressed in a title which also brings out the combination of matrilinear and patrilinear aspects in one person ¹²³.

If our theory is accepted that the *adat sansako* can also only be explained satisfactorily by seeing it in the context of a double-unilateral system (as put forward in Chapter V) then not only the *ibu-bapa'*, but also the *suku* chief, Lembaga, is elected according to an originally double-unilateral technique. All sources agree that the Lembaga is elected by *adat sansako*, i. e. that all *perut* of the *suku* in turn supply

the *suku* chief. In Negri Sembilan instead of *sansako* the usual term is *giliran* or *pesaka bergélar* ¹²⁴.

There are some features of organisation within the *suku* which should be touched on here. In the first place, there is an important difference from Minangkabau custom inasmuch as a man on his marriage is incorporated into his wife's *suku*, and definitely becomes subjected to the authority of his wife's Lembaga. This even applies to a Lembaga himself, according to T a y l o r ¹²⁵, so that a married Lembaga has, in a sense, a dual personality : he is the highest dignitary of the *suku* to which he belongs by birth, but in his own private and family life he concedes authority to the chief of his wife's *suku*. D e M o u b r a y, on the other hand, considers the Lembaga to be exempt from submission to his wife's Lembaga ¹²⁶. Here again an apparent contradiction may perhaps be caused by local variations in custom, as T a y l o r was dealing with Rembau, while d e M o u b r a y based his opinion on information given by the Undang of Djelebu. (An Undang is certainly freed from the jurisdiction of his wife's *suku*'s Lembaga, also according to T a y l o r).

The Lembaga's right — and duty — is to attend all feasts where a buffalo is slain (if only a goat is slaughtered, an *ibu-bapa*'s attendance is sufficient). P a r r & M a c k r a y (p. 106) quote a Rembau saying in which the feasts are summed up at which a Lembaga has to be present ; they include weddings and circumcisions. Then he has judicial powers to deal with cases involving serious bodily hurt, and with matters of debt, both within the clan and in cases where one of his own clansmen is debtor to a member of another *suku*. The rule given by P a r r & M a c k r a y (p. 47) : "No transfer or mortgage of landed property trenching on the direct female entail is valid to-day without his (i. e. the Lembaga's) sanction" may at first sight seem very important, but loses much of its weight if we remember the predominant rôle played by women in administering ancestral property, as described earlier in this chapter — and by P a r r & M a c k r a y themselves, i. a on p. 75 of their study on Rembau.

There are some traces of totemism in Negri Sembilan, as in Minangkabau. The *suku* Tiga Batu is considered to be related to tigers, and certain individual tigers are held to be what one might term re-incarnations of the ancestors ¹²⁷. Other reminiscences of totemism have been noted in Djohol ; in a legend the inhabitants trace their descent from a *siamang* and an *ungka* (two species of monkey) ; and

among the ancestors one meets with names as Ular Bisa (Poisonous Snake), Mutan Djantan (Male *Rambutan*-plant), Nènè' Kerbau (Grand-mother Water-Buffalo) ¹²⁸. In Malaka, too, descent is traced from a crocodile and a tiger ¹²⁹.

It is remarkable that none of the names of Minangkabau *suku* are perpetuated in Negri Sembilan : the names on the Peninsula are mainly territorial. The supposition that the immigrants grouped themselves according to the district they came from ¹³⁰ is not unlikely. Something of the same kind is still practiced as, in Rembau, immigrants from Djambi are always seconded to the *suku* Batu Hampar, men from Kampar to Tanah Datar, from Siam to Pajokumbuh, and from Java to Biduanda Djawa ¹³¹. The description of the Negri Sembilan *suku* as a "quasi-tribal unit of foreigners" ¹³² is acceptable if it is taken to indicate that the immigrants are actually organized on a territorial basis, but once the units into which they are divided exist, these units, the *suku*, function as purely genealogical groups.

Theoretically each *luha'* has four *suku* (except Sri Menanti), an ideal often fixed in tales about the first inhabitants, who were also grouped into four clans ¹³³. In Rembau there are more *suku* nowadays, but four have traditional privileges, and are probably the most ancient, or considered to be so ¹³⁴. Most of the *suku* of present-day Rembau are divided into two halves, *Baroh and Darat*, i. e. Lowlands (or Coast) and Uplands ¹³⁵. The *Baroh* half is considered to be the elder, and ranks higher ¹³⁶. This bipartition may well be a continuation of a more ancient phratry dualism; the contrast *adat Parapatih* — *adat Katumanggungan* is not met with in Negri Sembilan (at least not as an element in a dual organisation), but the bipolarity of Coast—Inland, Older—Younger is the same as in Minangkabau, while the opposition Superior—Inferior is also a familiar one in the contrast between two phratries.

A similar dichotomy is met with in Sungai Ujong : here again Coast is contrasted with Inland (here called *Air* and *Darat*) ; each phratry here has its own chief, the Bandar and the Klana respectively ¹³⁷ ; but the superiority ranking is not the same as in Rembau, *Darat* with its Klana being considered rather superior to *Air* and the Bandar. (Gullick, to whom we owe these data, apparently fails to see how the Bandar fits in to the Sungai Ujong body politic, and considers his position as an inexplicable anomaly). In Sungai Ujong the dual system also comprises the contrast of male and female, Klana

being connected with the male, Bandar with the female principle, as is also expressed in their genealogy : a Bendahara of Djohor married a daughter's daughter of his Sultan. The issue of this marriage was again a daughter, who in her turn had one daughter and one son. The Klanas are descendants of the son, the Bandars of the daughter ¹³⁸.

Practically the only occasion on which the influence of this dual organisation makes itself felt nowadays is the appointment of an Undang. In Minangkabau the dualism Parapatih-Katumpangungan (with which the contrast Inland—Coast is connected) could pervade the whole social structure and influence the life of every individual, because the *nagari* itself, within which the Minangkabau's everyday life is led, was divided into two halves, containing as it did both Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago *suku*. In Negri Sembilan a much larger territorial area, the *luha'*, took the place of the *nagari*, and here it is the *luha'* which is bisected. Whether this partition of the *luha'* into *Air* and *Darat*, *Darat* and *Baroh*, etc., ever exerted any influence on the affairs of the "common man", e. g. by regulating marriage, I do not know ; I believe it does not do so nowadays, although this has never been investigated, and a field study might show remarkable results. The descriptions we have only describe the functioning of the two halves as dealing with the appointment of the Undang.

Sungai Ujong might be said to have two Undangs, the Klana and the Bandar, one for each phratry. The Klana is the real Undang, or Penghulu, but on all state occasions when the various *luha'* are represented by their Undangs, Sungai Ujong sends *two* representatives, the Datu' Klana Putra, and the Datu' Bandar ¹³⁹.

In Rembau the position is rather different ; the Undang is, in alternating generations, a member of the Biduanda Djawa and of the Biduanda Djakun ¹⁴⁰. Later on in this chapter (p. 146) we shall try to find out what this ruling implies.

As we have gradually drawn the Undang into our field of vision, we may now consider his position and manner of acquiring office. In its simplest form the custom is as follows. In each *luha'* there is one *suku* which is the Waris, i. e. the "Heirs" to the function of Undang. Usually this honour is accorded to the *suku* Biduanda. The *waris suku*, as most other clans, will usually be divided up into *perut*. Each *perut* then takes turns to supply the Undang, so that here again we encounter the *giliran* rule.

Which individual member of the *perut* shall become Undang is

decided by a meeting of the district's *Lembagas*, who elect the new incumbent ¹⁴¹. Now this is a purely theoretical construction, based on scattered data and set down for the sake of clearness. In practice each *luha'* rings its own changes on this theme, and perhaps not one of them wholly conforms to the model.

Sungai Udjong would appear to conform to it closely, as we know that there the *Undang* (i. e. the *Klana*) is appointed by *giliran* and election ¹⁴². Gullick gives a diagram showing the interrelationship of the *perut* that, each in turn, see one of their members appointed *Undang* ¹⁴³.

Muar is also said to enforce the *giliran* rule, with the *Undang* being elected out of each three *waris perut* in succession ¹⁴⁴; but if we turn to a list of Muar chiefs, we find that in the last four generations an *Undang* was three times succeeded by his *si-so*, and once by his brother ¹⁴⁵, so always by a member of his own *perut*. Perhaps this is a case of one family arrogating unto itself the status of a reigning dynasty, in spite of the traditional constitution, which decrees otherwise. It is also possible that actually and theoretically succession, in Muar, is by primogeniture, and our informant was wrong when he said that the *giliran* rule held good there.

The account of Djelebu custom is rather confused, but I think the following will give a fair picture of the situation. An *Undang* is assisted by five *Lembagas* and four *waris*. The four *waris* (probably the term here is used as meaning: the chiefs of the four *waris perut*) are: Radja Balang, Maharadja Indah, Radja Penghulu and Datu' Umbai. The *perut* of the Datu' Umbai is excluded from the succession, but a *giliran* rule applies to the three others. Of the first two it is always the chief who becomes *penghulu*, in the case of the third it is not the Radja Penghulu himself, but a member of his "family" ¹⁴⁶ (who is, presumably, elected to the post).

Naning explicitly rejects the *giliran* rule as it applies to *Undang*-ship in the proverb: "*Jang besar menurun, jang ketjil bergilir*", "Great (posts) are inherited, small ones follow the rule of rotation". So while the office of *Lembaga* devolves on each *perut* of the *suku* in turn, the *Undang* is succeeded automatically by his *si-so*. Naning's four *suku* are Semelènggang, Tiga Batu, Ana' Malaka, and Mungkar, so a *suku Biduanda* is lacking. The *waris suku* in this case is Semelènggang; to be precise the *Undang* is always a member of the sub-*suku* (probably

the same as a *perut*) Semelènggang Naning, and must always marry a woman from the sub-*suku* Semelènggang Taboh ¹⁴⁷.

The same rules hold good in the Alor Gadjah district of Malaka, which, although outside the Negri Sembilan area, yet has a very similar *adat*, and is historically connected with Naning.

Lister mentions Teratji as an exceptional *luha'* for not having the Biduanda *suku* as *waris* ¹⁴⁸; actually Naning deviates further from the usual pattern than Teratji, for in this latter district the Undang is indeed a man of the *suku* Sri Lemak (or Sri Lema' Pahang), but he must always marry a Biduanda woman. Winstedt, describing the Teratji custom, considers the last clause to be relatively unimportant, as referring to a secondary development, probably under Sungai Udjong influence ¹⁴⁹. We cannot agree with Winstedt in this respect, but rather consider the final clause to be essential to the rule of succession. The position seems to be that here, as usual, the Biduanda are the *waris suku*, with only this difference from the rule in other districts, that here it is the women, and not the men, of the Biduanda clan to whom the dignity of Undang is entrusted. As the Undang is apparently expected to be a man *, a Biduanda woman's husband is not so strange a choice. We have here a situation which a writer on Korintji has concisely characterized with the words: the woman is the keeper of the title, the man only the temporary bearer ¹⁵⁰. The same custom is also to be observed in Djempol.

Here the chief of the *waris perempuan* bears the title of Shahbandar. He is the husband of a woman who belongs to the *waris perempuan* ¹⁵¹. As information on Djempol is very incomplete — for instance, we are not told if the name *waris perempuan* forms a contrast to another kind of *waris*, the *waris laki-laki* — we cannot draw any further conclusions, such as whether at the same time there is a functional opposition of two dignities, Shahbandar and Undang, as in Sungai Udjong, with the Klana and the Bandar. It seems likely, however. Earlier in this chapter (p. 128) we noted that the Teratji custom of prescribed marriage of a Biduanda woman with a Sri Lemak man can best be interpreted as a case of regular connubium. Now an asymmetrical connubial relationship in a four-clan system such as Negri

* An enquiry into the reason why practically all dignities, from *buapa'* upwards, should be in male hands even in a matrilineal (in fact, almost matriarchal) society, is beyond the scope of this study.

Sembilan acknowledges as ideal * is *ipso facto* a relationship between two phratries, and we are back again at a local form of the dual organisation : in Teratji the office of Undang can only be occupied after a marriage between representatives of both phratries; in Djempol there is a *waris perempuan* ("female *waris*"), the chieftainship of which is primarily in a woman's hands (a man only obtaining the chieftainship through being married to her), and, apparently in opposition to this *waris*, the *waris Djempol*. The heads of the two *waris* groups, Shahbandar and Undang, do indeed resemble the Bandar and the Klana respectively in Sungai Udjong.

Different again, but nevertheless showing some points of similarity, is the political organisation in Djohol. Here we are faced by difficulties caused by the deficiencies in the quantity and quality of our information. Briefly, the situation here is that formerly the Undang were chosen from two *perut* of the *suku* Biduanda alternately, the *waris Djohol perut laki-laki* and the *waris Djohol perut perempuan* ; later from three *perut* in turn. Apart from the Undang there is an important dignitary, the chief (*kepala*) of the *waris perempuan*. Now on p. 11 of their article on Djohol, Nathan & Winstedt write : "To'Jenang, the Malay officer with the Batin title, head of the *waris perempuan Johol* and their representative at all elections, studied the genealogical tree which is in the keeping of his memory" ; but on p. 13 : "The *kapala waris perempuan* sat directly behind him, having the Batin Muar on her right and "To Jenang on her left". So in the first quotation the chief of the *waris perempuan* is a man bearing the title Djenang, in the second a woman, whose title is not mentioned, but who at any rate is not the same as the Djenang. We are not told whether there is also a *kepala waris laki-laki*, and, if so, how he (or she ?) is elected and what is his position. In spite of these gaps in our knowledge we shall attempt an interpretation of the facts as far as we know them.

The *giliran* rule may be interpreted in the same manner as has been done elsewhere, as the result of a double-unilateral system. In the limited form in which it occurred here (an alternation between two *perut* only) that would mean a functioning of two patrilineal clans, perhaps moieties or phratries, giving rise to the distinction between *laki-laki* and *perempuan*. As here too the patrilineal influence declined,

Actually in present-day Teratji there are six clans.

the system took a twist in the matrilineal direction, the *laki-laki* — *perempuan* distinction being abandoned, and a Baroh-Bukit one taking its place¹⁵². W i n s t e d t & N a t h a n describe the change in the following words: As this distinction (viz. between *laki-laki* and *perempuan*) was one requiring, as time went on, genealogical exactitude beyond the genius of the Malay mind, territorial division has taken its place." The crude psychological explanation of the switch-over is of course untenable, but it does clearly show up the difference between the old and the new arrangement. Under the present disposition there is no longer an alternation between two, but between three *perut*: Baroh (or Tanggai), Gementjeh and Bukit. Now Gementjeh makes the impression of being an interloper, as it is properly the name of one of the Negri Sembilan districts. Baroh and Bukit, on the other hand, mean "Lowland" and "Mountains", thus designating a bipartition similar to the ones we found in Rembau (*Baroh* and *Darat*), and Sungai Udjong (*Air* and *Darat*). Presumably we may consider them the original matri-moieties, to which later a third unit, the *perut* Gementjeh, came to be added, through causes which the present author cannot trace. The fact that W i n s t e d t & N a t h a n call the three *waris perut* "territorial" — even though they do not explain exactly what they mean by it — makes it clear that they are not ordinary *perut*-subdivisions of the *suku* Biduanda. They do not occur in the list of Biduanda *perut* (p. 16 *seq.*) either. These facts, together with their suggestive names Baroh and Bukit make us incline to see the present-day succession to the Undangship of Djohol not as an ordinary *giliran*, but as, originally at least, an alternation between two moieties bearing the now familiar kind of name. This still leaves us, of course, with quite an amount of points we are unable to clear up; for example we cannot draw any conclusions as to the position of the *kepala waris perempuan*, in order to make out whether he — or she — plays a rôle similar to that of the Bandar in Sungai Udjong. Altogether we can only reconstruct the large framework of the political organisation with some degree of probability, but we remain in the dark when it comes to the details.

Rembau is different again, as this *luha'* does have a Baroh-Darat dualism, but the Undang is always a member of the Baroh group, i. e. of the Baroh half of the *suku* Biduanda. Within this (semi-) clan there is an alternation between the *suku* Biduanda Djawa and Biduanda Dja-kun. An Undang from among the Biduanda Djawa bears the title

Sedia Radja, from the Biduanda Djakun : L  la Maharadja ¹⁵³. After what we have said about the systems in other districts we can dispense with a reiteration of our opinion on the significance of the Rembau custom.

In the foregoing pages there is undoubtedly an element of speculation ; and, what is more, there is one uncertain point to which attention should be drawn : when we explain the *giliran* as a product of a double-unilateral organisation, the *Darat-Baroh* contrast as a moiety grouping etc., this in itself does not imply that the inhabitants of the Negri Sembilan districts were conscious of the socio-political pattern we have theoretically reconstructed. It is also quite possible that the rules governing the Undang's succession were, in manner of speaking, imported ready-made from Minangkabau. We must also take into account the possible influence exerted by the political organisation of the pre-Minangkabau population, especially as these affected the position of the Malaka Bendaharas. These questions will again crop up in Chapter XI, which is devoted to a comparison of the Minangkabau and the Negri Sembilan social systems.

In his function as head of a *luha*', an Undang is member of the council that installs, and theoretically also even elects, the Jangdipertuan Besar. He is also member of the governing body of Negri Sembilan, the Council of Jangdipertuan and Undangs. Within his own district, his position is, to single out one or two of the most important aspects, that of court of appeal dealing with decisions of the Lembaga. He dealt with the most serious crimes, being entitled to demand the penalties of death and banishment. In matters of Muslim law the Undang, in Rembau at least, used to act as *Q  d  *, but this has ceased to be so since the end of the last century ¹⁵⁴.

Finally we would like to make a remark on the word "Undang". Lister may have been the first to translate it as "Lawgiver" ¹⁵⁵, and most other writers on Negri Sembilan have followed suit ¹⁵⁶. Actually it does not mean "Lawgiver", but simply "Law", and as such may be compared with another title, viz. "Lembaga", literally meaning "Custom". A clue to the understanding of these titles is furnished by the Minangkabau title, "*Panghulu limbago*" ¹⁵⁷. Now *limbago* or *lembago* is practically synonymous with *adat*. "*Adat djo limbago*" is the usual Minangkabau way of denoting the entire system of customary regulation and etiquette.

The Negri Sembilan title "Lembaga" is probably an abbreviated

form of “*Penghulu lembaga*” and “*Undang*” of “*Penghulu undang*” ; in our opinion they can best be translated as, respectively, “the chief who deals with Custom” ; to which the socio-familiar relationships are subjected, and “the chief who deals with Law”, governing the *luha*’ as a whole.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Winstedt (6), 46, 142.
- ² Winstedt (4), 42.
- ³ Winstedt & Nathan, 8.
- ⁴ Winstedt (5), 5.
- ⁵ Schebesta (2), 13.
- ⁶ Loeb (1), 653.
- ⁷ R. A. Kern, 342.
- ⁸ Hamerster, 1446.
- ⁹ De Moubray, 20.
- ¹⁰ Hamerster, 1445.
- ¹¹ Winstedt (6), 163.
- ¹² Wilkinson (9), 12.
- ¹³ Gullick, 10.
- ¹⁴ Martin, 207.
- ¹⁵ Lister (1), 37.
- ¹⁶ Tambo Bangkahoeloe, 34.
- ¹⁷ Winstedt (4), 81.
- ¹⁸ Winstedt (4), 82.
- ¹⁹ Skeat & Blagden I, 523.
- ²⁰ Martin, 128.
- ²¹ Martin, 858, 881, 1016.
- ²² Skeat & Blagden I, 556.
- ²³ Wilkinson (9), 5, 10.
- ²⁴ Winstedt (4), 82.
- ²⁵ De Moubray, 23.
- ²⁶ Hamerster, 1457.
- ²⁷ Birch, 20.
- ²⁸ Winstedt (4), 80.
- ²⁹ Winstedt (11), 112.
- ³⁰ Taylor (1), 275.
- ³¹ Murdock (2), 137.
- ³² Parr & Mackray, 95.
- ³³ Winstedt (10), 41.
- ³⁴ Winstedt (10), 48;
Abdul Aziz, 208.
- ³⁵ Parr & Mackray, 79.
- ³⁶ Humphreys (2), 11, 24.
- ³⁷ Blagden (2), 311.
- ³⁸ Parr & Mackray, 78.
- ³⁹ Schäfer, 62.
- ⁴⁰ Winstedt (10), 49.
- ⁴¹ Winstedt (10), 49.
- ⁴² Blagden (2), 311.
- ⁴³ Winstedt (3), 11.
- ⁴⁴ Blagden (2), 311.
- ⁴⁵ Winstedt & Nathan, 62.
- ⁴⁶ Ramsay, 97.
- ⁴⁷ Winstedt & Nathan, 47.
- ⁴⁸ Parr & Mackray, 78.
- ⁴⁹ Abdul Aziz, 210.
- ⁵⁰ Abdul Aziz, 208.
- ⁵¹ Parr & Mackray, 77.
- ⁵² Winstedt (4), 80.
- ⁵³ Abdul Aziz, 209.
- ⁵⁴ Winstedt (4), 43, 81, 82.
- ⁵⁵ Wilkinson (7), 28.
- ⁵⁶ Humphreys (1), 26.
- ⁵⁷ Taylor (1), 8.
- ⁵⁸ Taylor (1), 268.
- ⁵⁹ Humphreys (2), 3.
- ⁶⁰ Skeat, 381.
- ⁶¹ Wilkinson (7), 31.
- ⁶² “Holding back in crisis ceremonialism”. A.A. XVIII, 44.
- ⁶³ De Moubray, 148.
- ⁶⁴ Rassers (4), 396.
- ⁶⁵ Duyvendak (1), 173.
- ⁶⁶ Taylor (1), 7.
- ⁶⁷ Abdul Aziz, 199.
- ⁶⁸ Humphreys (1), 25.
- ⁶⁹ Skeat, 367.
- ⁷⁰ Rassers (3), 544.

