THE RETURN OF THE BRIDE:
AFFILIATION AND ALLIANCE ON BURU

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I certify that this thesis is my own work and that all sources used have been appropriately acknowledged.
Enika tu surat ("Requesting with a letter"): A man presenting a marriage proposal by letter to his future bride.
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Abbreviations

Abbreviations in this thesis follow conventions listed below.

P = parent  W = wife
F = father  S = son
M = mother  D = daughter
Z = sister  C = child
B = brother  e = elder
H = husband  y = younger
(m.s.) = male speaking  (f.s.) = female speaking
A groom's family on a 2-day walk to deliver bridewealth.

A *geba emngaa* ("titled person") of the Gebhain *noro.*

Playing the drum for *cefai,* a war dance.
Above & Right: cefal, a war dance.

Below: A search party leaving to hunt for a man who fled into the jungle after intentionally wounding a man of another noro.
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Special thanks goes to my husband, Chuck. Men on Buru consider him their wali ("brother-in-law") and consequently I have been treated as their
sister, for as men say on Buru, "If you are my wali, your wife is my sister". Being a sister, I have been able to avoid the cross-sex in-law taboos and to talk with and learn from men as well as women. Knowing the questions I was interested in asking people, Chuck provided an extra pair of eyes and ears for me on Buru. He also commented on drafts of this thesis and helped me to clarify both my English prose and Buru translations.

I have been assisted by several people in the production of this thesis. Chuck assisted me greatly by keeping the computer happy and in formatting several figures. The maps of Buru were kindly made for me by David Purcell.

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In many ways the "origin" (to use a Buru metaphor) of this thesis grew out of the time my father-in-law drove me to the Honolulu airport for a middle-of-the-night departure to Indonesia. Amidst sleeping grandchildren and piles of baggage he encouraged me to take up formal study again. I'm glad I took his advice.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

On the island of Buru in the Indonesian province of Maluku certain social groups, called noro, play a very prominent role in society as do similar groups in many other societies of eastern Indonesia. Every individual in Buru society belongs to a noro and at any given point in time he or she can only belong to one noro. The noro an individual belongs to is the primary source of his or her social identity and prescribes relationships and interaction with other individuals and groups in society. Because of the significance of these social groups I began inquiring more about them and soon came to the question which eventually led to this study and provided a key which opened up a broader understanding of Buru society: "How is it determined to which noro an individual belongs?"

For several reasons I initially found myself in a quandary over this simple question about group membership. First, when inquiring about the affiliation of specific individuals, what I was being told repeatedly and definitively by people on Buru -- that children belong to the noro of their father -- was true in many cases, but frequently was not true. Statements claiming that children somehow belonged to their father's group also appeared in the Dutch literature on Buru (Wilken 1875:3; Schut 1921:615) and I was forced to conclude that the numerous exceptions to this "rule" which

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1 As a point of clarification, in using the phrase "eastern Indonesia" here and elsewhere in this study, I am referring to the area first delineated as a "field of ethnological study" by Dutch scholars in the Leiden school of anthropology in the early part of this century. This label was given to the region before the province of Irian Jaya (which is today the eastern most part of Indonesia) was incorporated into the Indonesian state.
I now observed either did not occur at the time of those writings, or they went unnoticed.

Turning to the anthropological literature, both regional ethnographies and theoretical models, further complicated the situation. I found none of the ethnographies written about surrounding cultures to be very illuminating on the issue of membership to groups similar to noro, although many of the ethnographies presented data which indicated that the situation on Buru was by no means unique to the area. Social groups in many Central Maluku and eastern Indonesian societies have frequently been described as patrilineal (or matrilineal) descent groups. To describe the noro of Buru as "patrilineal descent groups" required sweeping far too many exceptions under the carpet and I was not willing to do so. This led to an examination of the general literature on kin group membership and in particular the anthropological concept of descent. I came to realise that while it may appear to be the case from an outside perspective, membership in a Buru noro is not at any point based on a principle of descent and that affiliation to Buru noro has to be understood from a Buru perspective and not an anthropological label.

The goal of this study then is to describe Buru cultural ideas about affiliation. The significance of the study is threefold. First, I am able to provide recent ethnographic data on a relatively unknown region of eastern Indonesia. Secondly, in analysing affiliation on Buru I am addressing a topic pertinent to all eastern Indonesian societies. Further comparative research should lead to an understanding of the similarities and variations in systems of kin group affiliation throughout eastern Indonesia. In that regard, the Buru data presented here may prove to be pivotal in that both the exchange of bridewealth and the exchange of children are mechanisms for determining affiliation. Thirdly, in this study I show why
certain theoretical concepts frequently used in the analysis of kin groups are inappropriate in the context of Buru society including why the anthropological concept of descent and descent groups is inappropriate for describing social groups such as the *noro* of Buru.

In the next I present a brief overview of the island in order to contextualise Buru society in its historical, geographic, linguistic and wider social setting. The third chapter describes the *noro* of Buru as corporate origin groups and explains the ways in which individuals can be related to other *noro* in addition to the *noro* with which they are affiliated. Chapter Four describes the Buru system for classifying kin. Chapter Five is on marriage. Chapter Six describes the system of affiliation as an entire set of cultural ideas which are invoked not only in regards to determining the membership of a new child born into Buru society, but also in cases where people transfer their affiliation to a different *noro*. In the final chapter I argue that these cultural ideas about affiliation are foundational to Buru society in that they not only maintain each *noro* as a discrete social unit, but they also govern the relationships between *noro* in both alliance and warfare. I consider several theoretical points and then conclude the chapter by noting areas where the study has raised questions for further investigation.

The original research represented here is based on a total of over 11 months in residence on Buru where I have lived in several interior mountain villages in the southern half of the island: Fakal, Wae Nama Olon, and Wae Haa Olon. I also visited numerous other villages, both coastal and interior, including villages around the lake area in the center of the island. Although my primary informants were from the Masarete, Rana and

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2 The times spent on Buru include five months in 1984-85, one month in 1987, and five months in 1988-89, supplemented by two months off the island working with Buru informants.
Wae Sama areas of the island, informants from the northern parts of the island have confirmed that the picture I am presenting here describes a pan-Buru system of affiliation which articulates inter-noro relations throughout the entire island. Given the nature of leadership and the distribution of knowledge on Buru, no one person there is an authority on all that this research is based upon. The data represented here are thus the result of numerous people's willingness to explain things to me; they were both young and old, male and female, "elders" and ordinary people. Presenting ethnographic data is truly an exercise in translation and I have tried to express things the way people on Buru talk about them and to be as faithful as possible in translating the semantic meanings of their terms.

When a Buru woman marries it said that she oli ("returns") to the noro of her husband. While this term is used for all brides and all marriages, frequently a bride does actually return to the noro which her mother or mother's mother or other matrilateral female relative left at marriage. This study demonstrates how a bride, as she "returns", expresses the interplay between affiliation and alliance in Buru society.
CHAPTER TWO
AN OVERVIEW OF BURU ISLAND

Buru is the third largest island in the Indonesian province of Maluku, second in size only to Seram and Halmahera. The island covers 9800 square kilometres of mountainous terrain, extending approximately 140 kilometres east to west and 90 kilometres north to south between 126° and 127°15' east longitude and 3°05' and 3°50' south latitude. Buru is situated in a region that has been of considerable significance in past world history — the original "Spice Islands". The tiny island of Banda, 300 kilometres to the southeast of Buru, is the original habitat of the nutmeg tree (*Myristica fragrans*) and Ternate, Tidore and a few adjacent small islands in north Maluku are the original habitat of the clove tree (*Eugenia caryophyllatta*). For many centuries Javanese, Malay, Makassarese and other traders from around southeast Asia came to Maluku lured by the profit to be made from the trade of these spices. From written records it is known that as early as the fourth century cloves had reached Europe when Silvester, the Bishop of Rome from 314-335, received a gift of 150 pounds of cloves (Lapian 1965:67). Over the next millennium the Spice Islands became increasingly tied into a trade network that extended throughout Asia and reached as far as the Middle East and Europe via Venice (Lapian 1965). In the 16th century the search for spices brought Europeans to Maluku with the Portuguese arriving in 1512 and the Dutch in 1599.

Having no native clove or nutmeg trees of its own, Buru was insignificant to most of the spice trade and peripheral to the foreign contact and trade that occurred in Maluku throughout the centuries. Even so, some of the external influences which accompanied the spice trade did
affect Buru. This chapter situates Buru within its historical setting and within the context of other factors that have influenced the culture and society of the people who live there. The points discussed here are necessarily summary as this chapter is intended only to provide a context for the study in the following chapters.

Map 1: The Indonesian Archipelago

The Historical Setting

Two early effects of the spice trade in Maluku were the development of a Malay-based trade language in the region and the introduction of Islam. The necessity of communicating with outside traders as well as the need for local inter-ethnic communication led to the development of Malay into a *lingua franca* with several regional variations in Maluku.¹ Because the use of Malay was already established in the region, Malay was used in the introduction of Islam rather than Arabic. Malay was commonly used in the introduction of Islam in other parts of the archipelago as well (Prentice 1978:20).

¹The development of this *lingua franca* into a creole on Ambon is discussed in Collins 1974, 1980 and B. D. Grimes 1988.
According to scholars of North Maluku, Islam was adopted initially by a small group of native leaders on Ternate and Tidore in the latter part of the 15th century. Toward the beginning of the 16th century various influences culminated in a transformation of the social and political systems on Ternate and Tidore from kin group-based societies where decisions were made by a consensus of elders, to Islamic sultanates with hierarchical systems of power centralised in one man. Among the factors which contributed to this development were the religious and political hierarchy that accompanied Islam, the accumulation of wealth from the spice trade in Ternate and Tidore, and the expectations of the Portuguese who arrived at

\[2\] I am grateful to Leonard Andaya for clarifying the political transformations which occurred on Ternate and Tidore during the 16th century in two seminars presented as part of the Comparative Austronesian Project at the Australian National University during October 1989. Other sources on the sultanates include van Fraassen (1981, 1983, 1987) and Visser (1984).
the beginning of that century searching for a supreme leader, one man with whom they could negotiate. This assumption led the Portuguese to interact and make agreements with single individuals, rather than groups of elders as the traditional system would have dictated. By the second half of the 16th century two sultans on Ternate and Tidore had centralised sufficient power to be able to compete with one another for control of vast regions of the area including much of north Maluku and parts of central Maluku, Sulawesi and the Raja Ampat islands. The sultans controlled these areas through colonization and the presence of their representatives or "governors". Tribute was collected and sent to Ternate or Tidore. Warriors from these areas were made available to the sultan for service. Women from many of the areas were also taken to Ternate and Tidore as wives for the sultans.

Toward the end of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century parts of coastal Buru were under the influence of Ternate. Fakiri was the Ternatan "governor" of Buru from 1618 to approximately 1650 and lived in the Tomahu region of northwest Buru. He was followed by Hasi, the Ternatan governor of Buru from 1650-1658 (van Fraassen 1987 Vol. 2:83, 86). Under Ternatan control and with the influence of traders from Makassar (where Islam had been adopted in 1605), parts of coastal Buru converted to Islam.

In the first half of the 17th century the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) replaced the Portuguese as the major European presence in the area. The VOC set out to ensure that trading of spices would be done exclusively with them. However, the VOC offered lower prices than other Asian traders who came to Maluku and consequently there was considerable resistance by the local people to the VOC attempts at monopolisation, particularly on Ternate, Hitu (the north coast of Ambon), and Hoamoal (the western peninsula of Seram). Because of the political domination of Ternate and the religious
ties of Islam, the coastal Buru people inadvertently became involved in this resistance. During the decade of the 1650's, the VOC carried out an intensive war against all their opponents in the region. The fighting was mainly on Hitu and Hoamoal, but also included fighting on the coasts of Buru and other places. It took several years before the VOC was finally able to subdue the resistance.

In 1658, at the end of this war, Buru passed from being subordinate to Ternate to being subordinate to the VOC, from being on the periphery of the sultan's control from Ternate, to being on the periphery of the VOC governor's control from Ambon. In October and November of that year a contract was made between the VOC and coastal Buru leaders along with the Ternatan representative on Buru. The contract stated that the Ternatan governorship on Buru would be abolished, that the heads of Buru would from that time be directly subordinate to the VOC governor of Ambon and assist in keeping all other traders out of the area, and that the leaders of Buru and their people would be taken to live around the Dutch fort on Buru (van Fraassen 1983:17; 1987 Vol. 2:477). This fort had been built the year before at Kayeli on the southern part of Namlea Bay in northeast Buru. In customary VOC fashion, the home areas of these people were subsequently "systematically destroyed and rendered unfit for reoccupation" (van Fraassen 1983:17).

After ensuring that the people of Buru would not interfere with their trading monopoly, the VOC no longer had any significant interest in Buru. Their main objective in maintaining control of the island was to ensure

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3 This strategy was also carried out by the Dutch on Ambon where they brought people who had been opposing them on Hoamoal (Seram) to live on Ambon with the leaders assigned places of residence around the Company fort at Batumerah. The leaders of Boano, Kelang and Ambelau were taken to live around another fort on Manipa (van Fraassen 1983:17). The consequences of these political moves by the Dutch on language change in Buru is discussed in B.D.Grimes (1989).
that their prohibition on the cultivation of cloves in peripheral areas such as Buru was enforced. VOC activity in central Maluku during the 16th and 17th centuries was centered mainly on Ambon and Lease. There the population was obliged to grow a fixed quantity of cloves for the company each year (van Fraassen 1983:18).

In 1796 the British occupation of Ambon ended the VOC trade monopoly in the region. The Dutch regained control of Maluku in 1817 but by then the VOC had been abolished and there were significant changes in the approach taken by the new colonial government. Their new goal was to use colonial rule to produce conditions that would enhance trade throughout the archipelago without it being under the direct control of the government. Van Fraassen (1983:34) describes the affects of the new policies in central Maluku:

The result of this for the Ambonese islands was that an interest was now also taken in those parts of Seram and Buru which had never been of any economic interest to the Dutch, and that efforts were made to place Seram and Buru wholly under Dutch authority and under regular colonial rule.

Van Fraassen also notes that no military action was necessary on Buru to obtain Pax Neerlandica as it was on Seram. On Buru, as elsewhere, the Dutch extended their authority by appointing native leaders to control the island. Buru was divided into various officially recognised territorial districts called *regentschaps* (Dutch "regencies") or *petuanan*. While various different territorial divisions had been recognised on Buru over the years, the Dutch introduced a system that was divergent from the traditional style of political leadership on the island, by insisting and in fact appointing one man to be the head of each of the *regentschap*. Many of the men installed by the Dutch as head of a *regentschap* were not ethnically from Buru but immigrants living on the coast.

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4 This is a territorial term used on Ambon (van Fraassen 1987 Vol. 1:275). It is based on the Malay root *tuan* ("lord, master").
Around the 19th century Buru was of some interest to various European explorers and naturalists (including Alfred Wallace, Henry Forbes and others) who found particular fascination with Buru as a native habitat of the *babirusa* (Indonesian - deer pig, *Babirussa babyrussa*). The expeditions to Buru at that time produced several scientific, government and travel reports, one of which strongly urged the European settlement of interior Buru (Willer 1858).