- ⁷¹ Abdul Aziz, 205.
⁷² Malinowski (1).
⁷³ Vergouwen, 67—72, 225,
 247; van Ossenbruggen (3),
 13.
⁷⁴ Newbold I, 254.
⁷⁵ Taylor (1), 8.
⁷⁶ Wilkinson (11), 10.
⁷⁷ Skeat, 121, 318; Wilkin-
 son (5), s.v. *tebang*, *mentua*.
⁷⁸ Parr & Mackray, 65.
⁷⁹ Parr & Mackray, 90.
⁸⁰ Parr & Mackray, 75;
 Taylor (1), 18, 20.
⁸¹ De Moubray, 120.
⁸² Taylor (1), 26.
⁸³ Taylor (1), 18, 20.
⁸⁴ Parr & Mackray, 89.
⁸⁵ De Moubray, 161.
⁸⁶ Taylor (1), 30.
⁸⁷ De Moubray, 159.
⁸⁸ De Moubray, 161.
⁸⁹ Parr & Mackray, 75.
⁹⁰ Taylor (1), 30.
⁹¹ Taylor (1), 14.
⁹² Parr & Mackray, 70, 86.
⁹³ De Moubray, 121.
⁹⁴ Taylor (1), 129, 133.
⁹⁵ Blagden (2), 312.
⁹⁶ De Moubray, 139.
⁹⁷ Abdul Aziz, 207.
⁹⁸ Lister (1), 44; Hamer-
 ster, 1631.
⁹⁹ Taylor (1), 30.
¹⁰⁰ Parr & Mackray, 76.
¹⁰¹ Parr & Mackray, 92.
¹⁰² De Moubray, 150.
¹⁰³ Parr & Mackray, 88.
¹⁰⁴ Parr & Mackray, 87.
¹⁰⁵ De Moubray, 139.
¹⁰⁶ De Moubray, 120.
¹⁰⁷ De Moubray, 129.
¹⁰⁸ Lister (1), 44.
¹⁰⁹ Taylor (1), 9.
¹¹⁰ De Moubray, 126.
¹¹¹ Winstedt (10), 85; Parr
 & Mackray, 67; De Moubray
 89.
¹¹² Taylor (1), 9.
¹¹³ Winstedt (10), 85; De
 Moubray, 120.
¹¹⁴ De Moubray, 128, 129, 130.
¹¹⁵ Taylor (2), 117.
¹¹⁶ De Moubray, 132 note.
¹¹⁷ De Moubray, 132; Parr
 & Mackray, 69.
¹¹⁸ Abdul Aziz, 214.
¹¹⁹ Parr & Mackray, 87.
¹²⁰ Taylor (1), 26.
¹²¹ Luttig, H. G., *The Religious
 System and Social Organisation of the
 Herero* (Utrecht, 1933), 101; Mur-
 dock (2), 38.
¹²² Gullick, 25.
¹²³ cf. Duyvendak (1), 175.
¹²⁴ Lister (1), 45; Win-
 stedt (10), 71; Gullick, 24;
 Ramsay, 99.
¹²⁵ Taylor (1), 8.
¹²⁶ De Moubray, 119.
¹²⁷ Zain al-Abidin (1), 36.
¹²⁸ Winstedt & Nathan,
 3, 4.
¹²⁹ Wilken (1), 72.
¹³⁰ Gullick, 21.
¹³¹ Parr & Mackray, 5.
¹³² De Moubray, 184.
¹³³ Winstedt (4), 81; New-
 bold I, 199, etc.
¹³⁴ Wilkinson (9), 47.
¹³⁵ Parr & Mackray, 119.
¹³⁶ Parr & Mackray, 4;
 Hervey, 250.
¹³⁷ Gullick, 12, 40.
¹³⁸ Bland, 56.
¹³⁹ Birch, 13, 15.
¹⁴⁰ Hervey, 242.
¹⁴¹ Winstedt (10), 72.
¹⁴² Gullick, 24.
¹⁴³ Gullick, 40.

- ¹⁴⁴ Lister (1), 47.
¹⁴⁵ Winstedt & Nathan, 32.
¹⁴⁶ O'Brien, 340.
¹⁴⁷ Ramsay, 97, 98.
¹⁴⁸ Lister (1), 47.
¹⁴⁹ Winstedt & Nathan, 62.
¹⁵⁰ Morison, 19.
¹⁵¹ Winstedt & Nathan, 47.
- ¹⁵² Winstedt & Nathan, 14.
¹⁵³ Hervey, 242; Parr &
Mackray, 49, 3, 5.
¹⁵⁴ Parr & Mackray, 52.
¹⁵⁵ Lister (1).
¹⁵⁶ Humphreys (1), 26, for
 instance.
¹⁵⁷ Willinck, 167.
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CHAPTER IX.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

The federation of *luha'* called "Negri Sembilan" has undergone many vicissitudes in the course of its history. Klang, the senior *luha'* of the original *Suku Jang Empat*, from which present-day Negri Sembilan originated, is nowadays a district of Selangor¹; and Segamat, Naning, and Djelai, in the 16th century component *luha'* of Negri Sembilan, are now parts of Djohor, Malaka, and Pahang respectively. Not only do the *luha'* vary in the different periods of Negri Sembilan history, but there is also the fact that we can hardly find two writers on the subject who agree with each other as to which districts make up Negri Sembilan as a whole. Winstedt and Nathan preface their own enumeration with the lists drawn up by Newbold, Lister, Wilkinson, and Parr & Mackray². The lack of agreement is quite considerable, but all the authors have one thing in common: they have all carefully listed nine *luha'*, no more, no less. In doing so they have, I am afraid, been rather too prone to take the literal meaning of the name "Negri Sembilan", the "Nine States", at its face value and to make the facts fit the name. Actually at the installation of the Jangdipertuan in 1898 there were present representatives of the following districts: Sungai Ujong, Djelebu, Djohol, Rembau, Tampin, Muar, Teratji, Djempol, Gunung Pasir, Inas, Gementjeh, and Linggi³, making twelve in all; if we include the Ruler's own district, Sri Menanti*, the result is a federation of Thirteen. The same *luha'*, with the exception of Tampin, participated

* The translation of "Sri Menanti" as the place where the first immigrants found "Rice awaiting" them is first given by Lister⁴, and has been accepted by many later writers⁵. I do not know whether it is popular etymology or an invention by Lister himself, but as an interpretation of the name it is absurd. Sri Manganti, the "Illustrious Waiting" is the name of a gate and a courtyard in the Javanese principalities⁶. In Negri Sembilan the name has been extended to the palace and even to the district as a whole, showing a development rather similar to that of the expression "The Sublime Porte".

in the ceremony of 1934⁷. Nor is it only in modern times that the traditional name of the State does not agree with its actual constitution. for when, after a period of dissolution, in 1889 Rembau, Djohol, and Sri Menanti formed a federation, they called it Negri Sembilan, tradition being held in greater honour than mathematical exactness. Nevertheless a study of present-day practice reveals a strong tendency to bring into prominence just nine *luha'* out of the greater number now making up the Federation. An answer to the question: how and why is this done, will prove of the greatest importance for an understanding of the ideal pattern underlying the political organisation.

When a new Jangdiptuan Besar has to be designated, four Lembagas of Muar set out to invite the Undangs of Negri Sembilan to be present at the ceremony. (Muar is the *luha'* within which Sri Menanti forms an *enclave*). Four of the Undang, viz. of Sungai Udjong, Djelebu, Djohol, and Rembau, are Electors, and to each Elector one of the Lembagas of Muar is sent as emissary. The envoy to Sungai Udjong is accompanied by a Lembaga of Teratji,
to Djelebu, by a Lembaga of Djempol,
to Rembau, by a Lembaga of Gunung Pasir,
to Djohol, by a Lembaga of Djohol⁸.

When the four electors converge on Sri Menanti for the installation ceremony, they each make their residence in one of the *luha' en route*, and the result is again a pairing-off of *luha'* according to the same principle as applied when the invitations were conveyed to the four main Undang, as the Undang of Djelebu makes his halt at Djempol, etc. — the Undang of Djohol's stopping-place is Muar⁹. The four great districts are said, in Negri Sembilan parlance, each to have one district as their *serambi*, their "verandah". (Muar's position as *serambi* to Djohol explains the apparent anomaly in the composition of the delegation bearing the invitation to Djohol. Formerly — in 1887 at any rate — Djohol exercised supremacy over Muar)¹⁰.

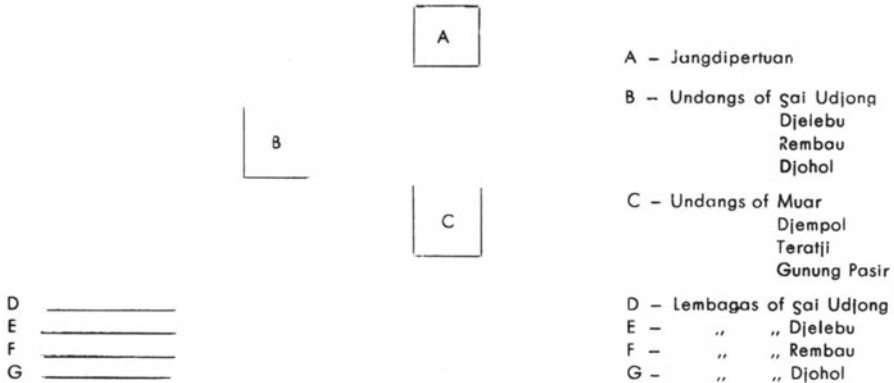
Once a Jangdiptuan has been appointed, the ceremony of his installation takes place, and in the ceremonial hall the seating arrangements for the Undangs is as follows¹¹: (see diagram on next page).

Taking all these data together, we may conclude that out of the thirteen districts making up the "Nine States", nine are indeed specially important, and these nine may be divided into three groups, thus:

1. Sri Menanti, the focus and centre of all the activities;

2. An inner circle of four *luha'* : Muar, Teratji, Djempol, Gunung Pasir ;
3. An outer circle of four : Sungai Udjong, Djelebu, Rembau, Djohol.

This ceremonial grouping roughly corresponds to the actual geographical position of the *luha'*, the "inner circle" clustering round Sri Menanti, and the four large districts of Sungai Udjong, Djelebu, Rembau, and Djohol lying further out in the west, north, south, and east respectively (see map 5).



In dealing with Minangkabau we mentioned the *pasupadan* complex, a group of five landowners, consisting of one in the centre and four round about¹². We then noted the resemblance to the Javanese *mantjapat*-complex, which V a n O s s e n b r u g g e n has explained as a self-contained conglomeration of four villages round a fifth, central, village, the latter representing the totality of the complex as a whole. Now in our opinion a very similar idea underlies the organisation of the Negri Sembilan federation, with the only difference that round the centre, Sri Menanti, there are grouped not four, but twice four territorial units *. Here also the centre represents the totality, that is to

* Such an 8—9 instead of the 4—5 grouping is not unique: a Javanese king, intending to unify his whole realm by subjecting a rebellious vassal, had the principle of unification embodied in a weapon which he ordered to be forged out of iron taken from eight points of the compass and a ninth place in the centre. This totality-weapon was the kris sembilan dèsa, the "Dagger of the Nine Villages" or "Nine Directions". Even more striking is the sitting in state, in the Javanese Principalities, of the Ruler surrounded by four, or concentric circles of each four, officials. The 8—9 grouping (the Ruler in the centre, and twice four officials round him) is then called *mantja-lima*¹³.

say that the royal district Sri Menanti, and more especially its ruler, the Jangdipertuan Besar, is the representative of the unity of Negri Sembilan as a whole, and as it were embodies the whole State. In Minangkabau, as we have seen, the Jangdipatuan's rôle was of the same nature, and was expressed by, among other things, the way in which he was said to combine both phratries: *luha'* Agam was said to be Bodi-Tjaniago, L Koto was Koto-Piliang, but the Jangdipatuans' own *luha'*, Tanah Data, was "mixed", i. e. contained both. Now in Negri Sembilan the phratry-opposition is so slight as to be almost non-existent, but here too the royal *luha'*, Sri Menanti, is seen as the one that gathers together the distinct elements of each separate district: Negri Sembilan as a whole has twelve *suku*, of which four traditionally occur in varying combinations in each single *luha'*; but in Sri Menanti all twelve *suku* are met with ¹⁴. Although the actual facts do not always tally with the traditional formula (several *luha'* having more than four *suku*), the ideal pattern is obvious; Sri Menanti comprises the entire society, of which each district only contains a part, and therefore represents the entire Negri Sembilan "World" ¹⁵.

We saw that in Minangkabau the contrast between the patrilineal organisation of the royal house and the matriliney of the populace is also explicable point of view which sees the Ruler as the focus of his realm, and his position as a husband of his country. The rules to which a Negri Sembilan Jangdipertuan is subject show a very similar line of thought. He always has to marry a woman who is not of royal descent, but is one of his, matrilineally organised, subjects. According to the legend, in the days when a new Jangdipertuan was always sent over from Minangkabau, a certain continuity in the succession was nevertheless preserved by the rule that the newcomer was to marry his predecessor's daughter; this lady's title was Tengku Puan. Although nowadays this rule is not accepted as obligatory, the royal consort — who is still styled Tengku Puan or Ampuan — should "according to some authorities" always be a member of the Air Kaki *perut* of the *suku* Batu Hampar, this *perut* being in theory, the descendants of Maléwar's (the first Jangdipertuan's) wife ¹⁶. Even today an installation of a new Jangdipertuan would, in Sheehan's words, not be considered complete if the ruler-to-be were to lack an official consort ¹⁷; that is to say, a Ruler is not fully suited for his tasks unless he is united with a representative of his subjects, thus perpetuating

the union of the first Jangdipertuan, Radja Maléwar, with a woman of Negri Sembilan.

A concomitant of the obligatory marriage rule was the point of view, held as recently as 1914, that a member of the ruling house is only eligible to the post of Jangdipertuan if his mother is by birth a member of the *perut* Air Kaki¹⁸. Whether this regular connubial relationship between Air Kaki and the dynasty is still maintained nowadays is not clear from the most recent description of an installation ceremony, that of the Jangdipertuan Abdulrahman in 1933. We are told that a Tengku Ampuan was "chosen", but not from among whom and according to what principles. Probably the meaning is that from among the four wives a Jangdipertuan may legitimately have according to both *shar'* and *adat*¹⁹ the one who was matrilineally a member of the Air Kaki was designated as official consort; but all we are told about this Tengku Ampuan's descent is, that she is her husband's *fa-br-da*²⁰, and no information is supplied as to her matrilineal descent. All we can say is that there is no reason to suppose that the Air Kaki connection has been severed, and that to the contrary all evidence points to the fact that in 1936, when Tengku Abdul Aziz wrote his article on the *Adat Kuala Pilah*, the Air Kaki was at least intimately connected with the Jangdipertuan dynasty. The Air Kaki, for instance, always supply two out of the four highest court officials, the *Orang Empat Astana*²¹. Also it is clear from the whole article that the Air Kaki is not considered to be on a par with other Sri Menanti *perut*, but has, so to speak, a foot on either side, the two sides being the Rulers and the *suku*. The author even discusses at some length the consequences of a marriage between a member of the Air Kaki and of an "ordinary" *perut*. The result is — and this indicates that Air Kaki is only a privileged group among the *suku*, and not an offshoot of the dynasty itself — that matriliney always prevails; whether an Air Kaki woman marries a man who is a "commoner", or *vice versa*, the husband is seconded to his wife's *suku*, and the wife retains her control of the *tanah pesaka*²². This rule also holds good when one of the *Orang IV Astana* marries a wife from the *suku*-folk. As Abdul Aziz expresses it: the children of such a marriage follow their mother's *adat*. The situation is different, however, when a male member of the ruling house marries a non-royal woman; in this case the wife joins the patrilineal family of her husband, and the offspring will also be considered members of their father's lineage. In spite of this the court

circle claim for the issue of such a "mixed marriage" the right to their mother's *tanah pesaka*. The Lembaga of the mother's clans of course vigorously combat this point of view²³. Court and commoners also disagree on the position of another group of court dignitaries, the "Ninety-nine officials", *Pegawai jang sembilan puluh sembilan*. These functionaries consider themselves *ex officio* excluded from the authority of any Lembaga. The latter, on the other hand, contend that even a court *Pegawai* is subjected to the rule : *Orang semenda pada tempat semenda* : "a bridegroom has to defer to his in-laws", and thus comes under the jurisdiction of the Lembaga of his wife's clan²⁴. The Jangdipertuan actually has two functions : he is Undang of his own *luha'* Sri Menanti, and chief of the Negri Sembilan federation. In his status as Undang he automatically succeeds his father, but as Jangdipertuan Besar he is, theoretically at least, elected²⁵. The electors are the Undangs of the four greatest districts, Sungai Ujong, Djelebu, Djohol and Rembau, but already in 1914 Wilkinson wrote: "Nowadays the choice of a Yamtuan is a foregone conclusion; his election is a mere form"²⁶. When, in 1934, the old Jangdipertuan died, his son, Tuanku Abdulrahman, appears to have automatically succeeded him, but during the installation ceremony the Datu' Klana of Sungai Ujong, acting as spokesman for the four Elector *Penghulu*, spoke: "..... This day we have installed Tuanku Abdulrahman, son of the late Jangdipertuan Besar Muhammad Shah, on the Lion Throne of the Kingdom of Negri Sembilan"²⁷.

Lister mentions a quite different group of Undang who act as electors : "In dealing with the election of the Yam Tuan Besar of Sri Menanti, it is now only necessary that the Dato's of Johól, Muar, Jempol, Teráchi and Gúnong Pásir should be *d'accord*"²⁸. Even if this was correct in 1887, it no longer holds good for the present day.

The installation of the Jangdipertuan consists of two main ceremonies : the *bersiram* and the *tabal*. For the *bersiram*, the Ruler-elect and his consort drive to a raised seat, the name of which, *pantjapresada*, shows that in its original, Indian, form it consisted of five superimposed platforms — nowadays the number is greater, as appears from a photograph of the 1934 ceremony²⁹. *Bersiram* means "bathing" or "lustration", and implies that the participant is actually sprinkled with holy water and/or rice-flour. In the ritual described by Sheehan, however, a bowl containing "powder and lime" were carried round the dais seven times by court officials, the Jangdipertuan and the

Tengku Ampuan afterwards only dipping their hands into it four times.

The *tabal* is the installation proper; here the Undang proclaim the new Ruler elected, and Undang and Lembaga ascend the seven steps of the *singgasana*, the "Lion Throne", to make obeisance to the now duly installed Jangdipertuan. The ceremony closes with the burning of incense and the reading of a prayer to Allah *. According to Wilkinson this is really the crux of the ceremony, as this prayer confers the royal *mana*, the *daulat* ³⁰.

Once in office, the Jangdipertuan is by no means a despot. Parr & Mackray quote the Rembau saying: "Now the raja is not the owner of the land, nor can he raise a war levy, but justice is with him, and to him is due for his sustenance a tribute of money, a measure of rice, and a cluster of coconuts" ³¹. The Jangdipertuan was the final court of appeal, and theoretically he could deal with crimes punishable by beheading ³². Altogether his actual political power was, and is, slight, but his importance, like that of the Radjo Alam of Minangkabau, lay in his supernatural powers. The prerogatives of the Ruler included the sole use of many forms of attire and ornament and of certain architectural features in his dwelling. The Jangdipertuan alone could have a cannon fired to mark the end of the Ramadan fasts; he alone had the right to sound the drum (*taboh*) to summon people for his own purposes ³³. All these *pantang-larang*, although perhaps trivial in themselves, combined with the detailed court etiquette, the veneration in which the regalia are held, etc., are indications of a certain awe towards the Ruler and his *daulat*.

At certain festivals, such as a marriage or a circumcision in the ruling family, the Jangdipertuan had a right to claim tribute (*mas manah*), and also at cock-fights — in itself an indication that the cock-fight was not just a simple amusement, but an *adat* ceremony on par with circumcision and marriage. His perquisites were also all weird freaks and rarities, which are considered to be exceptionally well endowed with supernatural power: bezoar stones, freak buffaloes, and also, as in Minangkabau, illegitimate children ³⁴. Winstedt apparently considers the saying that "the high-road and its stepping-stones" also belongs to the Ruler a cynical joke ³⁵, but here again the idea probably is that objects which cannot find a place in the ordinary

* Sheehan calls it Arabic (p. 240), but the text as he gives it is Malay only (241).

categories of everyday life are the Jangdipertuan's, and there is no reason to assume the saying to be meant as a joke (after all, in English too one speaks of the "King's Highway").