Under the colonial government, Christian missionary work began on Buru. The *Indische Kerk* began work in Kayeli in 1821 and about fifty years later the *Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging* (UZV) began work in the Masarete area of south Buru (van Fraassen 1983:107). As a result, around a dozen villages in south Buru adopted Christianity. After World War II, these churches were taken over by the Ambon-controlled *Gereja Protestan Maluku* church. It is significant that the first Christian mission work on Buru did not begin until almost 300 years after Francis Xavier and other Catholic priests began mission work in other parts of Maluku soon after the arrival of the Portuguese.

So while the VOC and colonial government definitely influenced coastal Buru for many years and several "expeditions" had been made into the interior of the island, it was not until the final decades of the 19th century and the beginning decades of the 20th century that significant Dutch influence occurred in the interior of the island through the presence of educators and missionaries. The start of the Second World War, however, ended all that. During the war Buru was occupied by the Japanese who had soldiers stationed at numerous places on the coast and a representative in the interior mountain village of Mngeswaen where some of the Dutch mission activity had been focused. Buru labourers were gathered from all over the island by the Japanese to build an airstrip at Namlea across the bay from
Kayeli. During the war the Japanese presence was felt on Buru, but no significant combat occurred there as it did in other parts of Maluku. Following independence the Namlea airstrip was used by the Indonesian military in transporting troops to suppress secessionist movements in Ambon. After the political upheaval that occurred in Indonesia in 1965 (G30S), an area southwest of Namlea along the lower Wae Apo river valley was chosen for interning political prisoners from Java and other parts of the Republic. The site is now the location of a large government transmigration complex.

Only 110 kilometres of Banda Sea separate Buru from the provincial capital of Ambon which has been the economic and political center of central Maluku for over 350 years. In spite of this proximity, Buru has always been peripheral to events occurring in the larger context of Maluku. Buru was peripheral to the spice trade, an outer region vassal to the sultanate at Ternate, and an outer district under VOC and colonial control from Ambon. Today Buru is still peripheral. The Indonesian government system is centralized in Ambon at the provincial level. Masohi (Seram) is the center for Kabupaten Maluku Tengah, the Kabupaten of Central Maluku, which includes Buru.

**Geography**

It is important to understand the geography of Buru and the geological forces which shaped the island and influence the lives of the people who live there. According to Bellwood (1985:4,5), Buru is the last island in the remarkable mountain chain called the Sunda-Banda Arc which stretches from Sumatra, to Java, the Lesser Sundas, through the islands of southern Maluku and then curls back on itself in central Maluku as it collides with the continental shelf joining Australia and New Guinea. This arc is actually composed of two parallel mountain chains -- an inner
volcanic chain and an outer non-volcanic chain. The outer chain consists of the small islands off the coast of Sumatra, Sumba, Timor, the Tanimbar islands, and then curves back to include Seram and Buru. These outer arc islands were formed by uplifted marine sediment raised by rapid uplifts and downfaults of the earth's crust. These islands never constituted a continual land mass and are separated by deep ocean basins. As a result of these geological processes, Buru is a very mountainous non-volcanic island with numerous mountain ranges including Kak Paia Madat, the highest peak, which rises to 2735 metres.

Massive coral cliffs along the south coast of Buru testify to the island's marine formation. Jagged uplifted coral rocks, called fogo in the Buru language, are found up to 1600 metres above sea level. The sharp fogo rocks are found throughout the southern part of the island in a band 15 to 40 kilometres inland. The proliferation of fogo frequently makes clearing land for gardens difficult. Travel on foot trails, the primary means of transportation on the island, can also be treacherous due to the fogo. Because the mountains rise up directly from the sea along much of the south coast, flat land is scarce and generally only found where there are alluvial plains at the mouths of the larger rivers. Flat land for villages and crops is thus at a premium on the south coast. In contrast, the northern coast of the island has a 5 to 10 kilometre coastal plain between sandy beaches and where the land slowly rises in grassy foothills.

Buru is described by its inhabitants has having wa-haar paa ("four big waters/rivers"). The largest river system on the island is in the northeast and called Wa Kabo ("Murky River") at the headwaters and Wae Apo ("Lime River") towards the mouth. According to origin narratives, the Wa Kabo was the first river to begin flowing on the island. This river winds through a broad flat river valley in its lower reaches, rather unusual in
the context of the rest of mountainous Buru. It was this valley that was chosen as the site for the internment of the political prisoners after 1965 and later became the transmigration area. The prisoners and transmigrants have converted the valley into sawah (Indonesian - "wet rice fields") and it is now one of the rare wet rice producing areas of Maluku. The Hameta river system, called Wa Tina ("Mother River") at the mouth, drains the south central part of the island. Wa Mala ("Turquoise Colour River") drains the southwestern area. The Wa Nibe flows from the lake in the center of the island to the north coast. The lake is commonly referred to as rana ("lake") and is also called Wa Kolo. Origin narratives describe how the lake and Wa Nibe river were the last "waters" to be formed on Buru. The lake is approximately 75 square kilometers in size and averages 30 meters deep (Departamen Social 1985:5).

Map 3: The Four Major River Systems of Buru.
River and stream orientation is very important in many aspects of Buru social life. The territorial domains of kin groups are defined by the river systems and by mountain ridges which determine the direction of water flow. Ancestor and ancestresses originated from the headwaters of various rivers and streams. A deictic system in the Buru language uses spatial terms with reference to the direction of water flow. The language -- in every domain of speech -- is contingent on an awareness by the speaker of the location of streams and rivers and the direction the water flows (C. Grimes, MS-a).

Population

From 1987 government figures the population of Buru can be estimated to be around 102,000 people. Of the total population, only 43,000 people are ethnically native to the island, making the native population less than half the total population. The non-Buru inhabitants of the island consist of thousands of immigrants from Buton and Sula who have colonised the north and west coasts of Buru (see Map 2 for the location of Buton and Sula in relation to Buru). Many Buton and Sula families have lived for generations on Buru and carefully keep track of the fact, all the while maintaining their Buton or Sula identity and language. More recent immigrants include the approximately 20,000 Javanese who mostly live in the Wae Apo transmigration area with a much smaller number also living around a plywood factory at the mouth of the Wa Nibe River on the north coast. Along the coast are additional colonies of immigrants of other ethnic groups from Sulawesi (Bugis, Makassar, and others), Ternate and south Maluku (Kei, Kisar, and others). A much smaller number of Chinese and "Arab" merchants

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5 There are no current official statistics compiled for the whole island. The figures given here are based on government statistics from each of the three kecamatan on Buru (Kantor Statistik 1987a, 1987b, 1987c) and are supplemented by personal knowledge of the island from C. Grimes (MS-b).
as well as non-Buru government employees (mainly district officials and school teachers) also live on the island.

In light of this overall population distribution it is not surprising that a dichotomy is recognised on the island which is expressed in the Buru language in terms of *geb fuk Buru-ro* ("people of Buru island/mountain") and *geb man-lau taun* ("people whose affiliation flows/comes from the sea" [i.e., foreigners]). The *geb fuk Buru-ro* form a single island-wide ethnolinguistic unit and are strongly oriented toward the mountains and jungle rather than the sea. Buru can thus be described as having a minority indigenous population which is oriented to and largely lives in the interior of the island which is fringed on the coast by numerous large colonies of immigrants who have come from other parts of the archipelago.