It is Winsted's great merit to have pointed out that in discussing the position of the Jangdipertuan one should not confine oneself to stressing "the real weakness and poverty of this high titular magnate", but should always take his supernatural powers into account. If one fails to do so, numerous features of Negri Sembilan custom will be insufficiently understood.

At the installation ceremony, for example, the Jangdipertuan must sit absolutely motionless ; this has been explained by reference to the Indian belief that the ability to sit still for hours was considered "to be a sign of the commencing divinity of a king" ³⁶.

More important is the presence of a Méru within the precincts of the Jangdipertuan's estate. A replica of Meru, the Hindu Olympus, is often a feature of the palace grounds or the royal temples in those parts of South-East Asia which have undergone Indian influence *. A common way of reproducing the divine mountain is by a building with a roof in superimposed tiers ³⁸. Through this local Meru the divinity enters into contact with humanity, and in the first place with "The deputy elected by the Lord", the King ³⁹. Now the Jangdipertuan Besar too had his Meru ; in the first place, behind the palace at Sri Menanti a hill is dedicated to the god Indra ⁴⁰, but also within the palace grounds itself a Meru played a part in the installation ceremony. In Pérak, where the palace is the Meru, the Sultan who is being installed performs a *pradakshina* round it, a clockwise circumambulation ⁴¹; with this ritual, he symbolically "takes possession of his kingdom in little" ⁴².

In Negri Sembilan the custom is slightly different ; the Jangdipertuan sits enthroned on the raised dais, the *pantjapresada*, while the *Orang IV Astana* perform a circumambulation round him (see p. 156) ; so here the Jangdipertuan is already acknowledged as Lord of the Meru, and is venerated accordingly.

In Indian cosmology, the Meru is also the centre and pivot of the universe: it stands in the middle of the human world, *Jambudwîpa*, and round it are grouped the cities of the eight *lokapâla* (the "Pro-

* But not only in the area where Indian influence has penetrated : the sacred mountain appears to have been a pre-Hindu concept also ³⁷.

tectors of the World”) and the four points of the compass⁴³. The preoccupation of Indian cosmology and astrology the number 4 and its multiples is also found in Indonesia, and so it is no wonder that the regalia of the Jangdipertuan come in groups of eight: 8 spears of state, 8 tapers, 8 umbrellas, etc.⁴⁴. Salutes numbered 8, 16, and 32⁴⁵, and the principal members of the dynasty and the court were the *Putra jang Empat* and the *Orang Empat Astana*, the “Four Princes” and the “Four Gentlemen of the Palace”⁴⁶. It is even likely that the idea of Negri Sembilan as a State of *nine* districts arises from the same classifying tendency, which has its roots in cosmological theory: eight districts symmetrically grouped round the Ruler who, as Lord of the Meru, is the fixed point and centre of the *Alam*.

We may note here that as the Meru is the centre round which the heavenly bodies revolve, it is also the symbol of an ordered universe, and of an orderly and cultured human society, as contrasted with chaos and barbarism. When a Javanese myth tells of the transportation of Meru from India to Java, this has been interpreted as meaning that an ordered society was founded in a previously barbaric country⁴⁷. Now in Minangkabau legend Sapurba, who was to be the first King of Minangkabau, appears on earth on the hill Siguntang Mahaméru; so here too a bringer of culture, who slays the dragon Si Katimono and institutes monarchical government, is associated with a Meru.

In some Peninsular States the supernatural character of the Ruler becomes manifest not only through his position as centre of the world, but also in a more active manner through the actual participation of the Ruler or other members of his family in ritual practices. Sultan Jusuf of Pérak “was placed shrouded on the wizard’s mat with the wizard’s grass-switch in his hand to await, as at an ordinary *séance* the shaman alone awaits, the advent of the spirits invoked”⁴⁸. Also in Pérak there was the hereditary post of State Magician; the occupant, who bore the title Sultan Muda (Junior Sultan), was a member of the princely dynasty, but could never inherit the Sultanate. His task was to mediate with and to propitiate the *djin keradjaan*, the Genii of Royalty⁴⁹.

In Negri Sembilan the connection between Ruler and Magician (*pawang*) is not quite as evident as in Pérak, but even so W i n s t e d t is probably justified in pointing out the significance of the fact that the Jangdipertuan’s insignia include a ring and a hair, objects used for divinatory purposes in many societies, not only among “Karens and

Malays" ⁵⁰. If in the course of this chapter we have come to the conclusion that the function of the Jangdipertuan is largely of a sacred or ritual nature, there is one question that should not be left unanswered, namely: With what supernatural powers is he associated? If we are not mistaken, a description of the archaic Indonesian religious system should take into account the difference between the heavenly and the earthly or subterranean powers. In our opinion the *pawang* has to deal, perhaps not exclusively, but mostly, with the typically chthonic powers, who grant wisdom and fertility. Among the possessions of the Batak magician were books containing ritual formulae and symbols, and the wooden covers of these "*pustaka*" bear as most characteristic decoration relief-carvings of snakes or lizards ⁵¹, creatures that live mysteriously close to or under the earth. Or, to take an example from an area nearer Negri Sembilan: an inhabitant of Kelantan (on the north-east coast of the Malay Peninsula) who wishes to acquire a magician's powers sits on the grave of a murdered man, making believe the grave is a boat, and using the midribs of the leaves of a coconut palm as paddles. He then calls upon the murdered man to grant magical powers ⁵². The chthonic character of this ritual is evident, both in the use made of the grave and in the symbolic paddling of the canoe on the sea; the sea is intimately connected with the underworld and the powers therein.

On the other hand the Ruler appears to be associated with the upper-world or heaven. In the first place this is indicated by the fact that he dwells on the Meru, the mountain which forms the *trait d'union* between heaven and earth; but it also appears from the fact that it is the Ruler who is *par excellence* entitled to use the umbrella as his emblem. Now according to Mlle. A u b o y e r the umbrella is, in India, essentially a symbol of the world as a whole, and the meaning of the umbrella as an emblem of royalty is that the entire world shelters beneath the power of the Universal Ruler, the *cakrawartin* ⁵³. Possibly it is, at the same time or in a different cultural context, a symbol of the dome of heaven that spans the whole world. W i n s t e d t quotes a Selangor account of the creation of the universe: "..... The Creator made the magician's universe, a world of the breadth of a tray, a sky of the breadth of an umbrella" ⁵⁴. Here we find the *pajong* (umbrella) contrasted with another object as heaven to earth or underworld. In Java, where quite a hierarchy of umbrellas of different sizes and colours has been evolved among the courtiers, the regents, and the

Muslim religious officials, such umbrellas may be set out in racks; our photograph shows such a rack with the umbrellas standing on a base in the shape of two entwined *naga*, or serpents. The *naga* is undoubtedly an underworld creature, and this umbrella-rack, with its *pajong* resting on a *naga*, may surely be said to depict the upper-world or heavens standing on the nether-world below. For Indonesia at least one does get the impression that the *pajong* is probably a symbol of the heavens, or at any rate of the upper-world aspect of the earth, as contrasted with the nether regions. Now the Ruler is the dignitary who is *par excellence* entitled to the use of this sky or upper-world symbol: no regalia are complete without one or more State Umbrellas (Negri Sembilan has eight, according to Wilkinson⁵⁵; 16, according to Winstedt⁵⁶); when other *pajong*-bearing officials approach the Ruler they have to close their umbrella, and so forth. So we think that, in spite of the undoubted resemblance between the rôle of the *pawang* and of the Ruler in so far as both have supernatural powers and have certain ritual functions in the community, there is this essential difference, that the Ruler deals with the powers above, the *pawang* with those below. The *pawang* is associated with chthonic symbols, the Ruler with a celestial one; and it may be that the use of an umbrella by a *pawang* is, in principle, forbidden. In this connection it is interesting to note the remarks made by W. W. Skeat in his "Malay Magic". After quoting Blagden's account of the *pawang*'s activities, he says: "..... the priestly magician stands in certain respects on the same footing as the divine man or king — that is to say, he owns certain insignia which are exactly analogous to the regalia of the latter, and are, as Mr. Blagden points out, called by the same name (*kabesaran*). He shares, moreover, with the king the right to make use of cloth dyed with the royal colour (yellow), and, like the king, too, possesses the right to enforce the use of certain ceremonial words and phrases, in which respect, indeed, his list is longer, if anything, than that of royalty"⁵⁷. It may be significant that there is no mention of the umbrella forming part of the magician's insignia.

Although we could only deal briefly and rather superficially with the position of the Ruler, it seemed preferable to make at least some attempt at a closer definition, rather than to characterize it as "supernatural" or "sacred", and leave it at that.

Finally we would like to draw attention to the fact that, in all

the texts dealing with Negri Sembilan, we have nowhere found a reference to the Mangkudum, that member of the Basa IV Balai in Minangkabau whose "*rantau*" the Negri Sembilan were considered to be. We are therefore left in the dark as to what dealings Minangkabau really had with Negri Sembilan. Generally when some territory is said to pertain to a high dignitary, it means that he had the right to levy taxes there, or to draw income from it in other ways. It is possible that the Mangkudum held such "concessions" in Negri Sembilan; but in practice his influence cannot have amounted to very much. Even in the years 1773—1832, when the Jangdipertuans of Sri Menanti were invited or sent over from Minangkabau, the Negri Sembilan were probably well-nigh independent of the Sumatran motherland.

Chapter references.

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| ¹ Lister (1), 35. | ²⁶ Wilkinson (10), 39. |
| ² Winstedt & Nathan, 1. | ²⁷ Sheehan, 237. |
| ³ Birch, 20. | ²⁸ Lister (1), 52. |
| ⁴ Lister (1), 37. | ²⁹ Sheehan, facing p. 231. |
| ⁵ e.g. Wilkinson (10), 1. | ³⁰ Wilkinson (10), 44. |
| ⁶ Stutterheim (3), 60; | ³¹ Parr & Mackray, |
| Gericke & Roorda, s.v. <i>ma-</i> | Saying IX. |
| <i>nganti</i> . | ³² Wilkinson (10), 15. |
| ⁷ Sheehan, 230. | ³³ Wilkinson (10), 17; |
| ⁸ Sheehan, 272. | Winstedt (10), 76. |
| ⁹ Wilkinson (10), 36. | ³⁴ Wilkinson (10), 14. |
| ¹⁰ Lister (1), 38. | ³⁵ Winstedt (4), 91. |
| ¹¹ Sheehan, 235. | ³⁶ Winstedt (4), 93. |
| ¹² van Vollenhoven, 258. | ³⁷ Stutterheim (1), 348. |
| ¹³ Korn (2), 171; <i>Encyclopæ-</i> | ³⁸ von Heine-Geldern |
| <i>die</i> , first edition only, IV, 612. | (2), 67. |
| ¹⁴ Hamerster, 1460. | ³⁹ Stutterheim (1), 342; |
| ¹⁵ Sheehan, 237. | Rassers (2), 406. |
| ¹⁶ Wilkinson (10), 22, 27. | ⁴⁰ Winstedt (9), 27. |
| ¹⁷ Sheehan, 244. | ⁴¹ Winstedt (8), 139. |
| ¹⁸ Wilkinson (10), 39. | ⁴² Winstedt (10), 57. |
| ¹⁹ Winstedt (10), 41. | ⁴³ von Heine-Geldern |
| ²⁰ Sheehan, 243, 272. | (2), 29. |
| ²¹ Abdul Aziz, 211. | ⁴⁴ Wilkinson (10), 19. |
| ²² Abdul Aziz, 217. | ⁴⁵ Winstedt (10), 58. |
| ²³ Abdul Aziz, 211. | ⁴⁶ Wilkinson (10), 23, 30. |
| ²⁴ Abdul Aziz, 204. | ⁴⁷ Stutterheim (1), 340. |
| ²⁵ Wilkinson (10), 13. | |

- ⁴⁸ Winstedt (2), 50.
⁴⁹ Winstedt (2), 42, 50;
 Wilkinson (7), 49.
⁵⁰ Winstedt (10), 75;
 Winstedt (4), 91.
⁵¹ Catalogus VIII, 129, 130, 134,
 137.
- ⁵² Winstedt (2), 45;
 Skeat, 60.
⁵³ Auboyer, 26, 27.
⁵⁴ Winstedt (2), 48.
⁵⁵ Wilkinson (10), 19.
⁵⁶ Winstedt (10), 58.
⁵⁷ Skeat, 59.
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CHAPTER X.

MODERN TRENDS IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

In the preceding chapters we have repeatedly come across situations which we interpreted as showing a conflict between the theoretical demands of *adat*, and the practice of everyday life. Such situations might conceivably be held to illustrate culture change, as showing immemorial custom yielding ground to the demands of the modern age. Such a view would, however, not always be justified, as it is far from certain that such a deviation from the ideal *adat* is a typically modern phenomenon. In this chapter we shall therefore confine ourselves to these changes in native custom which have actually been observed, that is to say, which represent deviations not from an ideal pattern, but from an earlier custom that has been duly recorded and described. As we remarked in the analogous chapter on Minangkabau, this subject is eminently one for which field-work is required. Lacking any field-work data of our own we can only utilize published accounts, and this really means : only the book "Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula" by de Moub ray. He is in fact the only author who consistently brings out the time perspective in his account of Peninsular Malay custom.

On the very first page of his work he proves to be well aware of the difficulties confronting Civil Service officers in a country where native custom is appreciably changing, while conversely the very inability of the magistrates to understand the nature of the changes adds to the uneasiness and lack of certainty on the part of the native population. The resulting situation is described as a rapid evolution of the custom under the impact of modern economic conditions, taking place in an atmosphere of uncertainty ¹.

Coming now to concrete facts, the main line of change appears to be the weakening of the clan bonds with a corresponding increase in the importance of the parental family. De Moub ray sees the origin of this development in the very fact of the immigration from

Minangkabau with its consequences, a social life more adapted to pioneering circumstances². This attribution of far-reaching consequences to the immigration itself is really axiomatic for de Moubray, but is not, in our opinion, entirely justified. In Chapter VIII we first raised this point, in connection with his views on the effect of the immigration on the laws of inheritance³. The fact itself nevertheless remains, and is especially noticeable in the revised customs for dealing with inheritance.

One of the fundamental rules is : *suarang diagih*, jointly acquired property is divided. This implies that after the decease of the husband, his clansfolk are entitled to his share of the *suarang*. Nowadays, however, they often refrain from pressing their claim and permit their share to go to the offspring of their deceased clansman⁴. It should be remembered that this tendency only makes itself felt at division on the death of one of the spouses. On divorce equal division takes place, whether there are children or not⁵.

De Moubray has a theory that the very fact of acquired property being recognized as such and being subjected to rules differing from the ones applied to ancestral property, is a case of "disintegration of communal ownership", symptomatic of the "decay of matriarchy". In our opinion this is going too far, but we can agree with him that the custom of disposing of acquired property by *hibah* (or by surreptitious presents) does conflict with the rights of the matri-clan to such property. This is the case in Minangkabau, but "in the Malay Peninsula the relaxation went much further and the tribal restrictions on the alienation of acquired property became very small"⁶. The increase in the importance of personal at the expense of clan property is largely the result of the cultivation of rubber by the population. Rice lands yield mainly a subsistence crop with a small surplus, while rubber lands yield a product which can bring in a relatively large profit, but is subject to the fluctuation of the market. When rubber-growing became a major concern for Peninsular agriculturists, "rubber land receded as it were from the category 'land' and took its place in the category 'goods' ". "Moreover, on the death of the owner there is a very strong tendency for rubber land not to become ancestral"⁷. One of the results of the way in which rubber lands are treated as "goods" is that they can be divided on divorce. Formerly the wife always took all the land, even if it was jointly acquired, but "jointly acquired rubber land is joint property and is halved on

divorce". Not only is this again an example of the progress made by the idea of more individualized ownership, but it would also appear to indicate that the tendency of Negri Sembilan *adat* to favour the women at the expense of the men has passed its climax. This may well prove to be a development of importance, and it would be worth while to note any possible further evidence that points in the same direction.

The dwindling of the clan's importance in social life is also reflected in the decay of the custom of adoption. Formerly an immigrant into Negri Sembilan had necessarily to join one of the clans in the *luha'* of his residence. Some clans even bear names that prove them to be entirely of foreign origin: Ana' Atjèh, Ana' Malaka, etc. Nowadays the custom of adoption is practically dead. Both the enormous influx of foreigners, especially Chinese, into Malaya, and the modern system of government have played a part in bringing this about, and now "it is no longer necessary to be under the formal protection of a *lembaga* in order that life and property may be safe. There is, in fact, no need for a foreigner to be affiliated to a tribe in order to live in Rembau", or, in fact, in any of the other districts *.

Another change affecting family life is the increase of the divorce rate. De M o u b r a y writes that "in innumerable cases" divorce follows marriage within a few months ". Possibly this, too, is a result, if indirectly, of the weakening of the clan cohesion. As a marriage was formerly to a great extent an alliance between two clans, a divorce implied a rupture of this alliance, and was therefore a momentous decision, not to be taken lightly. If this consideration has lost much of its importance nowadays, a powerful deterrent to divorce has been abandoned.

Again according to d e M o u b r a y, "the most potent cause" of subsequent divorce is the fact that "boys and girls are married while still absolutely strangers to each other", and he thinks these marriages between youngsters, which have been arranged by the parents of both parties without the consent of the bride and groom-to-be, are on the increase ¹⁰.

Judging from P a r r & M a c k r a y's article, in Rembau at least the Muslim marriage form of *nikah ta'lik* is not infrequent. P a r r & M a c k r a y style it a "marriage of convenience" ¹¹, what gives a totally false impression. It is a legal procedure by which a bridegroom makes a declaration, immediately after the Muslim marriage contract, that his wife shall be divorced if he, the husband, prove

guilty of neglect, desertion, ill-treatment, or any other specifically defined misdemeanours, and his wife registers her protest before the *qâdî*¹². (Hence the name *nikah ta'lik*, "marriage with suspended divorce": the divorce, as it were, "hangs on" certain conditions).

In Indonesia this form of marriage appears to be as old as Islam itself, but the modern feminist and social progress movements have greatly encouraged it as strengthens the wife's position in marriage against possible masculine tyranny. Now under Negri Sembilan *adat* a wife being helplessly domineered by an overbearing husband is a very remote contingency indeed, so it would be interesting to know to what circumstance the *nikah ta'lik* owes its existence there. It may be that, with the change taking place in the *adat*, the protection accorded to women is diminishing (as we noticed earlier in this chapter), and other means of safeguarding their interests are needed. Or has the *nikah ta'lik* followed in the wake of a general progress made by Islamic law? Or is it a case of outside influence, being introduced by immigrant Malays? To be able to answer these questions we would need data more recent than those of Parr & Mackray's article, now forty years old.

Chapter references.

- ¹ De Moubray, 3.
 - ² De Moubray, 8.
 - ³ De Moubray, 109.
 - ⁴ De Moubray, 155.
 - ⁵ De Moubray, 169.
 - ⁶ De Moubray, 202.
 - ⁷ De Moubray, 203.
 - ⁸ De Moubray, 175.
 - ⁹ De Moubray, 205, 206.
 - ¹⁰ De Moubray, 206.
 - ¹¹ Parr & Mackray, 89.
 - ¹² Juynboll, 207, 208.
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CHAPTER XI.

COMPARISON

As we have now concluded our description of the socio-political systems of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, it is only natural that we should next draw a comparison between the two cultures with which we are concerned. They do, indeed, furnish a very interesting object for a comparative study, as the cultures are now, and have been for more than a century, totally independent of one another, while on the other hand it is beyond doubt that the one is an offshoot of the other. The details of the historical process are, however, beyond our observation. We do not know for certain when the emigration from Minangkabau became a really large-scale movement, nor what was the state of Minangkabau culture at that time. Neither do we know what form of contact arose between the immigrants in Negri Sembilan and the Malay and Sakai population already present there, nor the influence those previous inhabitants exercised on the Minangkabau way of life, nor also in how far the Peninsular Minangkabaus kept up the relationship with the homeland. These and other lacunae in our knowledge prevent us from imagining that we can study Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan culture under laboratory conditions: taking them as two related organisms that separated at a given moment and henceforth developed independently, giving us a chance to observe their different reactions in different surroundings. We shall therefore limit ourselves to a synchronic comparison; perhaps the material thus gathered may prove suitable for drawing some tentative historical conclusions.*

The first important difference between our two societies is that Minangkabau consists of villages (*nagari*), Negri Sembilan of districts (*luha'*), and in Minangkabau there is a hierarchy of dignities culmin-

* Although in this chapter it is necessary to go over much of the same ground that has already been covered in the descriptions of Minangkabau and Negeri Sembilan, I hope it will not be found too repetitive.

ating in the government of the *nagari*, while in Negri Sembilan the head of the *luha'* stands on the highest rung of the official ladder. It is remarkable that for purposes of adoption in Negri Sembilan a man who is a member of one's *suku*, but belongs to a different *luha'*, is considered a stranger¹. In Minangkabau it is the inhabitant of another *nagari* who is the foreigner².

There is this difference between the constitution of the *nagari* and the *luha'*, that the latter is always headed by one man alone (with the possible exception of Sungai Ujong with its Klana and Bandar), while the Minangkabau *nagari* is mostly governed by a council, either of *panghulu andiko* or of the *panghulu ka-IV suku*, and the institution of the *putjue'*, the single village headman, is less often met with. In view of these facts P a r r & M a c k r a y's opinion that in the Negri Sembilan social structure an Undang was needed to "conform to Sumatran model"³ is obviously incorrect.

H a m e r s t e r noted the resemblance between the Negri Sembilan Undang and the Minangkabau *putjue'*, and considered that the *putjue'*'s powers were formerly much the same as the Negri Sembilan Undang's⁴. This does not seem very likely for the Minangkabau *darat*, although it may be true for the *rantau*, where the institution of the *putjue'* was most common.

To a certain extent *luha'* and *nagari* also resemble each other in the ownership of uncultivated land : in Minangkabau the *nagari* owns the "virginal, uncultivated waste land"⁵, in Negri Sembilan not exactly the *luha'* as a whole, but the *luha's* "original family", the *Waris* and *Penghulu*⁶ (only in Rembau and Sri Menanti the *Waris* do not own the uncultivated land)⁷. Even the saying in which these principles are laid down show great resemblance in both countries. In Negri Sembilan there is the proverb⁸ :

*Gaung, guntong, bukit bukan, Waris dan penghulu jang empunja
Sawah jang berdjindjang, pinang jang berdjidjik, Lembaga jang
empunja ;*

"The mountains and hollows are the possession of the *Waris* and
Penghulu

"The rice-fields and palm-trees are the possession of the *Lembaga*".

In Minangkabau⁹ :

Gunueng nan tinggi, rimbo nan dalam, padang nan lawèh, radjo nan punjo ;

"The high mountains, the deep forests, the wide plains are the possession of the *radjo*".

Willinck takes *radjo* in this context to mean "Jangdipatuan", but mistakenly, in our opinion. Not only does the proverb then disagree with the actual facts as he himself gives them, but it has been observed that in customary sayings *radjo* indicates any chief, *panghulu* in general, and not, as Westenenk expressly adds ¹⁰, the Jangdipatuan. The proverb just quoted must therefore be taken to mean : "The hills, the jungle and the plain are owned by the *panghulu* of the village".

Within the Negri Sembilan *luha'*, as within the Minangkabau *nagari*, the four-*suku* configuration forms an ideal pattern. As we have dealt with this at some length we need not go into it again here, but will only refer to the publications by Newbold, Winstedt & Nathan, Humphreys, and Wilkinson (the "Notes") for Negri Sembilan ¹¹, and Wilken, Leyds, and Damsté for Minangkabau ¹².

It should nevertheless be noted that the term "*IV suku*" has different connotations in Negri Sembilan and in Minangkabau. In Minangkabau it usually simply refers to the four clans of a *nagari* (as in : *Panghulu ka-IV suku*) ; but there is also a case on record that the Basa IV Balai are called "*Ampè' Suku*" ¹³.

Negri Sembilan uses the term with the special meaning of the four original settlements of the Sakai in the Negri Sembilan area: according to the legend the Sakai migrated from the southern tip of the Peninsula northwards. The four chiefs by whom they were led each chose a district for their followers to settle, viz. Djohol, Djelebu, Klang and Sungai Udjong. These are called the *Suku jang empat* ¹⁴. The names of the *suku* are totally different in the two countries: not one of the twelve Negri Sembilan *suku*-names occurs in Westenenk's list of 96 names of Minangkabau *suku*, or rather, *kampueng* ¹⁵. The explanation probably lies in the circumstance that the people who immigrated into Negri Sembilan grouped themselves into "quasi-tribal units" ¹⁶ based on locality of origin. Of the twelve Negri Sembilan *suku* listed on p. 125, Biduanda is a special case ; Ana' Atjèh and Ana' Malaka indicate by their very name that their members come

from a certain territory ; III Nèné' is the *suku* of people of mixed Siamese blood ; the other nine are *suku* of the Minangkabau, and all * names denote *nagari* or districts ¹⁷. The fact that none of the Minangkabau *suku* are to be encountered in Negri Sembilan would seem to show that, although the principle of clan-organisation stood the strain, the *suku* themselves were disrupted by the emigration and subsequent resettlement in Negri Sembilan, and possibly also by the absorption of many non-Minangkabau inhabitants into a clan system on the Minangkabau model.

The phratry-dualism, which has a quite considerable "social value" ¹⁸ in Minangkabau, plays only a very small rôle in Negri Sembilan. Practically the only manifestation of it is the bipartition of some *luha'* into *Baroh* and *Darat*, *Air* and *Darat*, etc., with sometimes other contrasts (male—female) joining in. This form of dualism comes into action, as we have seen, when a new Undang has to be appointed. If we had not known of Muhamad Radjab's description of the *badunie* ceremony, with its conflict between the *bukit* and the *kampung* group in a Minangkabau *nagari* (see p. 81), we would have been prone to consider the Negri Sembilan form of bipartition (*baroh* — *darat*, etc.) as an institution with its main development on the Malay Peninsula. As it is, we observed the same type of dichotomy in Minangkabau. It can hardly be doubted that both these forms of opposition are manifestations in a new shape, re-interpretations perhaps, of the traditional phratry-dualism of Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago. Phratry-dualism is known often to comprise local bipartitions, such as Hill—Plain, East—West; the stressing of just this territorial aspect of the dual organisation now appears to be not purely a Peninsular development, but to have its counterpart, and perhaps its origin, in the Minangkabau mother-country.

In Minangkabau we observed ritual battles, either between two *nagari* or between the bride's and the bridegroom's followers at a wedding, and these fights appeared to be a stylised expression of the phratry rivalry. Now in Negri Sembilan there is also an occasion when such a mock battle is held : every three or four years before preparing the rice-fields for planting. The two opposing parties hurl banana stems or thin rods at one another across a gully, "until a blow makes the face of one of the combatants bleed and ends the fray" ¹⁹. Here

* With the possible exception of III Batu.

again the battle itself has a beneficent effect, probably that of increasing fertility, as has the battle at the commencement of a wedding. As we are not told, however, how the two opposing parties are constituted we cannot say whether this Negri Sembilan combat also derives from the dual organisation, although it seems very well possible.

In Minangkabau the contrast between the two phratries entailed a contrast between two forms of *adat*: the *adat Parapatih* which favours government by councils and lenience in legal matters, is contrasted with the *adat Katumanggungan* (or *Tumanggung*) which stands for monarchic government and retributive justice. No such dualism prevails in Negri Sembilan. There are, of course, local variations in custom, but there is no clear-cut opposition of two different *adat* principles within the confines of the State itself. The expressions *adat perpatih* and *adat tumenggung* do occur, but on the Peninsula they designate the custom of Negri Sembilan as a whole (*adat perpatih*) and that of the Malay states (*adat tumenggung*). In a previous chapter we raised the question whether this distinction is made by the native inhabitants themselves, or is only due to a misapplication of Minangkabau terms to Peninsular conditions by European writers. This is the place to examine the evidence in greater detail.

To begin with, let us briefly re-state the Minangkabau situation as we see it. Minangkabau social structure is fundamentally double-unilateral, with matrilineal descent governing social life and the inheritance of material possessions, patriliney being of importance for the inheritance of prestige and supernatural powers. At present — and probably for several centuries now — this double-unilateral system has taken a turn towards matrilineal preponderance, the only recent manifestation of the patrilineal principle that was of really great importance being the succession to the dignity of Jangdipatuan Basa. This system has a matrilineal phratry-dualism, and with each phratry one form of *adat* was associated: *adat Parapatih* with Bodi-Tjaniago, *adat Katumanggungan* with Koto-Piliang. Both *adats* were, however, variations of the general Minangkabau custom, both were associated with matriliney, and the contrast *adat Parapatih* — *adat Katumanggungan* was definitely not one of Minangkabau matrilineal *adat* contrasted with patrilineal foreign *adat*. The differences between the two were on points of relatively minor importance; it is noteworthy, however, that the

Koto-Piliang phratry was considered to be more closely connected with the Jangdipatuan dynasty than was Bodi-Tjaniago.

And now for the *adat perpatih* and *adat tumenggung* on the Peninsula. Whenever a European author uses these terms he means with *adat perpatih*: the Negri Sembilan custom, and with *adat tumenggung*: the custom of the other Peninsular States. The difficulties begin to arise when he attempts to define the *adat tumenggung*. Mr. Caldecott, Commissioner of Lands in Negri Sembilan, wrote in a memorandum on the inheritance of land first on the conflict between *adat perpatih* and *adat tumenggung*, and then on conflict between *adat perpatih* and "Mohammedan" law, apparently considering *adat tumenggung* and Mohammedan law to be much the same thing, at least as far as inheritance is concerned. Taylor, in an article in the JMBRAS, points out how erroneous this point of view is²⁰. De Moubray, however, tends to make this same equation of *adat tumenggung* and Muslim law, as he writes: "..... *Adat Temenggong*, a form of patriarchal custom which has now assimilated itself almost entirely to Muhammadan Law"²¹.

Winstedt's views are rather different. He translates *adat perpatih* as "Law of Ministers" and *adat tumenggung* as "Law of the Minister for War and Police", thereby completely obscuring the real character of the two systems. In the first place *adat* has a much wider meaning than "law", as it means custom and etiquette and also extends to the legal system, while "law" "does not coincide with any other system of rules of conduct"²². Then the translation of *perpatih* by "Ministers" and of *tumenggung* by "Minister of War and Police" not only fails to recognize that actually Parapatih and Tumenggung were the names (or titles) of the two legendary Minangkabau ancestors, but also Europeanizes the whole atmosphere of the word. When "the custom instituted by our ancestor Kjai Katumanggungan" becomes "the Law of the Minister for War and Police", we are whisked away from the village elders' council-house to the office of some ministerial bureaucrat. As he sees *adat tumenggung* as a "composite patriarchal law" Winstedt traces its development through various legal digests and port regulations to "regulations of the kind India knew from the days of Chandra Gupta and embodied in the Mogul *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*"²³. This of course does not aid us in understanding the *adat tumenggung* as a system of Malay customs.

In refuting Caldecott's views, Taylor referred to Wil-

kinson for what he considered a better definition of *adat tumenggung*²⁴. Wilkinson correctly sets Muslim law apart from the two native *adat*, and then describes the *adat tumenggung* as follows: the *adat perpatih* is the Minangkabau custom which was transferred directly to Negri Sembilan. Other Minangkabau only reached the Peninsula by way of Palembang, and there, in the "ancient Malay kingdom of Palembang" the Minangkabau *adat* came under Hindu influence, and reached the Peninsular states outside Negri Sembilan in its revised, Hinduised, form. After the Hindu influence it also underwent the influence of Muslim law, so that at present the *adat tumenggung* "simply represents the old Minangkabau jurisprudence — the true law of the Malays — in a state of disintegration after many centuries of exposure to the influence of Hindu despotism and Moslem law"²⁵. Our objection to this theory is that the writer (possibly led astray by the careless use of the word "Malay" for both true Malays and Minangkabau) makes the custom of the entire Peninsula come from Sumatra. We know that the inhabitants of *Minangkabau* settled in Negri Sembilan, but the idea that the *adat* of the whole Peninsular Malay population was derived from Palembang, and that subsequent to the Minangkabau emigration, is preposterous.

To demonstrate the common origin of the *adat perpatih* and *adat tumenggung*, Wilkinson adduces several facts. Although we reject his conclusions, the facts themselves are of the greatest interest. He says "Succession to titles and dignities in Perak (so in an *adat tumenggung* country; d. J. d. J.) follows the male line; succession to lands and houses suggests the *adat perpatih*". He then quotes Sir William Maxwell: "In that State (Pérak) the lands and houses of the deceased descend to his daughters equally while the sons divide the personal property"²⁶. The same is said by Gullick: "The *adat tumenggong* recognises matrilineal relationships for clan purposes, but stresses patrilineal descent in the devolution of office and property"²⁷. As this is, after all, a study of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan culture we shall not go into details on the custom of the "*adat tumenggung*" states, but we would like to indicate what, in our opinion, is the significance of these data. When we had characterized the social structure of Minangkabau as double-unilateral we observed that this also affects the way in which we would henceforth see the relationship between Minangkabau and the other Sumatran societies: we are no longer justified in considering Minangkabau as an island of matriliney

in patrilineal surroundings, but should rather consider the various Sumatran social systems as showing different modifications of a double-unilateral pattern. In Minangkabau this double descent system has taken a turn towards matriliney, in the other societies towards patriliney, but the double-unilateral traits are to be observed quite clearly in the South Sumatran regions, and, although they are less obvious there, probably also in Atjèh and the Batak territory. Now what we are told of the *adat tumenggung* on the Malay Peninsula makes us wonder whether, *mutatis mutandis*, the same situation prevails there. The data on Pérak which we have cited, although obviously far too incomplete to allow us to draw any definite conclusions from them, do seem to point in the direction of a double descent system operating in matters of inheritance. A further study of the Peninsular Malay types of social organisation may well prove very rewarding.

Returning to the question whether the terms *adat perpatih* and *adat tumenggung* in their Peninsular meaning are used as such by the native inhabitants themselves, or were only introduced by European writers, I must admit that I cannot answer with any degree of certainty. I have never encountered the terms, with the meaning we have been discussing, in any Malay or Minangkabau text that is undeniably free from all European influence; but this cannot serve as proof that they never did so occur. It may be best to leave the question unanswered for the present. Should the expressions prove to be indigenous to Negri Sembilan, then perhaps the following hypothesis can account for the change in meaning they underwent since the Minangkabau migrations: As the emigration to Negri Sembilan disrupted, as we have seen, the Minangkabau form of clan-organisation, the traditional grouping of the clans into either the Koto-Piliang or the Bodi-Tjaniago phratry was also given up, and no longer made sense for the members of the new, to a certain extent synthetic, Negri Sembilan clans. The contrast between the two *adat* likewise lost its meaning, and, the names themselves being preserved, were re-interpreted. *Adat tumenggung*, in Minangkabau rather closely associated with the patrilineally organized Radjo dynasty, came to be applied to the largely patrilineal Malay states, *adat perpatih* to the obviously different custom of Negri Sembilan as a whole.

Before leaving the subject of phratry-dualism, there is one more problem to be faced, viz. : given the fact that within Negri Sembilan

the contrast between *adat perpatih* and *adat tumenggung* has lost its meaning, to what Minangkabau type of *adat* does the Negri Sembilan custom correspond ? The answer is : it appears to combine features of both. The Minangkabau *adat Katumanggungan* was, in legal matters, harsher than the *adat Parapatih*, at times even appearing as a real *lex talionis*. The difference between the two principles is expressed in customary sayings. A Koto-Piliang proverb is ²⁸ :

siapa bunuh siapa kena bunuh
siapa berhutang siapa membajar
siapa salah siapa bertimbang, i. e. :
 "Who kills shall be killed,
 "The debtor shall quit the debt,
 "The sinner shall pay the forfeit."

A Bodi-Tjaniago proverb is ²⁹ :

Tjintjang berpampas
bunuh berbalas, i. e.
 "Whoso wounds shall atone,
 "Whoso slays shall replace."

Now in Negri Sembilan a current proverb is ³⁰ :

Jang mentjintjang jang memapas
Jang berhutang jang membajar, i. e. :
 "Who wounds shall atone,
 "Who has a debt shall pay it off."

Here the first line is practically the same as in the Bodi-Tjaniago proverb, the second occurs in the Koto-Piliang saying. The saying *hilang darah ganti darah*, "Blood for blood" is purely Koto-Piliang ³¹, but another, also from Negri Sembilan ³², is just as completely Bodi-Tjaniago in its implications

salah makan dimuntahkan,
salah tarik dikembalikan, meaning
 "What has been wrongly eaten should be spat out,
 "What has been wrongly drawn towards oneself should be returned."

The same ambiguity strikes us when we study the nature of and the succession to the *adat*-dignities in Negri-Sembilan.

In Koto-Piliang *nagari* there is quite often one dignitary who heads the village government (the *putjue'*), with three assistants (*manti*, *malim*, *dubalang*), together forming the *Urang IV djinih*; in Bodi-Tjaniago *nagari* the village is governed by the combined *panghulu andiko* ³³. Negri Sembilan does have the equivalent of the *putjue'*, the *Undang*, but does not know the institution of the *urang IV djinih*. Succession to the dignity of *panghulu* is, according to Koto-Piliang, through direct succession, the *kamanakan* succeeding his *mama'*; Bodi-Tjaniago grants greater powers to the *rapè'*, the council of *panghulu* who elect or co-opt the new incumbent ³⁴. In this respect Negri Sembilan comes closer to the Bodi-Tjaniago principle, as in addition to the *giliran*, election plays a prominent part. All in all we may say that, with the breakdown of the *adat Parapatih* — *adat Katumanggungan* dichotomy, Negri Sembilan custom has resulted from a fusion of both principles.

An important difference between the political structures of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan is that the latter State still has its own Ruler, while in Minangkabau the power of the Jangdipatuans came to an end in the eighteen-twenties and thirties. Some authors, anxious to bring out the weakness and unimportance of the monarchical system in Minangkabau, have used the abrupt end of the Radjo rule as proof for their arguments: after the Jangdipatuan and his family had been practically exterminated by the Padris, life went on much as before and no great disruption was caused by the sudden removal of the highest dignitary of the State. Still, this need not mean that he was a negligible figurehead. For the "common man" his disappearance may not, indeed, have made much difference, as the occasions he noticed anything of the Jangdipatuan's activities must have been few and far between. For the country as a whole the shock was, in our opinion, rendered less disruptive than it might have been through the remarkable fact that the Padri revolt almost coincided with the permanent establishment of Dutch rule in the Minangkabau territory. The result was that the Netherlands Indies government happened to be ready to occupy the place left vacant by the Jangdipatuan as authority over the country in its entirety. This fact was clearly recognized by De Stuers, who was Resident of Padang in the very period when the Dutch authority was being extended over the west coast. In a memorandum dated August 30th, 1825, he advised against the

plans to concentrate authority by restoring the Jangdipatuan, as the Radjo's authority had been maintained by "the sword of tyranny", and such means were not suited for "introducing a financial system according to the principles of an enlightened European government" ³⁵. So we observe that, until the late war, Minangkabau (the Residence West Coast of Sumatra) was always directly administered, in contrast to Negri Sembilan, that retained its own Ruler. It is quite possible that, had Minangkabau been left on its own for some length of time after the assassination of the Radjo, the absence of a central authority would have made itself more painfully felt. Even so, the Minangkabau sense of unity would have been a potent counter-force, and to the development of this sense the Jangdipatuan as a centralizing agency have, beyond doubt, greatly contributed.

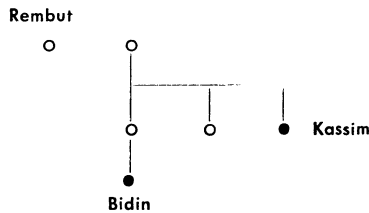
If we next turn from the political organisation to the family, we first observe a considerable likeness between the Minangkabau and the Negri Sembilan kinship terms. As appears from our lists, the most striking difference is the absence, in Negri Sembilan terminology, of a distinctive word for *mo-br*. We have already commented on this in the beginning of Chapter VIII, and all we need add here is that not only is the term *mama'* missing as designation of a certain relative, but also as a name of a "family" chief. The head of a *perut*, who in Minangkabau might be called *mama'*, or *mama' rumah*, is, in Negri Sembilan, always called *ibu-bapa'* or *buapa'*.

As to marriage regulations, it is remarkable that, while in Minangkabau levirate is encouraged, it is prohibited in Negri Sembilan, at least in the Kuala Pilah area ³⁶. Another difference is that Negeri Sembilan does not have the Minangkabau arrangement by which a husband spends the night in his wife's dwelling, and may also use it as his *pied-à-terre* in daytime, but is still considered as belonging to the house of his own matri-lineage. In Negri Sembilan the usual procedure is that he permanently takes up his abode in his wife's house ³⁷. He even is seconded to his wife's clan, becoming an *ana' buah* of his wife's Lembaga ³⁸, a situation that never arises in Minangkabau. Both countries agree, however, in "very definitely subordinating" the *orang semenda* (bridegroom) to his *tempat semenda* (his in-laws).

While we saw that in several parts of Minangkabau a marriage outside the *nagari* is, if not forbidden, at least frowned on, we have

nowhere in Negri Sembilan seen any signs of preference for *luha'*-endogamy.

It is in accordance with the altogether smaller rôle played by the *mo-br* in Negri Sembilan that there does not appear to be any very pronounced preference for marriages with *mo-br-da*. In fact most manifestations of an intimate relationship between *kamanakan* and *mama'*, so noticeable in Minangkabau, are lacking in Negri Sembilan. A case as that recorded as *Bidin vs. Ibrahim* in Rembau³⁹, where the infant Bidin's *mama'* is living (Kassim), but the "de facto guardian" is not the *mama'* but *mo-mo-si* (Rembut), would be very exceptional indeed in Minangkabau.