People on Buru have other ways of looking at the population of their island besides this dichotomy of ethnicity. Religious affiliation is of course also very important. The great majority of non-Buru immigrants to the island are *geba slame* ("Moslem people") mostly from Sula, Sulawesi, Buton, Java as well as around 38% of the ethnic Buru population. The remaining ethnic Buru population is predominately *geba srane* ("Christian people") although approximately 6000 to 7000 people in the interior continue to be traditionalists in terms of religion. Like other places in Maluku, the term "Hindu" is used on Buru to refer to their traditional religion. How this term came to be used to refer to people who practice traditional religion is unclear, but on Buru the use of the term is attributed to an ancestor who came from "Hindustan".

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6 It is possible that the "Hindu" population of Buru is greater than this estimate, but because they live scattered throughout the jungle in isolated hamlets which are almost never counted in government statistics, it is difficult to obtain any precise figures.
Another native dichotomy is made between *geb fuka* ("mountain people") and *geb masi* ("sea/coastal people") in reference to where people actually live. Not only do all the immigrants live on the coast, but all the ethnic Buru Moslems do as well. Given the entire population of the island then, four out of five people on Buru live on the coast and are thus considered *geb masi*. The *geb fuka* are the 20,000 to 25,000 native non-Moslems (Christians and "Hindus") who remain traditionally oriented to the mountains and live in the vast interior of the island.

Native terms for categorising the population of Buru are thus based on distinctions of ethnicity (native versus non-native), religion and residence (coast versus mountains). There is evidence these various dichotomies have been in use on Buru for a long time. In the 16th century it was specifically the coastal areas of Buru that converted to Islam under the influence of Ternate. Later it was only the Islamic coastal chiefs who were taken by the Dutch to live around the fort at Kayeli in the middle of that century. There are also numerous references in the literature such as a description by Willer (1858), a Dutch colonial officer who visited Buru in 1847, which notes that Buru had a "relatively cultured Muslim coastal population and the much less cultured heathen inland population" (quoted in van Fraassen 1983:40). Although Willer was writing about the *Alfoeren van Boeroe*, in this and many other cases it is difficult to know if the "cultured Moslems" were only immigrants, or also included native Buru Moslems. In his writings on Buru, Schut (1919, 1921) was always careful to distinguish between the native people, the *oorspronkelijke Boeroe-bevolking*, and other people on the island.

This study is about the people of Buru who call themselves *geb fuk Buru-ro* ("people of Buru island"). It is important, however, to understand the setting in which they share their island with other people. Focusing
outward, the *geb fuk Buru-ro* are a cohesive unit *vis a vis* thousands of immigrants on the island who are linguistically and ethnically distinct from the *geb fuk Buru-ro*. Looking inwardly, the *geb fuk Buru-ro* are divided into over 35 different kin groups. These groups, called *noro*, are the topic of the next chapter.

**The Language**

The Buru language is an Austronesian language which, following Blust's (1978) classification, would be included in the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgrouping of Austronesian languages. Although there were other indigenous languages and dialects spoken on Buru in the past (see C. Grimes MS-b, B.D. Grimes 1989) today there are five main dialects of *liet fuk Buru* ("sound/language of Buru island"): Rana, Masarete, Wae Sama, Lisela, and Fogi. These dialects are distinct in the sense that each has features identifiable by native speakers as unique to that particular speech variety, and there are indigenous names to refer to each variety. Even with these variations, there remains sufficient intelligibility to give the language a cohesive linguistic unity, a fact that is repeatedly stressed by native speakers. The marriage patterns on Buru are such that brides frequently come from other dialect areas of Buru to their husbands' villages. From their reports, it appears that after a few weeks they are able to adjust their speech to the local variety.

Ambonese Malay is the *lingua franca* of Central Maluku and is used on Buru particularly in the multi-ethnic multi-lingual coastal communities. A significant number of non-Buru people are motivated to learn the Buru language. This includes women from other islands who marry Buru men and come to Buru to live, as well as some of the immigrants living on the coast.
and teachers in mountain villages. In coastal colonies with a very large number of people from one ethnic group such as Sula or Buton, immigrants usually make no attempt to learn the Buru language but speak their own native languages and Ambonese Malay. In the heavily colonised areas of the north and west coast, Ambonese Malay is becoming the primary language of communication for some of the ethnic Buru Moslems who interact heavily with other immigrant Moslems from Sula and Buton. For the non-Moslem Buru people, however, the Buru language is their primary and often only language of communication.


Political Organisation

I have already mentioned that the indigenous Buru population is divided into over 35 social groups called noro. There is no centralised

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Based on C.Grimes (MS-b).
political hierarchy or ritual system that unifies the different *noro* on the island, however. Instead, the threat of inter-*noro* warfare creates a pervasive fear of strangers and people from other *noro*, a fear which is fully justified in Buru society. The situation, as they say on Buru, is one where *noro saa perinta tu nake noro* ("each *noro* governs its own *noro*"). A *noro* is the highest level political unit in society and it is in *noro* leaders that the highest degree of traditional political authority in society is invested. What defines Buru society as a whole then, is not any overarching political order, but networks of inter-*noro* relationships which can be defined as much by alliance as by hostility and warfare. Although it appears there is less inter-*noro* warfare today than in the past, it still occurs, and the threat of hostility from people of other *noro* is always present. As this study will show, marriage alliances do not preclude warfare between *noro*.

Each *noro* has two traditional kinds of leaders: those dealing with *adat* and those dealing with war and defense, the *epkitan*. These positions of leadership are "official" in the sense that they are named and only those who hold a specific named position are entitled to tie their *ifutin* ("headcloth") in the manner associated with that position. A generic term for these leaders is *geba emngaa*, meaning "people (or person) in the state of being titled or named". *Geba emngaa* are appointed by the elders of their *noro*. There is some stratification among the *geba emngaa* which follows the segmentary social organisation of the *noro* (discussed in the next chapter). At the lowest level, a *geba emngaa* is an official elder from the smallest segment of a *noro* and at the highest level, a *geb emngaa* is the man recognised as the head of the entire *noro*.

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8 The Buru title *epkitan* is an indigenised form of the Ambonese Malay term *kapitan*, from Portuguese *capitão* "captain".
Because of egalitarian values in Buru culture, leaders must operate not by ordering people about, but by their personal charisma and ability to persuade their kinsmen to go along with what they suggest. Whether or not people *caan* (literally "listen to", and in an extended sense "follow/go along with/obey") a leader depends on his ability to persuade them to do so. Decision making is accomplished not by declaration of the *geba emngaa* -- either individually or collectively -- but by persuasion and ultimately by consensus among all those involved in a matter. The metaphor of "head" (*pyolot*) is also used as a synonym to refer to the *geba emngaa*. As head of a *noro*, or a segment of a *noro*, these men represent their kinsmen during official ceremonies, in disputes with *geba emngaa* of other *noro*, and in interfacing with the Indonesian political system.

When a *geb emngaa* dies there is no immediate procedure set in motion to replace him. Particularly if there is no urgent need for someone to arbitrate disputes and represent them, it may be years or even several decades before elders will agree to *lepak* ("lift up") someone to a particular responsibility. A man can succeed his father in a leadership position, but personality and charisma are much more important criteria than heredity in choosing new *noro* leaders.

Origin narratives tell how some *noro* of the *geb fuk Buru-ro* ("people of Buru island") are autochthonous while others originated from immigrants to the island. Even with a recognised dichotomy of autochthonous *noro* and non-autochthonous *noro*, there is nevertheless a large degree of political equality between the different *noro* on the island. Power is associated with places of origin, either the autochthonous place of origin or the place an immigrant ancestor was first given land by an autochthonous *noro*. A *noro* leader who lives in the traditional ancestral territory of his *noro* can obtain power from the place and is often "listened to" by members of
other **noro** who live in the area as well as by his own **noro** members. A leader who lives outside his traditional area is acknowledged by everyone as a **geba emngaa**, but only those of his own **noro** need listen to him.