There are, it is true, also examples to be found of a *mama'* playing a more important part in family life. In the interior of northern Malaka (a "Minangkabau custom" area), the *mama'* administers the *pesaka*-land for his *kamanakan*⁴⁰, but even this is unusual. All writers agree that generally *pesaka*-lands and *suku* goods are not only "entailed in tail female", but also administered (some writers even say "owned") by the women of the *suku*⁴¹. Here we come upon a very important difference between the *adat* of the two countries. While the effect of Minangkabau custom is to make a wife entirely independent of her husband as far as material possessions are concerned, Negri Sembilan custom goes even further: there a woman is not only independent of her husband, but of all her male relatives as well. One may even say that when it comes to the control of ancestral property the women have the whip hand, and in this particular Negri Sembilan comes very close to being a matriarchy.

De Moub ray once or twice compared the rules concerning property, but then sometimes saw differences that do not actually exist. An example is his opinion that acquired property is an anomaly in the matrilineal organisation, and only arose in Negri Sembilan as a result of pioneering conditions⁴². Here he apparently overlooked the

fact that *harto pantjarian* are also recognized in Minangkabau. On the other hand, he rightly notices the similarity that in neither country did the *adat kamanakan* apply to the inheritance of material goods: the *kamanakan* could not inherit directly from his *mama*' ⁴³.

We could, of course, continue almost indefinitely with summing up differences or resemblances, but the preceding survey only means to list these features that bring out the essential character of the relationship between the socio-political structures of Negri Sembilan and Minangkabau.

The most important fact is of course their very comparability. For all the difference, they have sprung from the same origins and still unmistakably show a family likeness. We have, in the course of this chapter, already indicated what changes were wrought by the migrations: the clan-system was preserved, but the clans themselves succumbed. The phratry dichotomy, still very much alive in Minangkabau, has all but disappeared in Negri Sembilan. Regular connubia are almost non-existent on the Peninsula, and as for manifestations of double descent, apart from the patrilineal organisation of the Jangdipertuan caste (obviously a feature directly derived from Minangkabau), we can only adduce the *giliran* rule. This too occurs in Minangkabau, although less universally than in Negri Sembilan. We may, perhaps, conclude that at the time of the large-scale emigrations the double-unilateral system in Minangkabau had, as it were, become fossilized into certain features as *adat sansako*, the *sako-bako* contrast, etc., but was no longer a consciously recognized principle. Not only the *giliran* rule gained ground in Negri Sembilan, but the women's power also increased since the immigration into the Peninsula. Here we must be on our guard against any "*post hoc ergo propter hoc*" reasoning.

Finally, as we said on p. 147, it is quite possible that for an understanding of the rules governing the succession to the Undangship we should also bring the other Peninsular states, especially Malaka-Djohor, within our field of vision. After all we know that the *penghulu* of Rembau, Sungai Udjong, Djohol, and Naning obtained their rights and their titles from Djohor ⁴⁴. Of the Negri Sembilan districts, Djohol was certainly held in feoff by the Bendaharas of Malaka and Djohor ⁴⁵, of whom one, Bendahara Sekudai, (who probably lived in the middle of the 17th century) ⁴⁶ has become a legendary figure

and, in the guise of a Sakai, sometimes even of a Sakai woman, figures prominently in the ancient history not only of Djohol ⁴⁷, but also of Rembau, ⁴⁸ Sungai Ujong ⁴⁹, and other *luha*'.

So, just as a further study of South Sumatra may clear up some obscure points in Minangkabau social structure, it is possible that data from the other Peninsular states may still shed light on the *adat* of Negri Sembilan.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Taylor (1), 240.
- ² Willinck, 145.
- ³ Parr & Mackray, 4.
- ⁴ Hamerster, 1632.
- ⁵ Willinck, 635.
- ⁶ Wilkinson (11), 28.
- ⁷ Hamerster, 1637; Lister (1), 39, 40.
- ⁸ Wilkinson (11), 28.
- ⁹ Willinck, 651.
- ¹⁰ Westenenk (1), 103.
- ¹¹ Newbold I, 199; Winstedt & Nathan, 46; Humphreys (2), 7, 21; Wilkinson (9) 47.
- ¹² Wilken (2), 211; Leyds, 410 seq.; Damsté (2), 337; Adat rechtbundels XI, 139; XXVII, 323.
- ¹³ MS School of Oriental & African Studies No. 46942, p. 13.
- ¹⁴ Lister (1), 35.
- ¹⁵ Westenenk (7).
- ¹⁶ De Moubray, 184.
- ¹⁷ Hamerster, 1457.
- ¹⁸ Radcliffe-Brown (3), 20, 23.
- ¹⁹ Winstedt (2), 92.
- ²⁰ Taylor (2), 77.
- ²¹ De Moubray, 5.
- ²² de Josselin de Jong (3), 3.
- ²³ Winstedt (10), 79.
- ²⁴ Taylor (2), 77, 47.
- ²⁵ Wilkinson (11), 36, 2.
- ²⁶ Wilkinson (11), 36.
- ²⁷ Gullick, 18.
- ²⁸ Humphreys (2), 12.
- ²⁹ Humphreys (2).
- ³⁰ Wilkinson (11), 18.
- ³¹ Wilkinson (11), 31.
- ³² Wilkinson (11), 32.
- ³³ van Vollenhoven, 255.
- ³⁴ Korn (1), 316.
- ³⁵ Kielstra (2), 138.
- ³⁶ Abdul Aziz, 208.
- ³⁷ Taylor (1), 8.
- ³⁸ Taylor (1), 8.
- ³⁹ Taylor (1), 161, 163.
- ⁴⁰ Blagden (2), 309.
- ⁴¹ Winstedt (10), 85; Taylor (1), 9; de Moubray, 120, i.a.
- ⁴² De Moubray, 109.
- ⁴³ De Moubray, 107, 162.
- ⁴⁴ Begbie, 50.
- ⁴⁵ Winstedt & Nathan, 8.
- ⁴⁶ Winstedt (6), 164.
- ⁴⁷ Winstedt & Nathan, 74.
- ⁴⁸ Hervey, 242.
- ⁴⁹ Humphreys (2), 125, 136; Gullick, 9 seq.

CHAPTER XII.

SUMMARY, AND SOME WIDER IMPLICATIONS.

In this concluding chapter we shall first summarize the conclusions reached in the preceding pages, and then return to a theoretical consideration of the Minangkabau social structure. We shall afterwards first discuss two other possible interpretations of the Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan data, and, secondly, see how our facts fit in with two important recent works on kinship and social organisation.

Briefly, then, our conclusions are as follows: the ideal pattern of Minangkabau social organisation implies a system of double descent, with pronounced matrilineal stress. Four matri-clans (Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Tjaniago) are grouped in two phratries, Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago, each tracing their descent from one legendary ancestor, and showing the "hostile friendship" characteristic of phratry-dualism. The marriage-organisation was, in its ideal form, one of asymmetrical connubia, achieved by *mo-br-da* marriage. The patrilineal principle is at present hardly observable at all except in certain traces it left. We did, however, find several indications that it was formerly of much greater importance. On the other hand the data did not allow us to draw any conclusions as to how the two principles combined to form marriage-classes. The contrast matriliney—patriliney manifested itself as one between "commoners" and the rulers, in itself probably largely a product of a contrast between the profane and the sacred, between social and religious functions and powers.

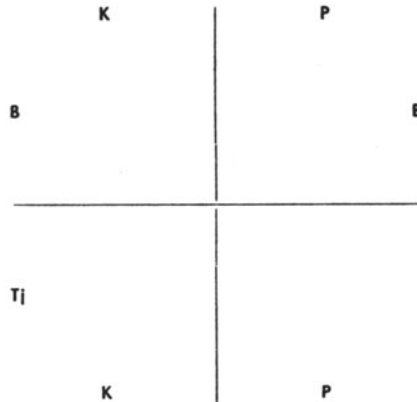
Negri Sembilan, on the Malay Peninsula, was settled by emigrants from Minangkabau; it has preserved the contrast between the different principles governing descent and inheritance among rulers and "commoners", but otherwise the double-unilateral principle has been forced even further into the background than in Minangkabau, as it exhibits an even more marked skewing towards matriliney, in some respects almost approaching matriarchy. In both societies Islam may have usurped many of the functions formerly allotted to the — named or un-

named — patrilineal descent groups. The phratry-dualism also plays a smaller rôle on the Peninsula than in Sumatra, almost exclusively governing the succession to the dignity of district chief (Undang). The relationship of these Undang to the central ruler (Jangdipertuan Besar) brings out the latter's position as focus and unifier of the State as a whole. Marriage regulation in both Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan tends to become what Lèvi-Strauss calls a "*structure complexe*", one in which the preferred spouse is not in the first place indicated by his or her position in the kinship system. This tendency appears to have evolved furthest in Negri Sembilan, witness the much slighter importance of the *mama'* (mo-br) there than in Sumatra. An examination of both societies' closest neighbours may, in the future, rob both Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan of their exceptional position as matrilineal *enclaves* in an area of patriliney and prove both them and their neighbours to have evolved variants of fundamentally similar types of social structure.

We may now return for a moment to our theoretical consideration of the Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan form of social organisation. It will have been noted that, after we reached the conclusion that certain facts in Minangkabau social structure could best be explained as resulting from the operation of the patrilineal principle, we nowhere committed ourselves to a further definition of these patrilineal descent groups. Neither did we bring into discussion the way in which possibly resultant marriage-classes functioned. The reason is simply that, in our opinion, no such definite conclusions could be drawn from the facts at our disposal. We avoided all mention of marriage-classes (sections or sub-sections) ¹, even as hypothetical units, as we do not know what the Minangkabau class-organisation was like. Nevertheless there are facts which might make it seem quite plausible to derive the Minangkabau social organisation from a four-class system. We have always kept to the view that Koto, Piliang, Bodi and Tjaniago should be considered as matri-clans, grouped together in the matri-moieties Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago. But, it might be objected, cannot this have originated from a system whereby Bodi and Tjaniago were the matrilineal, Koto and Piliang the patrilineal moieties? We would then have a four-class system, of the Karia type, as shown in a diagram on the next page, whereby the vertical line denotes the division into patri-moieties, the horizontal into matri-moieties. This hypothesis would have in its favour that it explains the association of Koto-Piliang with the patrilineally

organized Radjo dynasty and, on the Peninsula, the use of the expression *adat tumenggung* to denote the predominantly patrilineal custom of the non-Minangkabau states.

This reconstruction is nevertheless open to such serious objections that it must be abandoned. It is, to put it briefly, neither necessary nor sufficient as an explanation of the present-day Minangkabau facts. It is insufficient as it does not shed any light on the five-generation rule, nor does it adequately explain the *giliran*, and it is certainly not necessary to derive a four-clan, two-phratry organisation



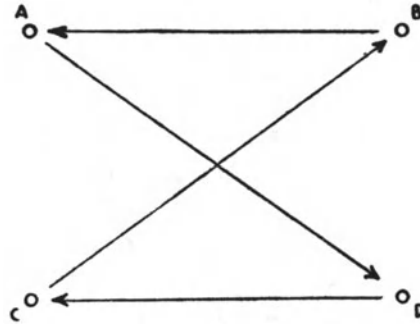
from a four-section system. To the contrary, such a derivation would necessitate assuming a whole concatenation of intermediate stages, for none of which we have any evidence. The phratry-rivalry, to take one example, is nowadays manifest between Koto-Piliang on the one hand, and Bodi-Tjaniago on the other. The four-section system would however, entail such a rivalry between Koto and Piliang, and Bodi and Tjaniago. This presumptive double opposition has left no traces whatsoever.

Also one would have to assume that Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Tjaniago, all four nowadays matrilineal clans, have developed from, respectively, patrilineal couples and matrilineal cycles in a system with unnamed sections and pairs*. None of the facts at our disposal justify such an assumption.

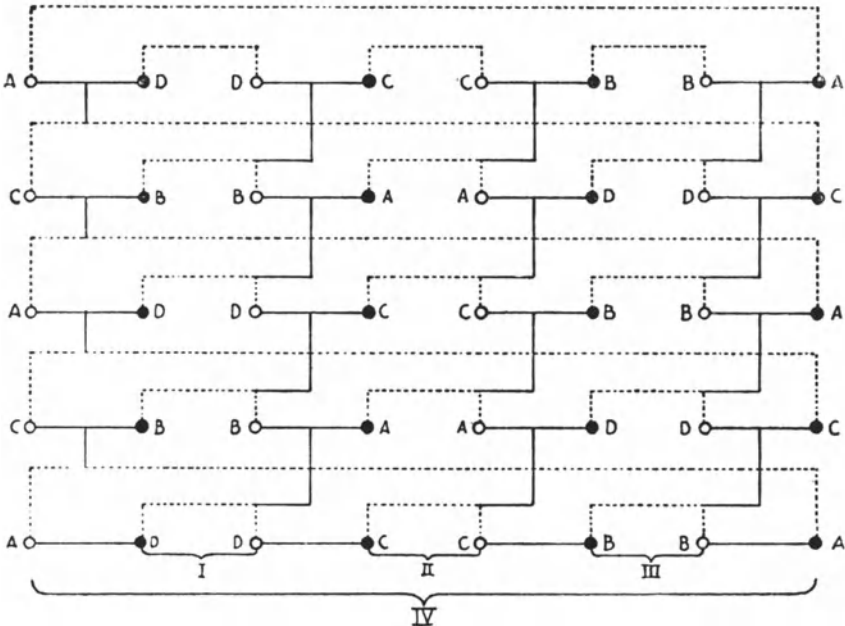
* We have here adopted Radcliffe-Brown's terminology: A marriage-class (in a 4-class system) is a *section*; two intermarrying sections together form a *pair*; two sections, of which one contains the mothers and the other their daughters, together form a *cycle*; and ditto, but with fathers and their sons, a *couple*.

Another type of kinship organisation to which one might conceivably look for an explanation of the Minangkabau system, is one with four classes, united in a circulating connubium ; L è v i - S t r a u s s has interpreted the Murngin system in this manner.

For Minangkabau, with its matri-clans, the following type would be the most relevant :



That is to say: a woman B marries a man A, their daughter is D. She marries a man C, their daughter is B, and so forth. It will be seen that this system implies two phratries based on matriliney, viz. $BD + DB$ and $AC + CA$. Supposing we take this to be a clue to an understanding of the Minangkabau system, with, for instance, $BD = \text{Bodi-Tjaniago}$ and

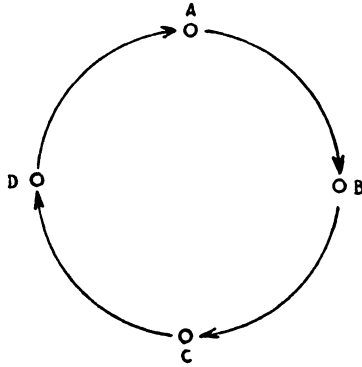


AC = Koto-Piliang. If we work out this system in the form of a genealogy, the result is the diagram on page 185.

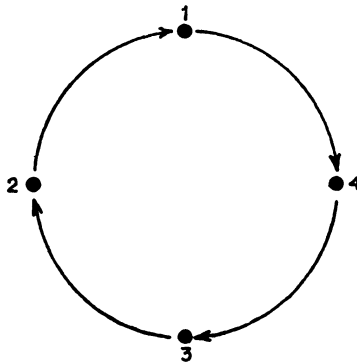
In this way four matri-lineages emerge, I, II, III, and IV, but at the same time the weaknesses of this interpretation become apparent. Either we assume Bodi, Tjaniago, Koto, and Piliang originally to have been the names of the four classes (A, B, C, and D in the diagram), but then the hypothetical earlier form of organisation was very markedly different from Minangkabau organisation as we know it, and we are again forced to add one hypothesis to another to explain a whole series of unprovable changes; or we take the lineages I, II, III, and IV to be the predecessors of the present-day *suku* (e.g. I = Bodi, II = Koto, III = Tjaniago, IV = Piliang), but then nothing essential has been added to our picture of the "ideal type" of Minangkabau social structure. To put differently: here again the reconstruction offered is not sufficient to explain our contemporaneous Minangkabau data, as both the five-generation rule and the *adat sansako* remain incomprehensible, nor is it necessary. To the contrary, it brings in fresh complications (the marriage classes and their circulating connubium) without any imperative need for them*.

Altogether the system depicted in Chapter IV, Diagram VIII, seems to offer the most satisfactory explanation, as it closely approaches Minangkabau social organisation as we know it, entails a minimum of speculation on historical development, and is relatively simple. As we remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we did not at the time work out the diagram so as to show the operation of the marriage-classes, as that would not be relevant to Minangkabau or Negri Sembilan. Here we may parenthetically point out that, if a social system as described were to recognize marriage-classes, they would be sixteen in number viz. A 1—4, B 1—4, C 1—4, and D 1—4. The classes' rôle in the connubial relationships could be described as follows: the matrilineal clans show a circulating connubium, thus:

* Even as an interpretation of the Murngin marriage system, I do not think this type of presentation should supersede those given by Webb and Elkin (*Oceania* III, 406—416).



the patri-clans also, thus :

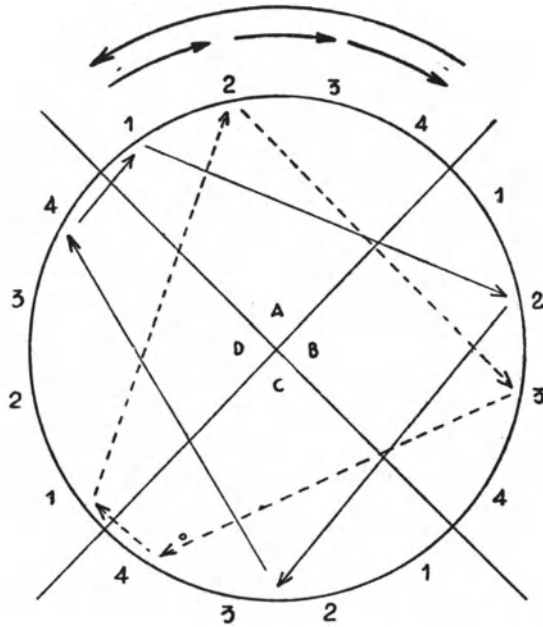


The classes combine the two circulating principles, as could be diagrammatically expressed in the figure on the next page.

The four sectors of the circle represent the matri-clans A, B, C, and D, and are each subdivided by the patri-clans 1, 2, 3, and 4. The chords connecting $A\ 1 \rightarrow B\ 2 \rightarrow C\ 3 \rightarrow D\ 4 \rightarrow A\ 1$ indicate the connubial relationships between the classes. In order to avoid complicating the diagram only two of the four connubial cycles have been indicated. The arrows following the circumference of the circle indicate the class to which females of successive generations belong: A 1 has a daughter A 2, her daughter is A 3, etc. By tracing both groups of arrows one can follow the system in action : starting from A 1, the arrow forming the chord of the circle takes one to B 2, i. e. a woman A 1 marries a man B 2. The arrow from A 1 along the circumference of the circle points to A 2, i. e. the offspring of the marriage $A\ 1 \times B\ 2$ is A 2. From A 2 again two arrows set out, the dotted chord indicating the spouse, the other one the offspring, etc.

This diagram is based on the system seen from the woman's point of view. From a male standpoint the four sectors of the circle would be 1, 2, 3, and 4, each sector being subdivided by A, B, C, and D.

As we said, however, this discussion of the 16-class system is set



down as a theoretical intermezzo to show briefly how classes *could* function in the system in question, rather than for any immediate relevance to Minangkabau or Negri Sembilan matter.

To conclude, we would like to see how our Minangkabau data square with the general theories on social structure propounded in the significant recent publications "Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté", by Claude Lévi-Strauss, and "Social Structure" by G. P. Murdock.

To give a detailed criticism of Lévi-Strauss' impressive work would be beyond our competence, but that is not necessary here either. Several times in the foregoing pages his views have come up for discussion, and as there are only a few passages referring directly to Minangkabau (Negri Sembilan is not mentioned at all) it will be sufficient if we deal with them briefly.

Of essential importance and, in a sense, the backbone of the whole book, is the distinction Lévi-Strauss makes between the *échange*

restreint and the *échange généralisé*, corresponding to what we called symmetrical and asymmetrical or circulating connubia. A further distinction is made between *régimes harmoniques*, in which the rules of descent and residence coincide (so a system is "harmonic" if it has patriliney and patrilocal residence, or matriliney and matrilineal residence) and *régimes dysharmoniques*, i. e. systems with matriliney and patrilocal residence, or *vice versa*. Now these two basic distinctions in social type are correlated: the *échange restreint* is only possible in a *régime dysharmonique*, while a *régime harmonique* needs a system of *échange généralisé* for its integration, and to prevent it falling apart into several intermarrying groups that are mutually unconnected².