In brief then, traditional leadership on Buru is found at the level of the **noro** where there is a considerable degree of equality both internally within the **noro** and externally with other **noro**. I now consider the effects of foreign influences on this indigenous political system. People on Buru look at the past centuries in terms of eras of outside influence: **waktu Ternate** ("Ternate time"), **waktu Blanda** ("Dutch time"), **waktu Jepang** ("Japanese time"), and now **waktu Indonesia** ("Indonesian time"). Each of these "outside" powers have in turn superimposed some type of political order on Buru in their efforts to control the island. Nevertheless, the traditional Buru political system has remained relatively stable and in some cases even reverted to former traditional patterns. On the surface, one sees on Buru a cocophany of native and foreign political titles. In sorting through the noise, it becomes apparent that when different foreign political orders have been overlaid on the the traditional Buru system, many of the foreign titles remained, but the functions of those positions were adjusted to closely follow the traditional **noro** based political system.

**Waktu Ternate:** On Buru today a position of **mat gugul** exists which is associated with the sultanate of Ternate.\(^9\) According to oral history, in the past there were four **mat gugul** on Buru: two in the north and two in the south. The person who held the position of **mat gugul** was ethnically from Buru and appointed as a representative of the sultan on Buru. He was

\(^9\) The title **mat gugul** is from **mate**, a Buru title for a **noro** leader, and **gugul**, which is borrowed from Ternate. In the Ternatan language **gogugu** means "the one who holds [something in his hand]". In the early part of the 16th century the leader called **kolano ma-gugu** on Ternate was associated with being the one who "held the kingdom and the king in his hand". By the end of that century the position of a **jow gugu** had transformed into being just one of the four court functionaries who were all subordinate to the Sultan (van Fraassen 1987a:334).
responsible for collecting enati ("tribute") from people of numerous noro which Ternate assigned to his jurisdiction.

Today, 350 years after Buru has no longer been under Ternate's control, the title of mat gugul is still used and is still associated with Ternate. The function of a mat gugul today, however, is equivalent to a traditional noro leader who is head only of his own noro. The only noro leaders who use the title mat gugul today are from the four noro who had mat gugul representing the sultan in the past. There have been no new mat gugul "raised" in south Buru since the last ones died earlier this century (from the Masbait noro and Mual noro), but around the lake there are two mat gugul today, the Mat Gugul Nalbessy (the head of the Nalbessy noro) and the Mat Gugul Wa Kolo (the head of the Wa Kolo noro).

During the time of Ternatan control, a mat gugul would have been in a subordinate position to the sultan and his "governor" on Buru. At the same time, he was recognized by and had the support of the Sultan. The recognition of four noro leaders by Ternate as mat gugul would have made those four leaders more prominent. Today the ideology of traditional equality between noro has returned and a mat gugul has no more authority than any other noro leader although he may try to stress the prestige he has over other noro leaders because of the historical connection to the sultan. While others acknowledge the connection, they treat him like any other traditional noro leader. In other words, they only listen to him if they want.

Waktu Belanda: It was mentioned earlier that when the Dutch became involved in local politics on Buru they divided the island into regentschap and appointed a leader (regent) for each one. The boundaries of the regentschap were somewhat artificial and did not follow any traditional
Buru territorial divisions. As a result, the number of regentschappen has been modified several times. Currently there are seven regentschappen on the island. Like the political system of the Ternate sultan, this colonial system of local government was significantly different from the traditional system of leadership because it stressed authority and power in relation to a larger territorial area (which included people from numerous noro), in contrast to the traditional system where a man was the head of one noro and consequently had authority over the territory of that one noro. Following the practice established by Ternate, the Dutch exacted enati ("tribute") every three years and used the regents in overseeing the collection of it.

The leaders of the regentschap on Buru today are referred to by the Ambonese Malay term raja, rather than the Dutch term regent. Their primary role is described as being the one to jaga hinolon fuk Buru ("guard the door to Buru island"). Because the island is large, various raja are needed to guard the various "doors" to Buru. A raja is thus a mediator with the outside world. In fact, any outsiders who come to the island must have the permission of the raja or it is very likely people will refuse to accommodate them and perhaps even be hostile.10

In the end, the imposition of local colonial political orders greater than a single noro had little effect on the traditional political system of Buru. There are numerous reasons for this and a significant one is that many of the leaders legitimated by the Dutch were not ethnically from Buru, but immigrants of long standing from Buton, Sula or Makassarese colonies on Buru. For a ruler to be an outsider is usually taken as "the way things

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10 This is why the Indonesian government and the various lumber company operations have all had to rely heavily on the rajas to obtain cooperation from the people of Buru. One government report notes Mereka cukup terbuka dengan orang luar, asal mendapat izin dari raja dan kepala Soa ("They are very open with outsiders, as long as they received the permission of the raja and kin group leader"). (Departemen Sosial 1985:16).
should be" on Buru, a view held in many other Austronesian societies as well. Below is the story of why the Raja of Regentschap Lisela is an outsider.

**Why the Raja Lisela is an Outsider**

Once there was a Patti Buton, a leader of the Butonese immigrants to Buru whose family name was Hentihu, and a Patti Bessy, who was a leader of the native Buru Nalbessy noro. The Patti Buton said to the Patti Bessy:

"Let's decide who will be the raja. We will each get a bucket of sand and whoever has the heaviest bucket will be the raja."

The Patti Bessy agreed and then the Patti Buton added:

"Because you are from the land, you walk landward to get sand, and because I am from the sea, I will walk seaward to get sand."

So that's what they did and of course the wet sand of the Patti Buton was heavier. This is why the raja of Lisela is an outsider, and why the Hentihu family from Buton has been raja for many generations.  

This story suggests that on the north coast of Buru an outsider may have been recognised as a leader in the area before there was any intervention by the Dutch colonial government. Where such leaders were

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11 The current Raja of Regentschap Lisela is Bapa Raja Hentihu who lives in Ambon. His cousin represents him on Buru and it is generally assumed that his son or nephew will be the next raja. This story was told to C.Grimes on the north coast of Buru in 1989. In 1933 Jansen referred to a timbang tanah (Malay "weighing earth") story to explain why the regent van Licela (a "Hintihoe") was a "Boetonneeschen usurpator".

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**Chapter Two: An Overview of Buru Island**

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already in place as in other parts of Central Maluku, the Dutch had only to recognise them and incorporate them into the colonial system. On the south coast of Buru, however, where there were far fewer immigrants, it was a different story. In Regentschap Masarete people describe what happened as Blanda lepak Behuku saa la du puna latu ("The Dutch raised/appointed a Behuku [name of a native noro] to make a king"). Regentschap Masarete has been anomalous on Buru in that it has had four native leaders, three from the Behuku noro and the last one, who died in 1986, from the Masbait noro.