It is clear that this theory is also applicable to Minangkabau. There we have a matrilineal *régime harmonique* — as a matter of fact Minangkabau is one of the "extremely rare" examples of this type of social organisation³. A system of *échange généralisé* would therefore be expected, and this does indeed agree with our conclusions as to the ideal type of marriage, that of a man with his matrilineal cross-cousin. The progress, made of late in Minangkabau, by the idea of romantic love, and the view that only the affections of the husband and wife-to-be should be taken into consideration when it comes to marriage, are facts of a quite different order. In Lévi-Strauss' terminology one could say that Minangkabau social organisation is tending to become a "*structure complexe*", one in which marriage is not in the first place determined by genealogical factors.

Although it does not directly refer to the Minangkabau situation, we would like to make one remark on Lévi-Strauss' correlation of *régime harmonique* and *échange généralisé*. We admit the cogency of the argument that a "harmonic" system needs an extended exchange to prevent its disintegration, but on the other hand we fail to see the necessity for reversing the theorem and assuming that a circulating connubium can *only* occur in a "harmonically" organized society. Yet this view is implicit in the passages at the bottom of p. 272 and the top of p. 293. We find it a point of such importance for ethnological theory, that it deserves to be further clarified.

The contrast between *régime harmonique* and *régime dysharmonique* can also be considered from another angle, which raises a fresh set of problems. We shall return to this question in our discussion of Murdock's book (p. 194).

We have already discussed the significance for the study of

Minangkabau social structure of Lévi-Strauss' methodological observations on the "class" system in chapters IV and V, so that this point need not be raised again. We can now turn to pp. 571 *seq.*, where the geographical distribution of the two types of *échange* is plotted.

The author draws a line from western Burma to eastern Siberia, this line forming the "axis" of the generalised exchange. This line is determined by its two extremities, where lie the Kachin and the Gilyak, among whom the *échange généralisé* occurs in a simple form. To the west of the axis we find societies with the characteristic "*extinction périodique de la règle de l'exogamie*", interpreted by Lévi-Strauss as a symptom of an evolution from *échange généralisé* towards *échange restreint*. To the east of the axis lie Indonesia, Oceania and Australia, an area through which so many migrating and invading cultures have passed that there is not much hope of finding the ancient systems in their places⁴. Nevertheless, the author gives the following description of the situation in Indonesia: in Sumatra, the Batak and Luba have *échange généralisé*; the same can be said of Nias and of the Lesser Sunda Islands, and considerable parts of the island-groups further east. *Echange restreint* is met with in parts of Flores*, some small islands east of Timor, and in the Aru-group. In Java "marriage classes of the Aranda type, with sister-exchange" have been thought to occur, before the Hindu era; and traces of such classes are supposed to be observable in Sumatra.

When Minangkabau is brought into this over-all picture, our first conclusion is that this society can join up with the Batak and the Luba as having the *échange généralisé* as ideal connubium. We hope that this has been convincingly demonstrated in the foregoing pages. On the other hand we are equally sure that in Minangkabau, at least, a search for traces of marriage classes of the Aranda type would be in vain. Our own opinion on the relationship between Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan social structure on the one hand, and their immediate neighbours' on the other, has been summarized at the end of the preceding chapter. That survey covered an area much more restricted than Lévi-Strauss' comprehensive synthesis, and so only tries to supply some detail where Lévi-Strauss draws broad outlines.

* Endeh and Manggarai are not separate islands, as one might think from Lévi-Strauss' words, but districts of central and west Flores respectively.

The other recently published book of considerable theoretical importance is M u r d o c k's "Social Structure". Its very novel method — it gives a classification and, in places, a theory of the development of different types of social organisation based on a statistical evaluation of their component elements — is such that the reader feels he can only form an intelligent, well-founded opinion of the work by judging the very principles of the method as such. It is quite possible that inexactitudes will appear in its 352 pages, but, we repeat, the book as a whole stands or falls by the practical value which the statistical method will or will not be considered to have for social anthropology. All the same, we shall again avoid the large issues and set ourselves the humbler task of considering only these passages that deal more or less directly with the Minangkabaus of Sumatra and the Peninsula.

In a study as undertaken in "Social Structure" it is of the greatest importance *what* elements, or facts, of the different cultures are chosen for comparison, and one must be absolutely sure of their comparability. This again is to a large extent dependent on one's definitions: both on the way one draws up a definition, and the way one makes sure it fits all the phenomena included under it. To take an example, the definition of community as the "maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association" ⁵ seems to me to be less a definition than a figure of speech. When the communities are then classified as, on the one hand, gathering, hunting or herding and, on the other, agricultural, this grouping is, after all, rather rough and ready. J a c o b s & S t e r n's typology is ⁶:

simple food-gathering economies,
advanced food-gathering economies,
simple agricultural economies,
advanced agricultural-pastoral economies.

We then notice how, again and again, the two "advanced" economies are more alike in the influence they exert on the other aspects of culture than are the two types of food-gathering or agricultural economies ⁷.

We raised this question of definition and classification as it is of direct relevance to the treatment accorded to the Minangkabau data. On p. 68 *seq.* the name "clan" is applied to a "compromise kin group", which "includes wives with their husbands but not married sisters with their brothers". According to this definition, neither Minangkabau nor Negri Sembilan have clans: two spouses are never member of the same

group (to choose a neutral term) in Minangkabau, and not even in Negri Sembilan. In the latter society a husband is "seconded", as British writers call it, to his wife's *suku*, i.e. he is subjected to the authority of that *suku*'s Lembaga, but he never becomes a member of that *suku*. In M u r d o c k's terminology, we suppose a Minangkabau *parui*' (Negri Sembilan *perut*) would be lineage, a Minangkabau *kampueng* (Negri Sembilan *suku*) a sib, and a Minangkabau *suku* a phratry⁸. Although then, by M u r d o c k's own definitions, Minangkabau has no clans, it is yet classified as having clans in Table 70 (p. 244). The only explanation is that the author, reading the article that supplied him with his data on Minangkabau (L o e b (3)), came across the word "clan" and therefore utilized it in this Table, without making sure whether it agreed with his own definition. We may add that the open spaces left in the Table under the headings "Cousin terms" and "Niece terms" could be filled in with respectively an H (Hawaiian type) and a G (Generation type).

On another subject there is a conflict between the Minangkabau facts and M u r d o c k's general theory. This becomes apparent when the author says: "Husband and wife cannot both remain with their own families of orientation in founding a new family of procreation"⁹. But this is exactly what does happen in Minangkabau (not in Negri Sembilan). In Chapter II we already expressed our agreement with O p l e r's opinion that M u r d o c k has tended to overestimate the importance of the nuclear family, at least in parts of South-East Asia; this appears to be a case in point. As a result of his rather a-prioristic refusal to recognize the Minangkabau custom of residence, the writer later again comes into conflict with the actual facts. According to Table 70, the Minangkabau have matrilocal residence; and on p. 217 he says: "The only forms of marriage that are consistent with matrilocal residence are monogamy, polyandry, and exclusively sororal polygyny". Now this is definitely incorrect. The (admittedly infrequent) Minangkabau polygyny also assumes other forms than the sororal. The reason for this contradiction between fact and theory is that it was incorrect to characterize the Minangkabau residence as matrilocal; and according to M u r d o c k the real Minangkabau form of residence simply does not exist.

Although we cannot agree with all he says, M u r d o c k reaches several conclusions of which we think that they may well open up

interesting new vistas for the study of the two societies with which we are concerned here. An instance is his listing of factors which "facilitate the establishment of independent households by married couples". The "pioneer life in the occupation of new territory" is, as we have seen, not satisfactory as an explanation for the process as observed in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, but some or all of the others have undoubtedly played their part. Then there is the theory, tentatively brought forward after some 33 societies, including Minangkabau, have been typified as having "Iroquois type" social organisation, that "the frequent appearance of generation terms for aunts and cousins presumably reflects the comparative recency of a prior bilateral organization" ¹⁰. Our own conclusion as to the historical development of Minangkabau social organisation would rather be, that a form of *double descent* was formerly more pronounced than at present, but it might be worth while considering in how far bilateral and double-unilateral descent reckoning can have similar effects.

As a matter of fact, we get the impression that M u r d o c k somewhat underestimates the possible influence of double descent in social organisation. This refers, i. a., to his statement on p. 218: "The observation has often been made that in many parts of the world patrilineal and matrilineal peoples are found side by side in restricted areas with cultures showing unmistakable evidences of historical connexions. It should now be clear that wherever such a situation exists, if the two types of structure are in fact genetically related, the patrilineal tribes must have evolved from a matrilineal organisation, and not *vice versa*." The possibility that both types evolved from a former double descent is apparently discounted; in fact, the author seems rather to incline to the view that matriliney is necessary as a first stage before double descent can arise: "It must likewise be true that in all societies with full-fledged double descent the matrilineal kin groups were the first to be evolved, the rule of patrilineal descent representing a secondary development. These generalizations, of course, can in no way be taken as supporting the evolutionist theory of the universal priority of the matrilineate. On the contrary, since the ancestors of nearly all groups which have survived until today must have undergone many changes in social organization during the long course of human history, the fact that the last transition in a particular series has been *from matrilineal to patrilineal or double descent* (my italics, d. J. d. J.) by no means implies that the matrilineate came first in the entire series."

Our reactions to this hypothesis are as follows: if, in studying any particular society, one reaches the conclusion that its unilateral descent system was probably preceded by a system of double descent, this conclusion is not necessarily invalidated by M u r d o c k's theory not taking such a development into account. And, of course, to assume a yet earlier stage of matriliney is only justified if there are actual indications for it to bear out M u r d o c k's views (in actual practice it is very unlikely one can ever make such a long-range reconstruction).

Naturally this also holds good for societies which are double-unilaterally organized at present. M u r d o c k says that "whenever the ethnographer presents actual historical evidence as to the preexisting structure it nearly always supports the inferences from internal evidence" ¹¹. We would like to add that if it does not, the "internal evidence" should be reconsidered. In brief, it is quite possible that detailed studies of single cultures will result in modifications of M u r d o c k's generalized cross-cultural theory, as his conclusions are drawn from 250 societies, what is, after all, a small percentage of the total number of human societies all over the world. We presume that M u r d o c k himself would agree that such revisions, if made on good grounds, can only benefit his theory as a whole.

As the situation in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan aroused our interest in double descent, we were struck by what seemed an inconsistency in M u r d o c k's book. On p. 242 we read "double descent can appear only in a society with matrilineal descent which adopts patrilocal residence and on this basis evolves patrilineal kin groups without losing its previous matrilineal kin groups", and on p. 258: "double descent requires a matrilineal antecedent and there is no other alternative". Yet on pp. 211 and 212 the writer had first expressed this same opinion, but then added: "It may be pointed out that there is another, though much less common, origin of double descent. A bilateral society with distinct rules of inheritance for two types of property can evolve lineages on the basis of each type of ownership." This may be a relatively minor point, but it serves to show that the book's inductions may still be open to qualifications in other details as well.

The conclusion that what the author calls "cycling" (asymmetrical or circulating connubium) is "normally characteristic only of structures with double descent" ¹² makes us look forward to an interesting discussion on this subject between M u r d o c k and L é v i - S t r a u s s,

whose own conclusions flatly contradict this view ¹³. L é v i - S t r a u s s nowhere uses the expression "double descent" or its equivalent, but it is obvious that what he calls a *régime dysharmonique*, which opposes one descent line to the line of inheritance of locality, is *ipso facto* a *régime* with double-unilateral organization. Now he says (p. 293) that a *régime harmonique* demands an *échange généralisé*, and conversely a system of *échange généralisé* demands a *régime harmonique*, so that this amounts to saying that *échange généralisé*, i. e. a circulating connubium, can never occur in a "dysharmonic", i. e. a double-unilateral, system.

We can only briefly indicate our views on the two theories just mentioned. As to M u r d o c k's theory, we should like it to be put to the acid test of comparison with the data of several reliable monographs (M u r d o c k himself has nowhere, as far as we can see, indicated how he reached this particular conclusion). L é v i - S t r a u s s' conclusion is the result of the extensive process of reasoning and analysis set forth in his "Structures Élémentaires", and it seems almost an impertinence to sum up our opinion of this work in a few lines only. Nevertheless, the limits set by our actual subject force us to be brief, while on the other hand the importance of this matter, also for Indonesian kinship studies, is too great to leave it altogether undiscussed.

As to L é v i - S t r a u s s, we have already raised a word of protest against the way he suddenly reversed the quite acceptable theorem that a *régime harmonique* demands an *échange généralisé*, and smuggled in, we might almost say, the axiom that *échange généralisé* requires a *régime harmonique*. But now we are faced with an additional clause: an asymmetrical connubium can only occur in a *régime harmonique*, and therefore never in a double-unilateral system. May we accept this? In our opinion we may not, as a marriage rule entailing asymmetrical connubia can quite well operate in an organization with double descent. An example is furnished by L é v i - S t r a u s s himself: the Murngin. Murngin social organisation undoubtedly recognizes eight sub-sections: it is, therefore, undoubtedly double-unilateral, and we should therefore place it squarely among the *régimes dysharmoniques*, and not in a half-way position, as L é v i - S t r a u s s does (fig. 44, p. 273).

So we see that a double-unilateral system can function equally well with asymmetrical connubia (e. g. the Murngin) as with symmetrical

(e. g. Aranda and Kariera) ; and we cannot accept fully either the conclusion reached by Lévi-Strauss or the statement made by Murdock.

There are many more points raised by Murdock which are directly or indirectly of interest for a study of Negri Sembilan and Minangkabau, but we think the most important have, however briefly, been reviewed. To conclude, we might point out that also in the larger field of the Pacific area as a whole there is still anything but a *communis opinio* on the interrelation of the various cultures. This is apparent even if we only compare Murdock's statement "Despite occasional allegations to the contrary, the complex social systems of eastern Indonesia, of the Naga tribes of Assam, ... bear no relationship to those of Australia"¹⁴, with Lévi-Strauss' tentative sketch of the cultures of South-East Asia and Australia as mutually comparable units in one complex, characterized by *échange généralisé*.

Before any ambitious typology of the culture of Asia can be set up, a lot of spade-work will still have to be done.

Chapter references.

- ¹ Radcliffe-Brown (2), I, 38, 39.
 - ² Lévi-Strauss, 271.
 - ³ Lévi-Strauss, 149.
 - ⁴ Lévi-Strauss, 571.
 - ⁵ Murdock (2), 79.
 - ⁶ Jacobs & Stern, 125 *seq.*
 - ⁷ Jacobs & Stern, 174, for instance.
 - ⁸ Murdock (2), 46, 47.
 - ⁹ Murdock, 16.
 - ¹⁰ Murdock, 245.
 - ¹¹ Murdock, 258.
 - ¹² Murdock, 243.
 - ¹³ Lévi-Strauss, 548.
 - ¹⁴ Murdock (2), 56.
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Abbreviations :

- AA: American Anthropologist.
AS: L'Année Sociologique.
BKI: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
IA: Indisch Archief.
IAL: Indian Art and Letters.
IG: Indische Gids.
ITR: Indisch Tijdschrift voor het Recht.
JFMSM: Journal of the Federated Malay States Museum.
JGIS: Journal of the Greater India Society.
JIA: Journal of the Indian Archipelago.
JMBRAS: Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JStBRAS: Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
KS: Koloniale Studiën.
KT: Koloniaal Tijdschrift.
MKAWL: Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde.
MLS: Malay Literature Series.
PMS: Papers on Malay Subjects.
TBB: Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlands Bestuur.
TBG: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
TNAG: Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap.
VGB: Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
VKI: Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
VMKAWL: Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde.
WB: Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens.

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I N D E X.

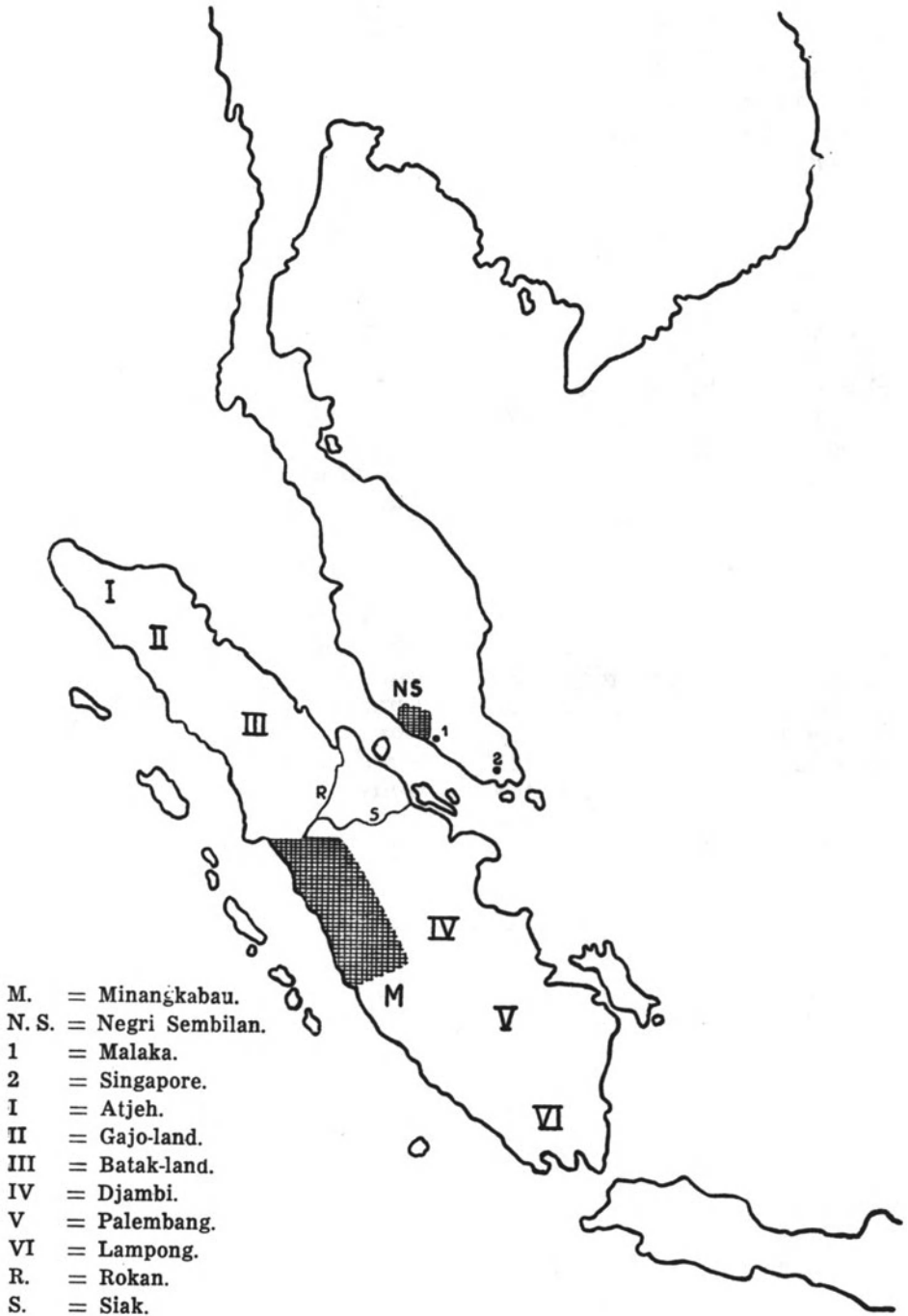
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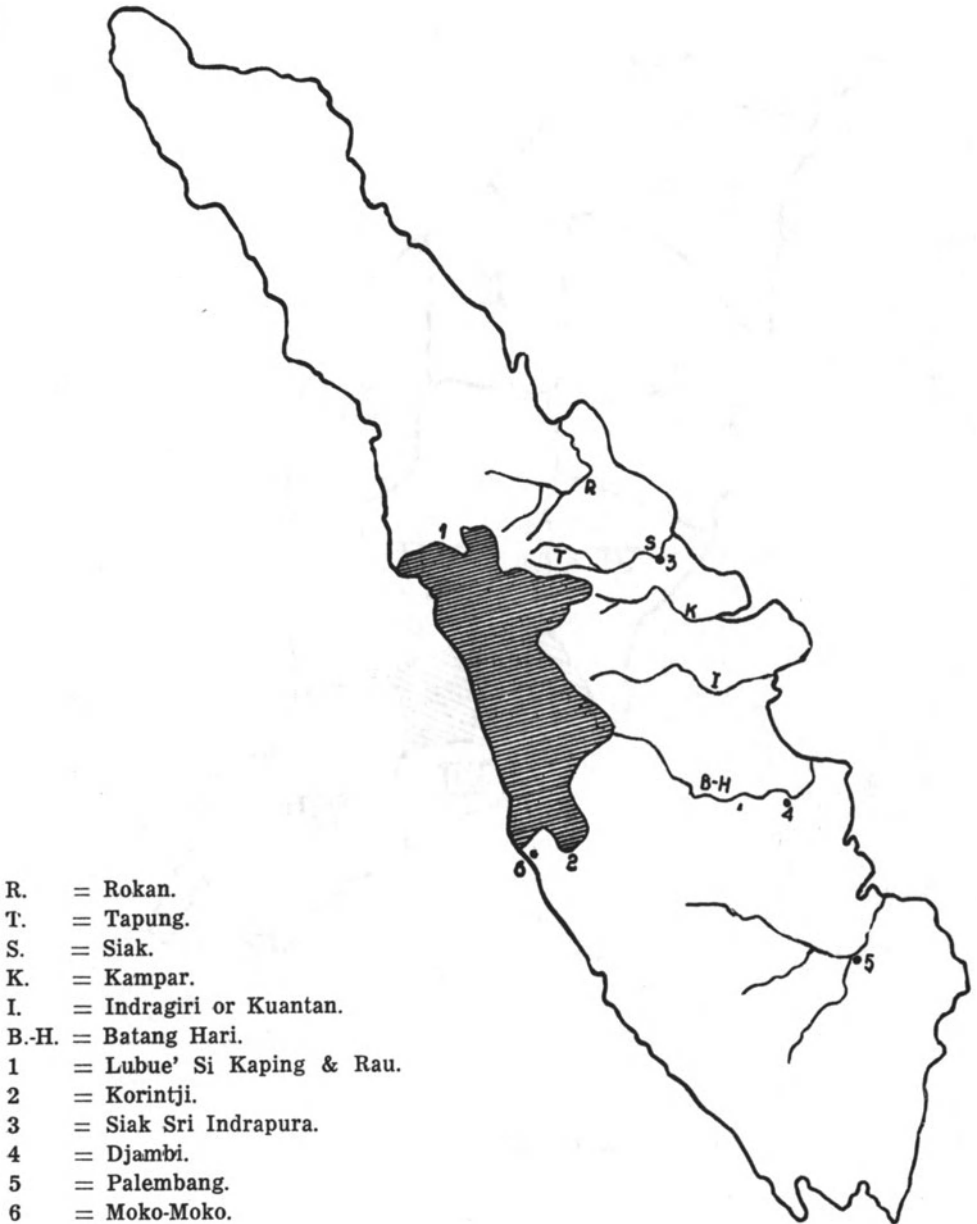
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MAP 1.
Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan.



MAP 2.

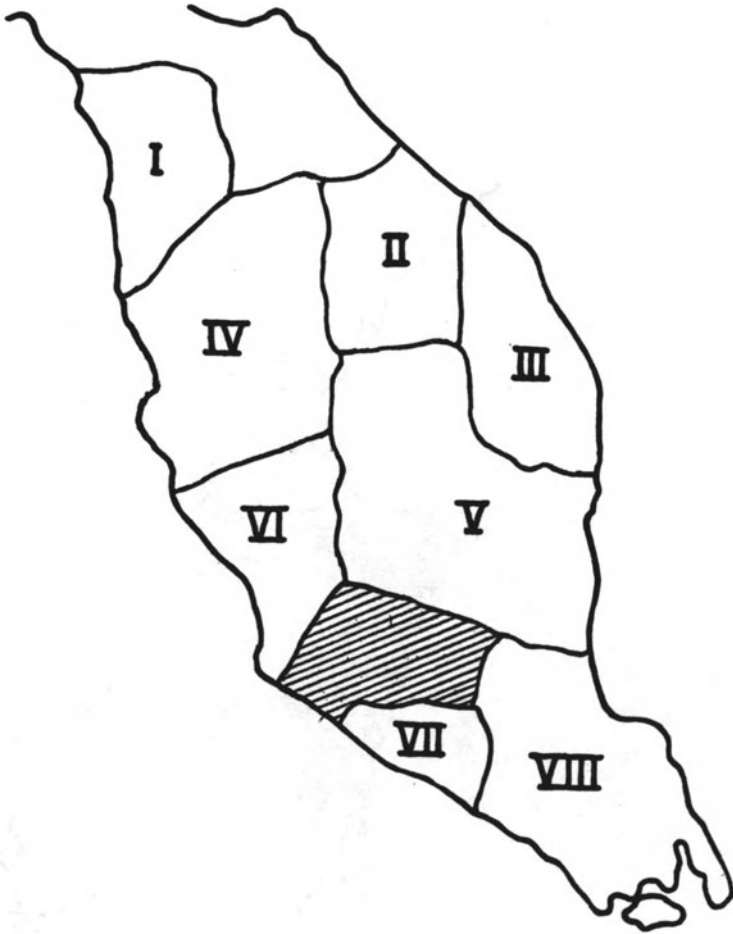
The surroundings of Minangkabau.



- R. = Rokan.
- T. = Tapung.
- S. = Siak.
- K. = Kampar.
- I. = Indragiri or Kuantan.
- B.-H. = Batang Hari.
- 1 = Lubue' Si Kaping & Rau.
- 2 = Korintji.
- 3 = Siak Sri Indrapura.
- 4 = Djambi.
- 5 = Palembang.
- 6 = Moko-Moko.

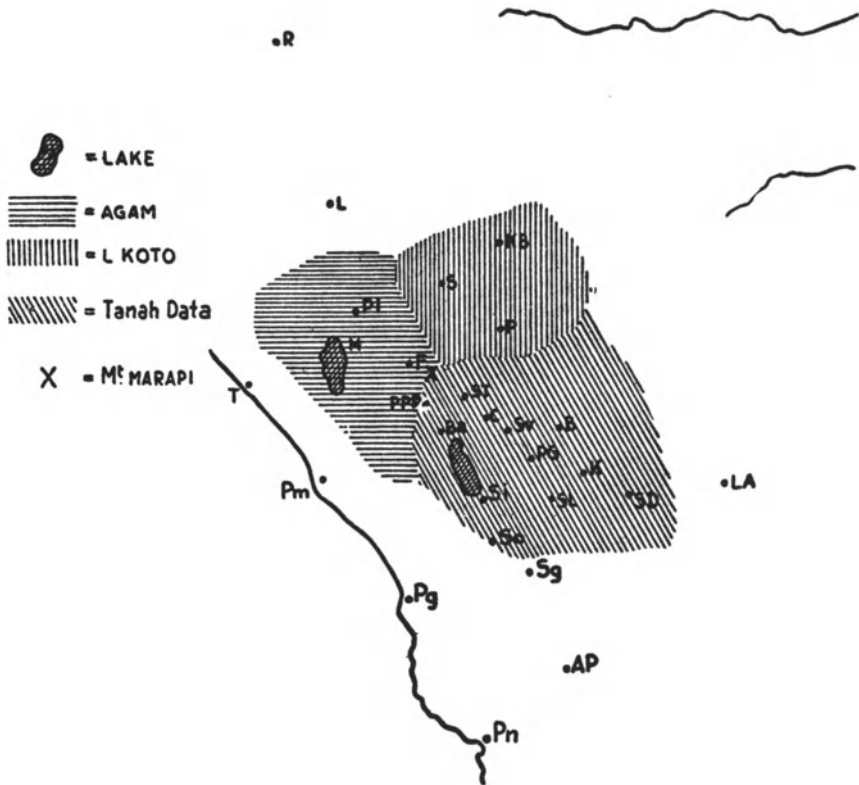
MAP 3.

The surroundings of Negri Sembilan.



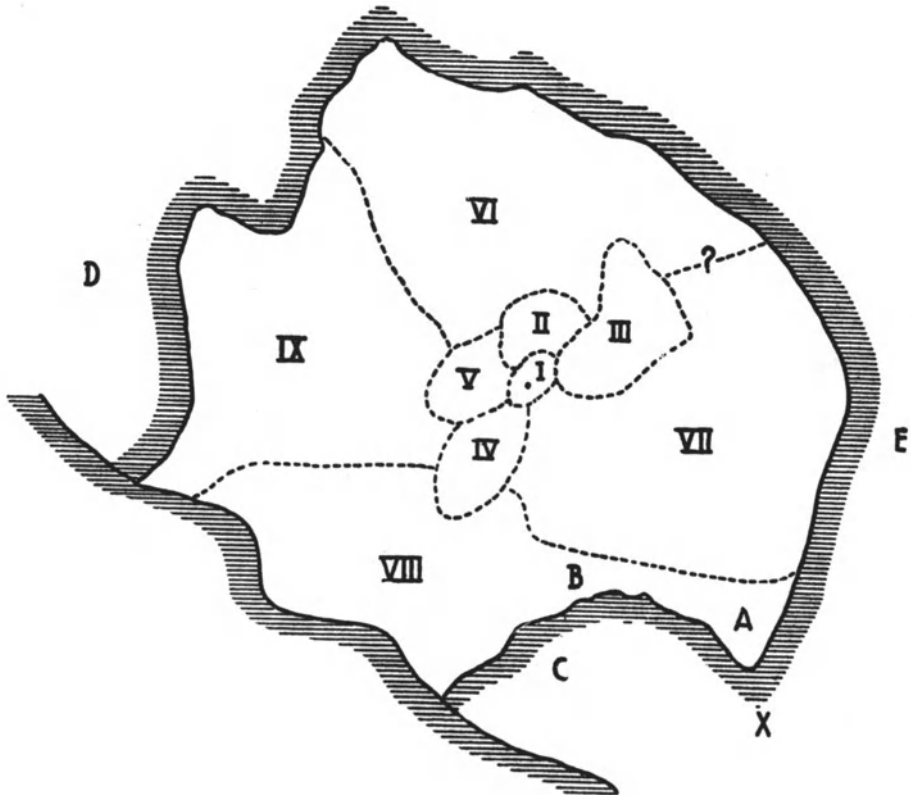
- I = Kedah.
- II = Kelantan.
- III = Trengganu.
- IV = Pérak.
- V = Pahang.
- VI = Selangor.
- VII = Malaka.
- VIII = Djohor.

MAP 4.
Minangkabau.



- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| A. P. = Alahan Pandjang. | Pl. = Palembang. |
| B. = Buo. | Pm. = Pariaman. |
| Ba. = Batipueh. | Pn. = Painan. |
| C. = Batusangkar.
(Pagarrujueng). | P.P.P. = Pariangan Padang Pandjang. |
| F. = Bukittinggi. | R. = Rau. |
| K. = Kumanih. | S. = Suliki. |
| K. B. = Koto Baru. | S. D. = Si Djundjung. |
| L. = Lubue' Sikaping. | Sg. = Supajang. |
| L. A. = Lubue' Ambatjang. | Si. = Singkara'. |
| M. = Manindjau. | S. L. = Sawah Lunto. |
| P. = Pajokumbueh. | So. = Solo'. |
| P. G. = Padang Gantieng. | S. T. = Sungai Taro'. |
| Pg. = Padang. | Su. = Suruaso. |
| | T. = Tiku. |

MAP 5.
Negri Sembilan.

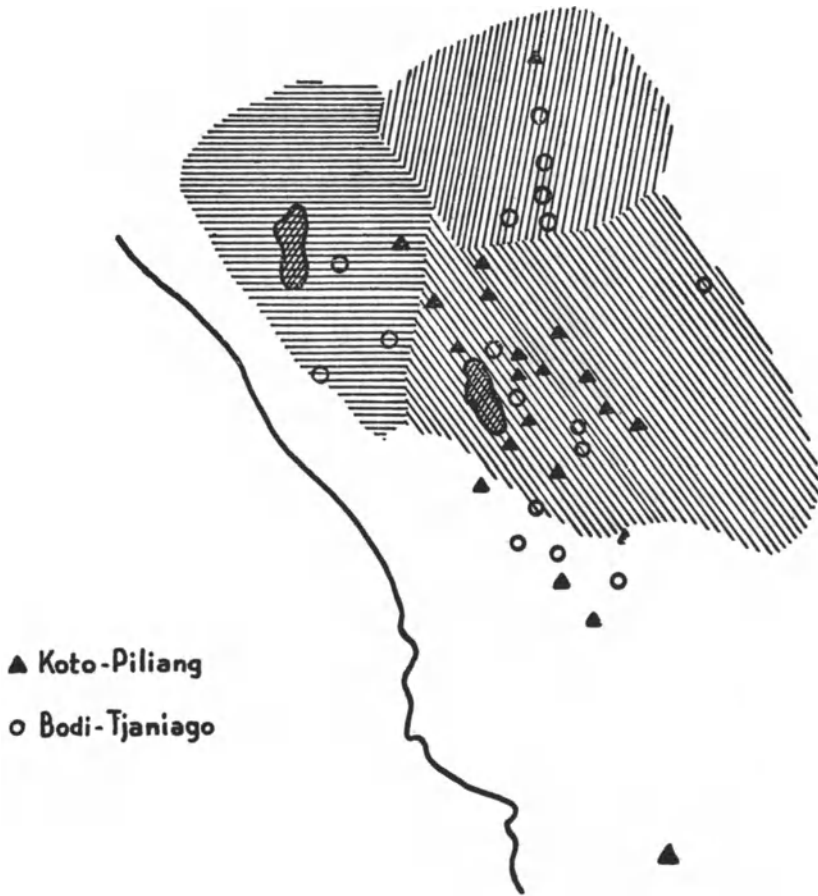


I = Sri Menanti.
 II = Ulu Muar.
 III = Djempol.
 IV = Gunung Pasir.
 V = Teratji.
 VI = Djelebu.
 VII = Djohol.
 VIII = Rembau.

IX = Sungai-Udjong.
 A. = Gementjeh.
 B. = Tampin.
 C. = Nanning.
 D. = Klang.
 E. = Segamat.
 X. = Mt. Lédang.

MAP 6.

Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago.



CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

The present edition of this book is a virtually unchanged re-impression of the first and second printings (respectively: E. Ydo, Leiden & Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1951, and Bhratara, Djakarta 1960), except for the addition of this chapter, which aims at bringing the text into relation with more recent material, both descriptive and theoretical.

§ 1. Format.

For the sake of uniformity, in this chapter I shall retain the system for transliterating Malay and Indonesian words used in the rest of the book, although Malaysia and Indonesia adopted a new spelling in 1972. It may be useful to list the main differences between the spelling used here and the new, official *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* or EYD system. (For some other spelling matters I refer to the Preface pp. 1 and 2.)

In this book:	EYD:
j	y
dj	j
nj	ny
sj	sy
tj	c

Chapter XIII, however, does not follow the book's cumbersome procedure of chapter references which in turn refer to the Bibliography at the end of the volume: it concludes with its own miniature bibliography (p. 227-231).

§ 2. Factual data.

A number of statements, left unchanged in the body of the text, need emendation. In the first place, we noted on p. 59 that the diagram (taken from *Adatrechtbundels*, Vol. XI), showing the rules for the inheritance of newly made clearings, is incorrect. It is satisfactory that in his review Bertling (1953: 291) points out that my proposed correction is confirmed by another *Adatrechtbundel* article, (XVIII: 253), which I had overlooked.

On pp. 175 and 184 the Peninsular Malay societies are described as “predominantly patrilineal”. This is literally a terminological inexactitude; a correct description would be “cognatic with strong patrilineal emphasis.”.

Speaking of the historical connection between Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, several references are made to Radja Maléwa, the first Ruler of Negri Sembilan, who was sent over by the ruling dynasty of the Minangkabau homeland: see pp. 9, 10, 107, 122, 123, 162. Later research has shown that this event, which is supposed to have led to the establishment of the Negri Sembilan dynasty, never actually took place, historically speaking (P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1975). However, this does not diminish the importance of what we may call the Radja Maléwa legend taken as the Negri Sembilan people’s own conceptualization of their link with Sumatra and of the legitimacy of their royal family.

One important question remains to be answered in the present section, namely whether changes in the Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan societies over the past twenty-five years, and/or post-1951 published material on these societies, has affected the character of our book – in other words whether it should now be read (if at all) as a work of history, rather than as a contemporary anthropological description and analysis. Several answers can be given to this question.

In the first place we should remember for what purpose this book was written. It did not come out of research in the field, and therefore its aim was not to describe and analyse the most recent *status quo*; its main purpose was, and remains, to give an interpretation of the recorded data available at the time of writing. Interpretation of data is a vague phrase; in this case it means that the author tried to discover the structuring principles that underly, and give meaning to, the often confusing welter of things known or at least presented as known. We shall reconsider that interpretation, in the light of more recent developments in

anthropological theory, in § 3.

The question remains, however, whether the recorded data have become obsolete. My answer is: no. Developments over the last twenty-five years have not affected the fundamental structure, but have brought about a change in emphasis in the observable phenomena. If I were writing *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan* today, the book would necessarily have expanded Chapters VII and X on “Modern Trends”, but given the book’s purpose as stated above, it is more appropriate for me to be sparing in efforts to give the most up-to-date factual information, and to confine myself to offering the reader a short list of post-1951 studies of our two societies, as far as they contain material that is relevant for the present book (see p. 217 below).

The “modern trends” I consider most relevant for our purpose are the following.

For Minangkabau, above all the great increase in emigration, and certain changes in its character. *Merantau* (i.e. “outward movement” or “emigration”) has been such a prominent feature during the entire known history of Minangkabau, that this society has been characterized as “centrifugal” (Kato 1977); but one analysis of statistical data shows that the percentage of Minangkabau living outside their homeland has risen from 11% in 1930 to 44% in 1971 (Mochtar Naim 1973 a: 38, 39, 47, 68), with the sharpest increase in the years 1958 - 64 (Mochtar Naim 1971: 11). A more conservative estimate (Kato 1977: 155, 156) still puts the number of Minangkabau in the *rantau* at more than one million. This has had as one consequence that remittances from abroad (from the *rantau*) have become an important factor in West Sumatra economy: for example, in one village, the total amount of money received by postal money-orders alone over the years 1967 - 71 reached the sum of about 62 million *rupiah* (Kato 1977: 302; cp. Mochtar Naim 1971: 14; 1977: 408).

The increasing importance for the economy of cash influx, entailing a relative decline of the economic role of *pusako* land, combined with the brain and manpower drain of males in the prime of their life, have led to a shortage of suitable candidates for the function of *panghulu*, and a diminution of his prestige and influence.

Another “modern trend”, crucial for the future development of Minangkabau culture, is tied up with the struggle that *adat* has had to wage for at least two centuries with other normative and legal systems. While Islam, and *in casu* Islamic Law, was already a factor to be reckoned with when our book was first published (see e.g. Prins 1948), Indo-

nesian national law has become a more formidable contender (de Josselin de Jong 1978).

The confrontation of Islam and *Adat* is also a major issue for the Minangkabau society of Negri Sembilan, although it assumes slightly different forms there: see de Josselin de Jong 1960 for a description of a specific case, (where the permanent and latent antagonism became acute as an open conflict), and 1978 for a comparison of the Sumatran and the Malayan situations.

Negri Sembilan also offers us an interesting case of the mechanical model (to use Lévi-Strauss's term) being affected by events that can be expressed in a statistical model. There is a "current and ever increasing changeover of land use from subsistence rice farming to cash crop farming. The land coming into production is not tanah pesaka and only some of it will be charian laki-bini. The bulk of it is freehold and unconnected with adat but connected by inheritance to Islamic law" (Hooker 1972: 216). In other words, the inroads of Islam into *adat* territory we had already noted in 1951 (e.g. on p. 165, above) are becoming deeper.

Nevertheless it is striking, to what extent Peninsular and Sumatran Minangkabau *adat* has shown resilience and vitality: not by digging itself in and refusing to admit change, but by adaptability. "Accommodation to changing circumstance is certainly observable; but the Minangkabau matrilineal system has, contrary to many predictions, managed to survive in health" (Kato 1978: 2).

This is the principal reason why in this Chapter we need not offer more information to try and keep our book (which is interpretative rather than descriptive) factually up to date, but can refer the reader to recent publications which give reliable data. Besides those already mentioned in this Chapter, the following are of value; it is noteworthy that, compared with the original 1951 bibliography included in this book, several of the most outstanding contributions now listed are by Minangkabau anthropologists.

Bibliography. Mochtar Naim 1973 b.

Minangkabau, descriptive. Cordonnier 1972, Harsja Bachtiar 1967, Muhammad Radjab 1969, Tanner 1969, Taufik Abdullah 1972, Umar Junus 1964.

Negri Sembilan, descriptive. Nordin Selat 1970 a, Wahab Alwee 1967, Swift 1965.

Minangkabau, the dynasty. Taufik Abdullah 1970.

Minangkabau, comparative. (i.e. in relation to Schneider and Gough 1961 and Douglas 1969) de Josselin de Jong n.d. (1977).

Islam versus Adat. Taufik Abdullah 1966.

Merantau. McNicoll 1968, Mitchell 1969, Nordin Selat 1970 b.

We have mentioned several recent developments and, in the case of *merantau*, an element deeply rooted in Minangkabau culture that has expanded its sphere of influence. Of the “modern trends”, I am convinced it is this last one which is of importance for the “socio-political structure” of the society we are studying. This needs to be made more explicit than it is in the book as it stands. In my short article of 1977 (de Josselin de Jong n.d.) I outline the hypothesis that one can distinguish a system based on:

Female - Male

Homeland - *Rantau*

Adat - Islam

In the context of the present book, this system would have to be seen as an expansion of the (very fundamental) relationship of the female and the male, the matrilineal and the patrilineal, principles, as described e.g. on pp. 84-93, 101-115, 141-147, and 154-157. However, this brings us out of the domain of factual information as it involves interpretation, i.e. theory.

§ 3. Theory.

The two principal theoretical issues in which *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan* is directly involved are Leach's criticism of this book, and this book's criticism of Lévi-Strauss.

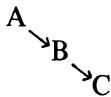
In his review Leach (1952) objected to the application of circulatory connubium, as an explanatory model, to the Minangkabau data. He stated that this type of connubium is incompatible with the superiority of the bride-giving group: “It is precisely this formal difference of status which demonstrates that ‘circulating connubium’ cannot be the expected pattern. . .”