In spite of the majority of rajas on Buru being and having been outsiders, a second reason why the local colonial political system has had little impact on traditional Buru life is because of the role these men had as "guards to the doors of Buru". The rajas were to deal with the outside, not the inside. The degree of involvement of a raja in the internal affairs of Buru society varies significantly, depending on his background and personality. Since most of the rajas are outsiders themselves, they do not have the knowledge of the Buru adat to address internal affairs. Some rajas do not even live on the island, but have a representative there to deal with outsiders. A few rajas obviously have not had the interests of others at heart. Around the early part of this century the Raja of Regentschap Wae Sama was killed by Buru people because of their longstanding grievances against him. His grandson, the current Raja, is still said to be terrified of the geb fuka ("mountain people") and has very little interaction with them. In the more or less egalitarian environment on Buru, a raja who treats his people as too subservient is not only strongly criticised, he is also seen as someone to avoid. Like any other leader on Buru, a raja must be able to persuade people to listen to him or he will be ignored.
The former *Raja Masarete* from the Buru *noro* Masbait played an interesting role as *raja* in contrast to most other *rajas* on the island. Because he was a native of Buru he was able to address internal cases concerning Buru *adat* and because of his personality and charisma many people went to him for arbitration of internal disputes and problems (*perkara* is the term borrowed from Ambonese Malay). In internal affairs he functioned as a *geba emngaa* elder, but he also had to deal frequently with the outside world coming to Buru, particularly the lumber companies. He was atypical for a Buru *raja* in that he was able to function in the internal system as well as the outside system.

In summary then, the local colonial political system which involved *regentschaps* and *regents* or *rajas* is still recognised on Buru, but it has remained essentially an outside system and has had little effect on the traditional political system. Some of the reasons for this are that *rajas* were almost always outsiders and that their primary role was seen as those who deal with the outside, with the colonial government. A third factor which has also likely contributed is the logistics of travel on the island. Many of the native people who live within a given *regentschap* may be several days walk from the *raja* on the coast. The island itself, namely the mountains, provided a physical boundary between the outside political system and the inside political system. From the outside looking in, *rajas* appear very powerful in their role as "guards". From an inside perspective, however, they are respected but have very little authority over people and minimal involvement in everyday social affairs unless individuals choose to involve the *raja* as arbitrators in their internal *perkara*.

Today there are seven *regentschaps* on Buru and one on Ambelau, making a total of eight *regentschaps* associated with Buru. The people of Ambelau form a separate ethnolinguistic unit but Ambelau has frequently
been joined with Buru in the Dutch system and today it is part of Kecamatan Buru Selatan, the southern district of Buru.


Waktu Indonesia: Presently the local Indonesian government political structure is also overlaid on Buru. The island is divided into three kecamatans with administrative towns (ibukota kecamatan) at Namlea, Leksula, and Air Buaya. These three kecamatan are part of Kabupaten Maluku Tengah which includes not only Buru but all of Seram, Ambon, Lease and other islands with the administrative center (ibukota kabupaten) located at Masohi in south central Seram. At each ibukota kecamatan on Buru there are the appropriate civil, police, and military officials.
While the Dutch used local residents (both native and immigrants) in their system of colonial government, today it is rare to find Buru people who are part of the Indonesian political structure on Buru. Local involvement occurs today at the village level where the positions of Kepala Desa ("village head") and a Sekretaris Desa ("village secretary") are required. Many villages on Buru are not officially recognised by the government and have no need to appoint people to these positions. In the official villages, however, the Kepala Desa is frequently a traditional noro leader and the most educated man in the village usually holds the position of Sekretaris Desa. New government educational requirements for these two positions are causing some conflict on Buru because traditional leaders often do not have the educational credentials to be village leaders in the Indonesian system.
The various political systems superimposed over the years on Buru have not transformed the traditional system in any significant way. There is one political system on the island that is presently undergoing a degree of uncertainty and that is the order of regentschaps and raja. This system has been officially recognized by the local Indonesian government as a traditional adat system and maps of the regentschaps hang in the district offices on Buru. While some government officials have had to depend on raja every now and then to get things done, the system is not really encouraged and is sometimes actually discouraged by Indonesian government officials. The crucial factor in the survival of this political system is the matter of succession. In many regentschaps the raja system has been self perpetuating for a long time because heredity has been the primary criterion for succession. This has been the case among the Moslem raja who carefully keep track of their geneologies of father-son and uncle-nephew successions. A crisis is occurring in the system now, however, in Regentschap Masarete where the principle of heredity does not work automatically among the Christian population, just as it does not work automatically in the traditional system. In the past the Dutch government took an active role in appointing new raja, but today the Indonesian government is taking no such initiative. The Bupati, with much hesitation, will only write a letter approving as raja whoever convinces him he has local support. Because there is no traditional mechanism for selecting a raja and because there is no longer any outside power who will appoint one, the debate over whether to select a new raja and then how to select a new raja and then whom to select has been dragging on for years. Without a well defined principle of succession, the non-traditional political order of raja and regentschap may not survive indefinitely on Buru in the post-colonial era.
The Economic Situation

There are a wide variety of economic activities carried out on Buru, especially if one considers the island as a whole and includes the economic activities of the numerous immigrants to the island. The Butonese are involved in inter-island trade of merchandise as they are all over the archipelago. Their fishing skills are also significant on Buru. With the political prisoners and transmigrants from western Indonesia, wet rice is now cultivated in the Wae Apo River valley. Cattle have also been introduced in that area and are marketed off the island. Lumber companies are involved in the economic situation on Buru. Besides logging operations scattered around the island, there is a plywood factory on the north coast. Finally, there are the Chinese and "Arabs" who are merchants and serve as middlemen for products from the island being sent on to a wider market. Many Chinese own or hire boats to take products such as cloves and copra directly to Surabaya on Java and then to bring back merchandise to sell on Buru.

In light of this wider context, it is interesting to consider the economic situation specifically from the point of the native Buru population. Their primary economic activities center around hunting, foraging and shifting agriculture. Hunting is a very important male activity and a significant amount of time is spent by men hunting fafu ("pig"), minjangan ("deer"), tonal ("cuscus"), manut ("birds"), tagrihit ("bat"), kamyoho ("civet cat"), and other small game. At the beginning of the east monsoon season (mid May to June) men rogo mua ("enter the jungle") for up to five months to hunt full-time. A strict code of behaviour is adhered to during that time and they may not return to the village for the entire time but live in hum tapa ("jungle huts"). Their wives and sisters may bring baskets of
tubers to them in the jungle, but other than that, association or contact with women is taboo during this entire period. The men eat part of their catch, but smoke and dry the majority of the meat to bring back to the village in a grand procession at the end of the time when they suba mua ("leave the jungle"). If the catch is good, bundles of dried surplus meat are saved to be exchanged in barter (mar butu).

Fishing plays only a minor role in Buru subsistence. In the rivers people catch wanat ("fresh water eel") and sehe ("crayfish"), but sea fishing is limited only to searching the tidal pools at low tide. Buru people very rarely own a canoe or know how to fish in the sea. Those who do have marine fishing skills acknowledge learning them from Butonese or other immigrants. 12

Shifting cultivation centers around a wide variety of root crops: gehut ("taro"), mangkau ("cassava"), and mangat ("yams"). Some biskatu ("corn"), warahe ("peanuts"), feten ("foxtail millet"), and pala ("dry rice") is grown as well. Bia ("sago") and niwe ("coconuts") are important trees on the coast, but are not found at the higher altitudes of most of Buru. Sago porridge is eaten where there are sago trees, but many Buru people prefer a similar porridge made of cassava starch which they call bia mangkau ("cassava sago"). Foraging is done by women and children who hunt for bird eggs, grubs, mushrooms and other edible plants in the jungle. Tuat trees are tapped by men and the juice fermented to make eha ("palm wine").

Gelan ("eucalyptus oil", called minyak kayu putih in Indonesian) is the primary cash crop on the island and is processed in northern and eastern parts of the island and sold to the Chinese and Butonese middlemen.