This theme was more fully developed in the well-known article of 1951 (reprinted in Leach 1961). Among the Kachin, “the two most general principles that govern marriage” (Leach 1961: 84) are that in this hierarchical society a man will avoid marrying into a class beneath him, and will try to obtain maximal bride-price and political advantage out of his daughter's marriage. This leads to women marrying

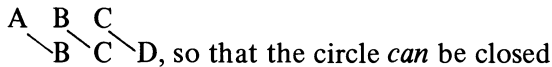
into an equally high or a lower class, and to economic goods, in the form of brideprice, moving upwards. In other words, the higher class tends to be bride-giver to the lower, and the "status relations between wife givers and wife receivers must conform to the status relations implicit in other (non-kinship) institutions" (1961: 102). Therefore, as the bride-givers are socially superior, they will also be superior in their political and territorial rights. In such a system, it is logically impossible for the connubial chain to be circular, as the lower wife-receiver can never act as wife-giver to a higher class group.

Now I shall leave out of consideration Leach's discussion of the relationship between the model and the empirically observed practice. Although in my opinion this is the most valuable part of his 1951/1961 article, we are at present discussing (circulating) connubium on the level of the model: cp. page 215 above. I reject Leach's criticism that circulating connubium is logically impossible as the "lower" can never enter into the bride-giving, i.e. the "higher" position. Leach's error is that, having analysed the situation among the Kachin, he presents the marriage system of the Kachin as the "Kachin type marriage system" (1961: 68 and *passim*), that is to say as the system also found in Indonesian societies with asymmetric connubium.

This is incorrect. The Indonesian pattern is not that the socially superior group acts as bride-giver, but that the bride-givers are superior *as such*. They do not rank higher in a hierarchy, but have a higher status as bride-givers. Each "group" (be it a clan, a lineage, or a local descent group) is at the same time superior to its bride-taker and inferior to its bride-giver. In diagrammatic form, the system as a whole is not:



but:



by



These asseverations require proof. As Leach (1961: 91-95) adduces the Batak as a specimen of the Kachin type marriage system, we

shall begin with the Batak - *scil.* with the standard work by Vergouwen (Dutch edition 1933), which was not yet available in English translation (1964) when Leach was writing.

The bride-taker shows respect to the bride-giver, particularly to the clan-segment which is held to have initiated to *hulahula* - *boru* relationship. But if a *hulahula* (i.e. bride-giving) group declines in numbers, wealth, or prestige, the *boru* (bride-receivers) end the connection (1964: 49). In other words, it is the *boru* who select profitable *hulahula*. The usual course of events is either that an enterprising man cleared, cultivated, and settled in virgin territory, with his *boru* as assistants; or else the first settler later arranged a marriage for his daughter, and adopted his son-in-law's line as his *boru* if that son-in-law "became prosperous and the union was fruitful" (1964: 51).

This is markedly different from the Kachin situation, where "if there is a difference of class between *mayu* (bride-givers) and *dama* (receivers) it is the *mayu* who rank higher than the *dama*." (Leach 1961: 94). The difference is increased by the fact that class does not enter the Batak picture at all. Vergouwen (1964: 124, 125) distinguishes between *de facto* and *de jure* leaders. Some districts only have *de facto* leaders (whom we might call "big men"), and in the districts with *de jure* leaders, their position and function is vague and fluid.

Finally we should note that, again in contrast to what is found among the Kachin, goods do not move "upwards": the *ulos* (i.e. female) goods, which move with the bride, are of great importance, as land is often one of the *ulos* prestations. This is expressed by the Batak in such proverbs as: "Fortunate is he who has an extended group of *hulahula*" and "the *boru* is the landing net, the *hulahula* the well" (1964:61).

Vergouwen described the Toba Batak. It is significant that a recent work on the Karo Batak (Singarimbun 1975) agrees with the much earlier source in all essentials. Each village has its "ruling lineage" in the meaning of the lineage of the founders of a village; but for a settlement to be recognized as a true, "structurally complete", village it must be occupied by the ruling, i.e. founding lineage and its bride-givers and bride-receivers (1975: 23). So we note that the ruling lineage also has its bride-givers, and furthermore that the "relative statuses" of participants in ceremonies and in everyday events are determined by their position in the connubial chain: high prestige accrues to the *kalimbubu* vis-à-vis the *anakberu* because, and only because, the former are bride-givers for the latter (1975: 116-145).

On the society with which this book is mainly concerned I am

only required, because of Leach's criticism, to demonstrate that the superiority of the bride-givers (see pp. 65, 66 above) is not due to their being members of an aristocracy or nobility who bestow brides to lineages of lower rank. Minangkabau has a village-specific aristocracy very similar to that of the Karo and the Toba Batak: the "oldest" or founding lineages. My own experience of discussions with Minangkabau in their own country about their own society (in 1971 and 1973-74) is that their arguments in favour of MBD marriages generally concentrated on aspects of the personal relationships involved: as the MB already fulfills a tutelary role (*pemelihara*) towards his ZS, he will also be a benevolent father-in-law; an MBD marriage builds on an existing relationship of familiarity and trust, etc. If village prestige-ranking is referred to at all, it is usually in terms such as: in an MBD marriage one knows what one is doing, one cannot be unwittingly contracting a *mésalliance*. This last point has also been made, with greater precision, by Umar Junus (1964: 311-318).

If Ego marries his MBD, he will be replicating his MB's marriage, as MBD belongs to the same lineage as MBW; and if it was correct for the MB to marry into lineage A, so it will be for Ego. However, if Ego were to marry his FZD this would mean marrying into his father's lineage, B, which could rank higher than Ego's own, and "a family does not want, or at least hesitates, to let its woman member marry a man from a lower or less respectable class" (NB: just the reverse of the Kachin situation!). One reason for this "hesitation" is that the child born of such a union, who would also belong to matrilineage B, would lose status compared with its mother's generation, as "the paternal line influences the children's position" (1964: 318). We shall return to this matter on p. 225 below, but at present, for reasons of space, these few Minangkabau data must suffice as proof that, no more than the Batak, do the Minangkabau conform to a "Kachin type marriage system".

Reasons of space also do not allow me to do more than offer the following small sample of data on Indonesian societies outside Sumatra. All of them have lineal descent organization, asymmetrical connubium, and a superior status of the bride-giving lineage *as such*.

For eastern Sumba (Nooteboom 1940: 17, 19, 20, 29, 30, 107-110; Onvlee 1977: 160, 161) the asymmetrical connubium has been described as practised within the class of the nobility, which is subdivided into the higher (*maramba*) and the lower nobility. In this patrilineal society the children lose rank relative to their father if the latter marries "beneath" him; conversely a member of the lower nobility

may raise his children's position by marrying a *maramba* woman (Nooteboom 1940: 29, 30).

Among the Atoni of western Timor, the classes are ideally endogamous, "but rulers do give wives to commoner lines forming affinal *cum* political alliances in which they, *as wife-givers, remain superordinate*" (Cunningham 1967: 79; italics added).

There is also a unilateral affinal relationship between the chiefs of the sub-territories (*amaf naek*) of a principedom and the ruler, where they are his bride-givers. "In this case (the ruler) is inferior, as he receives brides, or, in other words, life, from his *amaf*" (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 377).

In the Kei (or Kai) archipelago, the "rank and influence of the bride's family" constrain them to "confine the circle of acceptable" bride-receivers to "those who are *ebenbürtig* or equivalent". The patrilineage of the bride-givers "acquired a certain precedence and authority" over the bride-receivers (Geurtjens 1921: 293, 302).

The data on the near-by island of Tanimbar are very similar; we need only remark that here the ethnographer found an actual circulating system in practice. He describes the connubial chain, beginning with "Ditilébit house in Awéar" seeking brides, and ending with the "house" which "acquires its wives again from Ditilébit in Awéar". In his own words, "It is a circle without end" (Drabbe 1940: 151).

We conclude our rapid survey with the island of Lèmbata, where the inhabitants themselves conceptualize their connubial system as a closed cycle; this is also reflected in the relationship terminology (Barnes 1974: 244, 274). Here again, the superiority of the bride-givers *as such* "does not mean that actual lineages are ordered in a series of ranked statuses", so that the anthropologist to whom we owe the study of the Kédang district of Lèmbata can fittingly contrast the data from this Indonesian society with what Leach termed the Kachin type marriage system in these words: "The Kachin are a society with both asymmetric prescriptive alliance and a class system, and this combination seems to have caused Leach difficulty in seeing the important distinction to be made between the relation of superiority and inferiority in a complementary pair of categories on the one hand and on the other the status inequalities of social groups" (Barnes 1974: 245).

While our discussion with Leach has been mainly concerned with ethnographic data, the disagreement between *Minangkabau* and *Negri*

Sembilan and *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* raises questions of greater complexity and of nuances.

The argument of our book is that what we know of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan institutions, practices, and beliefs becomes more comprehensible in terms of the model of Indonesian social organization devised by Van Wouden (1968/1935), J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong (1977/1935) and others. The twin components of this model are asymmetric connubium and double descent, and at this point our book comes into conflict with Lévi-Strauss, who reasons that these two features are incompatible with each other. I accept his statement that in a social system with asymmetric connubium, double descent is logically redundant, but I maintain my objections (stated on pp. 271, 272 and 293, above) to his elaboration of this proposition.

Since 1951, however, I have come to the conclusion that in these passages I have overemphasized the opposition between my views and Lévi-Strauss's, and that the latter are fundamentally correct. The reason for my change of opinion is a careful reading of a neglected passage in Lévi-Strauss 1949, where the author first observes that "no society absolutely ignores one of the (descent) lines", but adds that for the purpose of arranging the connubial relations, it is always either the patriline or the matriline exclusively which comes into action (1949: 506). This general statement was strikingly confirmed in the Indonesian field by Van Wouden's research on Sumba (1977/1956), which demonstrated that western Sumba has clearly defined patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups, but "there are no fixed marriage arrangements", while in eastern Sumba "a system of unilateral circulating connubium underwent a remarkable development, but at the cost of double descent" (1977: 218).

On theoretical and ethnographic grounds, I now think the following is a fair assessment of the relationship between double descent and asymmetric connubium in the Indonesian field of ethnological study. First, in terms of the *model*, there is no reason to abandon the combination of these two structural principles, as proposed by Van Wouden (1968: 90-94) and as outlined in our book on pp. 38-40, and applied in Chapters V and VIII. The first part of the passage in the *Structures élémentaires* is in agreement with this: where patriliney is manifest, matriliney is also recognized, and *vice versa*. But the second part of the passage adds the crucial rider that in *practice* (which implies: in the participants' application, hence also in their perception, of the structure) only one of the descent principles acts on (or is activated by) the

connubia. This final amending clause can and should serve as a hypothesis to be tested in the Indonesian field. It should be noted that the study by Van Wouden (1977/1956) confirms it, and that Moyer (1976: 1-4) has put forward a variant of this hypothesis, under the significant title of "Exchange versus double descent".

In the foregoing paragraph I used the expressions "structural principles" and "descent principles" when speaking of patriliney and matriliney. I should make it clear that, more than in 1951, I am now convinced that, when investigating "double descent" in Indonesia, we are concerned with principles; in other words, with the question whether, and to what extent, the social participants themselves prove to have the idea or notion of properties transmitted by social and/or biological inheritance through the paternal and the maternal line. We are concerned with cognition in the first place, and only secondarily with the question whether either or both principles become socially manifest in the form of patrilineal and/or matrilineal descent groups.

At this point a critic might raise the question whether the problem of double descent, even as I have just defined it, is relevant for the study of Minangkabau, as this is such an obviously, and even extremely, unilineal society. This brings us back to the authors to whom I referred above: to Lévi-Strauss (1949: 506) and to Moyer (1976: 3): "The first part of my hypothesis is that the more strongly a society manifests a unilineal idea the more likely the other principle is to emerge. One might call this the paradox of unilineality". It also ties up with p. 93, above, namely that one should not study Minangkabau in isolation, as a matrilineal enclave, but as one variation on an Indonesian theme. We shall therefore conclude this chapter by considering, first: recent data on the occurrence of the patrilineal idea in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan; next: the double unilineal idea in a few other manifestly unilineal Indonesian societies; and finally, the same question as regards our societies' manifestly cognatic neighbours.

In this book, the patrilineal notion in Minangkabau was discussed on pp. 84-93, and on pp. 101 and 104-115 (where it was associated with the patrilineal dynasty): for Negri Sembilan, on pp. 139, 140, 145-148, and 154. I should add in the first place that in Negri Sembilan, several years after this book was written, I was surprised to find how strongly the participants held the idea of the patrilineal principle, and how often the term *bako* (which also means the father's matri-group) was applied to this principle (P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1977: especially 248).

Comparable data can be cited for Minangkabau.

Umar Junus (1964: 318) gives a number of instances of "how the paternal line influences the children's social position". One of the outward marks of a person's social position is his title (*gelar* or *gala*), and several Minangkabau informants gave me specific examples of men who had inherited their title from their father or from their *bako*. Korn (1941: 313) and Taufik Abdullah (1972: 219) also describe this procedure. While Taufik Abdullah is dealing with unmistakable patrilineal inheritance (due to influence from Atjeh), in the other cases one can wonder whether we are dealing with patriliney or with patrification (Fortes 1970); but as our concern, as said above, is at present with the participants' idea of the patrilineal principle, we should beware of forcing our data into two rigidly distinguished compartments. The more so as Fortes himself remarks: "Most far-reaching in its effects on lineage structure is the use of the rules of complementary filiation to build double unilineal systems" (1970: 88).

The concept of *bako* is often discussed in Minangkabau. It was interpreted several times for me as hereditary traits which a son acquires from his father (and which his prospective "bride-givers" try to ascertain before he is accepted as a son-in-law). Further comment was: "*Bako* and *sako* (i.e. *pusako*, the status and heirlooms one inherits socially in the maternal line) come together in every individual" — an interpretation very similar to the one given to me twenty years before in Negri Sembilan (see P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1977: 248).

One could almost say that a certain mystique is attached to the patrilineal idea; one more example must suffice. A very well-known expert in *silat* explained that one learns this Minangkabau art of self-defence from one's father's-father. Not that you inherit your aptitude from him, but the FF will watch out among his sons'-sons for signs of fitness to become a *silat* pupil. The FF (and after his death, the F) is the link between the young practitioner and the ancestors who established the art of *silat*.

After these additional notes on the significance of the idea of the patriline principle for the Minangkabau, we should, however briefly, consider the role of the alternative line in a few manifestly unilineal societies in Indonesia. Sumba is a fitting example, as we saw (p. 223 above) that Van Wouden demonstrated the difference between the western half of the island, which is double-unilineal, and the eastern half, which has asymmetric connubium, "but at the cost of double descent": the connubium is between patrilineages. Nevertheless, it is

from eastern Sumba that Onvlee (1930: 346) reports a discussion about marriage arrangements, during which one of the older inhabitants refers to his son and his son's wife as "our children", and explains that his son's wife is also his child, because his son and his son's wife have a common MMM.

In Nooteboom's compendious monograph on eastern Sumba we again see how irrelevant the distinction is between filiation and descent when we are concerned with the bilineal *principle*. In this patrilineal and hierarchical society, a person's rank is also determined by his maternal descent: he will for example only be recognized as a member of the highest nobility (*maramba*), if he can prove his *maramba* descent in the paternal and the maternal line "without a single ancestor of lower nobility". Nooteboom also includes a specimen pedigree, which "except for the most recent period, only reckons with matrilineal descent" (Nooteboom 1940: 28, 22).

Finally we should turn to societies around Negri Sembilan, as they confirm the opinion expressed on p. 93, above, that Negri Sembilan and Minangkabau are not matrilineal islands, but emphasize matriliney while sharing with their neighbours the notion of two lineal principles. The social organization of these Malay neighbours is cognatic with patrilineal stress (see above, p. 215).

Each of these Malayan Malay states has its royal family, and "royal descent on the maternal as well as the paternal side conferred higher status than patrilineal royal descent alone" (Gullick 1958: 67). Here the alternative (i.e. the matrilineal) principle only modifies the dominant, patrilineal one. But in other contexts both principles become almost equivalent. Towards the end of the 19th century — the period mainly discussed in Gullick's book — marriage was uxorilocal. As the daughters remained in residence in their natal homestead, "in later generations the group of kinsfolk consisted of sisters (or women more remotely related in the matrilineal line), their husbands . . . and their children" (Gullick 1958: 33, 34). For the Malay state of Perak we have data covering a period of roughly a century or more which point in the same direction. The 18th-century Laws of Perak lay down that "house and garden, crockery, kitchen utensils and bedding" are inherited by the daughters, "iron tools or weapons, rice-fields and mines" by the sons. An article (by W.E. Maxwell) of 1884 states that "the lands and houses of the deceased descend to his daughters equally, while the sons divide the personal property, being expected to acquire land for themselves by clearing and planting it or by marrying women who have

inherited it" (Winstedt 1947: 38, 39) — a very "Minangkabau" situation.

In a review of *Javanese Villagers* I had already remarked that the Javanese rules of inheritance "could be described almost in their entirety in the Minangkabau-Malay terms of *pembawa*, *dapatan*, and *tjarian*" (P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1970: 1129; cp. above, p. 57-59). After this brief survey of some manifestations of the matrilineal idea in patrilateral-cognatic societies, we shall conclude this section by returning once more to the patri-principle among the Minangkabau. We saw on p. 225 that the word *bako* can be used there to designate features in character which a son inherits from his father. In the Malay state of Kelantan the same word (in the form *baka*) means the hereditary talent for being a medicine-man (*bomor*); this feature passes from father to son (Zainal Abidin bin Sulong 1957; cp. Endicott 1970: 17).

To sum up. First, we owe to Lévi-Strauss (1949: 506) a hypothesis that should be tested for Indonesia, namely that, also in double-unilineal systems, only one of the lines is concerned with connubia. In the second place, there is additional evidence to support the propositions I advanced in 1951: that the patriline is recognized in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, and that these societies show one transformation of an Indonesian double-unilineal structure. Finally, that "double-unilineal" refers to the participants' notion of matriliney in conjunction with patriliney (which justifies the anthropologist's model of double-unilineality), but not necessarily to double-descent groups. "I shall hold at the same time that all 'features' or 'elements' are deeply altered by their position, and that the sum total of all 'features' or 'elements' is constant in all societies" (Dumont 1966: 31).

Chapter references

(See list of *Abbreviations* on p. 197)

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Alwee		see Wahab Alwee
Bachtiar		see Harsja Bachtiar
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ERRATA

Page	2, line	2	<i>Read: e = ě (e.g. besar = bĕsar)</i>
p.	4, l.	15	<i>for Deviatons read Deviations</i>
p.	8, l.	11 f.b.	<i>for occuring read occurring</i>
p.	12, l.	17 f.b.	<i>for and read an</i>
p.	14, l.	14	<i>for policy read polity</i>
p.	21, l.	14 f.b.	<i>for one the read one of the</i>
p.	26, l.	18 f.b.	<i>for authors read author's</i>
p.	26, l.	18 f.b.	<i>for recogn-ized read recog-nized</i>
p.	26, l.	13 f.b.	<i>for his read this</i>
p.	30, l.	13	<i>for works read work</i>
p.	36, l.	4	<i>for symbalized read symbolized</i>
p.	50, l.	4	<i>for eight read eighth</i>
p.	53, l.	7	<i>for or read of</i>
p.	62, l.	15	<i>for This read The</i>
p.	64, l.	7 f.b.	<i>for with read in</i>
p.	65, l.	1	<i>for cases read case</i>
p.	80, l.	14	<i>for enable read unable</i>
p.	81, l.	4	<i>for gril's read girl's</i>
p.	81, l.	19	<i>for galangang read galanggang</i>
p.	82, l.	7 f.b.	<i>for feat read feast</i>
p.	86, l.	9	<i>for not bring read does not bring</i>
p.	93, l.	3	<i>for structures read structure</i>
p.	97, l.	10 f.b.	<i>for ipmortance read importance</i>
p.	103, l.	10 f.b.	<i>for point read points</i>
p.	106, l.	16	<i>for πολνχοιρανιη read πολνκοιρανιη</i>
p.	111, l.	2 f.b.	<i>for would read would</i>
p.	120, l.	5 f.b.	<i>for some, of read some of</i>
p.	122, l.	8 f.b.	<i>for te read the</i>
p.	131, l.	13	<i>for Indonesia; read Indonesia:</i>
p.	142, l.	17 f.b.	<i>for far read for</i>
p.	154, l.	21	<i>for point read from the point</i>
p.	159, l.	2	<i>for the number read with the number</i>
p.	167, l.	7	<i>for as read as it</i>
p.	173, l.	11	<i>for Mohommedan read Mohammedan</i>
p.	178, l.	12 f.b.	<i>for Negeri read Negri</i>
p.	184, l.	10	<i>add Tj in the fourth quarter</i>
p.	186, l.	14	<i>for put read put it</i>
p.	192, l.	12	<i>for is read in</i>

f.b. = "from bottom", from the foot of the page.