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12 In fact, numerous jokes exist about the mishaps of geb fuka ("mountain people") coming down to fish in the sea, which they tell themselves. They inevitably end up being stung by poisonous fish, or some similar mishap.
Cloves, nutmeg and copra are cash crops grown by Buru people on the coast and peanuts and coffee in the mountains. Extra tubers and vegetables are sometimes grown to sell to the Chinese and other people on the coast who have no gardens. This provides a means of minimal but year-round cash income. Because the Chinese are eager to be middlemen for all cash crops, Buru people rarely market their produce off the island.

Over the past three decades logging has been carried out on Buru by outside companies. While it has provided temporary employment for a few Buru young men (most of the laborers being "imported" from other islands) the benefits of these operations to Buru people and their economy have been minimal if any.13

Traditionally an extended family lived in their garden and the name of their *hum lolin* (literally "circle of houses" used to refer to the smallest segment of a *noro*) was taken from a dominant feature of their garden or the area surrounding it. The formation of villages has been insisted on by both the Dutch and the Indonesian governments and today villages are usually made up of 100 to 250 people from three or four different *noro*. Villages have never been a very salient unit in Buru society and even today not everyone feels obliged to live in a village or to spend most of their time there if they do have a house in a village. It is seen as legitimate to spend days, weeks and months away from the village living in one's garden especially at peanut or clove harvest time which require long periods of sun drying. Buru society is very mobile in the sense that people may make gardens near the villages of two or three different relatives who live several days walk apart. Visiting relatives,

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13 Given the jungle orientation of Buru society and the fact that every square meter of land on Buru is traditionally owned by some *hum lolin* within a *noro*, it is understandable that there have been continual conflicts between Buru people and the logging companies.
buying supplies (sugar, salt, kerosene, and soap) on the coast, selling produce or hunting in distant parts of the jungle sends families off to other areas of the island for weeks at a time. A family thus divides their time between visiting relatives in other villages, living in their various gardens, and living in their own village where they may actually spend the least amount of time. When leaving a village, houses are tied shut so that a curse will fall on any one who enters them and the entire family sets off down the trail with the men and boys carrying the spears and machetes and food on a *ka-lebat* ("shoulder pole"), and the women and girls carrying babies in strap cloths and their belongings in *fodo* ("basket") on their back with a tump strap.

**Transportation**

Transportation -- both to Buru and around Buru -- is an additional factor that is significant for understanding the setting of the Buru culture today. The transportation hub of central Maluku is Ambon and from there boats go several times weekly to both Namlea and Leksula. The airstrip in Namlea is used weekly for small commercial air services from Ambon. To get from Buru to the *kabupaten* office in Masohi on Seram requires catching a boat to Ambon, crossing the island to a different harbour and then taking another boat to Seram.

Transportation around Buru is done by boat travel along short stretches of the coast and foot travel over land. As of 1989 a new road is being made along the north coast from Namlea to Air Buaya but this is at best a seasonal road due to the numerous rivers and streams which have no bridges as yet and can only be forded when the water is low. The only other road on the island is one from Namlea into the transmigration area.
There is no boat service between the north and south coast and so people must go first to Ambon, then take another boat back to the opposite coast of Buru. Those who can afford passage prefer to take boats via Ambon rather than walk eight days through the jungle and mountains to get to the opposite coast. While boat travel does save walking, this preference is due as much to the fact that it prevents the need of walking through territory belong to other noro with whom one has no connections.

While boat travel can be done along the coast, there are many places which can only be reached by walking, and foot travel remains the primary means of transportation around the island. To walk from the lake area to either coast takes 3 to 4 days. Recently the roads around the transmigration area have been used by people going to Namlea from the interior. Using public transportation from the transmigration area to Namlea enables them to cut off a day’s walk.

Hunting and foraging are important aspects of Buru foot travel. Men frequently go off the main trail into the jungle to hunt and the women go off to forage for eggs and edible plants while travelling. Unless they have relatives in a village on the way, people overnight in the jungle in make-shift shelters or in caves. From the perspective of a Buru person though, all travel through the jungle and into other areas is done under the constant threat of attack from hostile people of other noro. Traveling and hunting must be done, but a man never goes far from home without his machete and spear for protection.

The Literature on Buru

Although there were periodic references in the literature to Buru in earlier periods, because of the general lack of interest in the island by
the outside world, it was not until the 19th century that people began to write specifically about Buru. Those who did so were mainly Dutch government officials and missionaries, along with a variety of reports by the geologists, botanists and others who made scientific expeditions to Buru in the 19th century. Willer (1849, 1858), van Doren (1859), Wilken (1875) and van der Miesen (1902, 1908, 1909a, 1909b) were all Dutch officials who wrote reports of government investigations and surveys. The missionary Schut wrote numerous articles on cultural aspects of Buru life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and his work later became van Wouden's primary sources on Buru. Another missionary, Hendriks, wrote a grammar sketch and compiled a small dictionary on the Masarete dialect in 1897. Since independence, statistics and government reports have been the main things published about the island.
CHAPTER THREE

THE NORO OF BURU

This chapter discusses the social groups on Buru called noro. Every person born into Buru society is affiliated with a noro, and more specifically with one hum lolin ("circle of houses") within that noro, which defines his or her ancestors, origin place, potential marriage partners, territorial and hunting rights as well as relatives. Because a stranger is always seen as a potential enemy on Buru, the first information requested about an unfamiliar person is the identification of his noro: Rine san taun? ("What kind of person is he?") The only response appropriate to this question is the name of a noro, as in Wae Temun taun, meaning literally "Wae Temun person".

It is useful to consider how the term noro is used in juxtaposition to other similar Buru and Ambonese Malay terms. As the above example illustrates, noro is used to refer to a social category or group to which people belong. Fena is another Buru term which refers to a territorial area, particularly an inhabited area such as a hamlet or village. Every noro -- social group -- is associated with at least one fena -- inhabited territorial area -- and it is therefore common on Buru to refer to a fena in terms of the noro that is associated with it, as in fena Wae Temun. Because of this close connection between social group and territory, it is

1 Proto-Austronesian *Cau “human being” (Blust 1980, 1987) is retained in Buru as tau-n and is semantically restricted to specifying a person’s affiliation with a noro, as in the example above.
2 Fena, with a Buru meaning of settled territorial area, has cognates in numerous Austronesian languages. Blust (1987) has listed many of these cognates and suggests that the semantics of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *banua refers to "an inhabited territory that includes not only the human population and dwellings, but also all plant and animal forms that contribute to the maintenance of the human community (p.100)."
equally appropriate to say a person belongs to *fena Wae Temun* or *noro Wae Temun* and the term *fena* has come to be used to refer to both "villages" and social groups. *Noro*, on the other hand, cannot be used to refer to "village" or territorial area; it is semantically restricted to the social group. In 1921 Schut wrote an article contrasting the two terms *noro* and *fena* on Buru. He saw them as similar, but claimed that recent immigrants used the term *fena* while mountain people used *noro*. I have found the differences in the terms to be not in who uses them, but in their meanings. Because *fena* is used to refer to both village and social group it is given Ambonese Malay glosses of both *negri* ("village") and *soa* (a pan-Maluku term used to refer to social groups). *Noro* can also be glossed as *soa*, but it cannot be glossed as *negri*.

The chapter has two sections. The first discusses how a *noro* provides social identity by establishing both corporate and individual origin structures. The second section describes the secondary ties individuals have to other *noro* via links of women.

**The Noro as a Corporate Origin Structure**

Fox (1988a) uses the phrase "origin structure" to refer to Rotinese epistemological ideas about origin and cause. For the Rotinese he says "assured knowledge involves a knowledge of origins" (p.8). I use the term here because similar constructs of origin are important culturally and socially on Buru as well. Buru ideas of origin will be discussed throughout this study as they are important for understanding several social terms and cultural concepts based on metaphors of origin.
On Buru a knowledge of origins provides an assured social identity for both the corporate noro and for every individual who belongs to it. The origin structure of a noro includes its unique ancestors, origin narratives, origin place and names. Individuals thus gain their primary social identity from this origin structure while the corporate possession of a single origin structure defines a noro.

The original ancestor of an origin structure may be male or female, an ama moyang ("father ancestor") or ina moyang ("mother ancestor"). The term "ancestor" is not a completely adequate translation of the way people on Buru conceive of moyang. Although I use the term "ancestor", I will briefly explain some of the semantic differences between ancestor and moyang. The English term denotes someone at the apex of a geneological relationship (Keesing 1975:21). On Buru geneological links to an individual in the past are recognised (enohon enatin) and can be important at times, but geneology is not the criterion for reckoning a moyang. A moyang is a previous noro member. Moyang are culturally important because they continue to be involved in the everyday affairs of living noro members. People who change affiliation acquire the ancestors of their new noro and the mediating spiritual power of their new ancestors becomes available to them.

The original ancestors of some noro are said to be autochthons, while the origin narratives of other noro tell how their original ancestors came to Buru from other places. This is the case for example with the ancestress of the Mual noro, Bokis Raja, who came from Seram to Buru. It was noted in the last chapter that the original ancestor or ancestress of each noro, whether autochthon or immigrant, is associated with an origin place on Buru. This is called the tean elen ("place of the house pole") and is the specific stream, river, spring or mountain where the autochthonous ancestor first appeared on the island or where the immigrant
ancestor first went upon arriving on the island and was granted land by the autochthonous *noro* elders. The spiritual power mediated by ancestors is most efficacious at the *tean elen* so people who have moved away frequently return to their *tean elen* to negotiate with their ancestors.

Part of the origin structure of a *noro* includes a well defined territorial area surrounding the specific *tean elen* place of origin. This territory is divided into specific areas belonging to each *hum lolin* in the *noro*. Land rights and hunting rights to the territory are inherited and others must request permission to make gardens or hunt there. I have already mentioned the relationship between land (*fena*) and social group (*noro*). The synchronic picture of where people currently reside in relation to their places of origin and territory is somewhat muddled, however, because of frequent migrations by people within a *noro* to other parts of the island. Some of these migrations have brought people to live at places on the island far from their original *tean elen*. Mass sickness and death are the most frequently stated reasons for such migrations. The important point though is that even if people no longer live in their original territory, they still inherit this land and they still control rights to its use because it is part of their origin structure.

Before looking at other ways in which a *noro* serves as an origin structure, it is important to understand the structural segmentation of a *noro* and the metaphors used to label each of these units.
A *noro* is segmented into several *bone* which are again segmented into *hum lolin* as the above figure illustrates. The units at the first order of segmentation, the *bone*, are also referred to as *bia lahin* which literally means "sago trees/trunks". To appreciate how this botanical imagery is used as a metaphor for a segmentation of a *noro* it is necessary to understand the botanical features of sago trees. The sago palms of Buru (*Metroxylon sago (rumphii]*) have suckers (*tunan*) which grow up from the base of the main trunk of a tree when the tree dies. The concept of new life coming forth from the base is very important in Buru cultural ideas about life and procreation. The semantics of *lahin* will be discussed in more detail later, but here it is sufficient to say that *lahin* refers equally to the trunk, the root and base of a tree, or to the tree as a whole. The imagery of the sago palm's physical origin structure is thus used to refer to these first order segmentations of a *noro*. *Bia lahin* are named and associated with specific *tama* ("fathers"). The Wae Temun *noro*,
for example, is segmented into three *bia lahin* and has *tamar telo, tinar telo* ("three fathers, three mothers").

A *bia lahin* is in turn segmented into *hum lolin* which means "circle of houses" and is composed of individual nuclear households. This is again a very apt metaphor for the lower level units of a *noro* made up of a group of related households. The Buru concept of *noro* segmentation is expressed in the term *ek-faka-k*, which means "break into sections". I was told that in the Masbait *noro*, "*Bia lahin lima dii, ekfakak jadi hum lolin hum lolin*" ("The five *bia lahin* all broke up into separate *hum lolin*"). Birth order terms are used to describe the relationship between the various *hum lolin* within a *bia lahin* with each *hum lolin* knowing its place relative to the others as either *menggiwa* ("eldest"), *mendedun* ("the one that follows"), *mentifun* ("the one in the middle") or *hena* ("youngest").

A *hum lolin* typically includes kin related over three and sometimes four generations from the eldest living members of the *hum lolin*. Kin terms are used for everyone within a *hum lolin* and the collateralness of kinship terminology extends to the limits of a *hum lolin*. The relationships between all the individuals within a *hum lolin* are therefore known and it is those connections that define the *hum lolin*. Because a *hum lolin* can include numerous individuals who may not all live in the same place it is important to see a *hum lolin*, like a *noro*, as a social group -- a category of people -- rather than a physical "circle of houses".

While it is composed of various nuclear households, the *hum lolin* functions as the minimal political unit in Buru society, being directly

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3 The respect that younger siblings must have for elder siblings is applied between *hum lolin* as well. Of course it is possible to get confused or to manipulate the system. I witnessed an argument between people from two *hum lolin* of one *bia lahin* in the Gebhain *noro* arguing over which *hum lolin* was elder. To be called younger when you are really elder is definitely worth a good argument on Buru to set thing straight.
concerned with matters related to land and marriage. The heads of a *hum lolin* are the *geba emtuato* which literally means "old people" but is also used for both "parents" and a concept that approximates the English term "elders". In the political sense, *geb emtuato* are men who function in decision-making and negotiations as representatives of their *hum lolin*. They are not necessarily the oldest men nor those eldest in relative age, but those who have skills in negotiation and speaking. Land use and marriage are issues in which *geb emtuat* are frequently involved in negotiations with *geb emtuat* from other *hum lolin* and *noro*.

Individual nuclear families, the *huma kemat* ("whole/complete house") are composed primarily of a man and his wife or wives and their unmarried children. Each such household is responsible for providing for its own needs. Cash crops and gardens belong to individuals (or to individual wives when there is more than one wife) for use by their own households. Men hunt to supply meat first and foremost for their own households. If they *dufa* ("get results") on the hunt and obtain a lot of meat, they can share it with the households of other relatives, but they are not obligated to do so and it is considered a generous act to do so. A *huma kemat*, then, is a relatively autonomous economic unit and most economic activities done by its members are for their own benefit. However, because marriage alliances are transactions between *hum lolin*, when a "son" of a *hum lolin* is to marry, it is the responsibility of each *huma kemat* in the *hum lolin* to contribute to the bridewealth.

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4 There is also an important system of reciprocation that goes on over garden produce and purchased items such as salt, sugar, soap and kerosene. However, it always involves someone from another household (even a close relative) coming to ask with the intent of reciprocation (*laha*) for a specific item from the household of the person who owns it. Because of the indebtedness associated with this type of exchange and the fact that it is not proper to refuse someone's request, people on Buru make extreme efforts to keep all valuables hidden away out of sight so no one will ask for them. This is true whether it be an extra basket of taro, a half kilo bag of sugar, a bottle of kerosene, dried meat, extra tobacco, or cash.
The origin structure of a Buru noro includes names for the noro as well as its two segmented units, bia lahin and hum lolin. A hum lolin is frequently named after a prominent geographical feature such as a river, stream, tree or rock near the garden house of an ancestor. Each noro has two names: an "inside" name and an "outside" name. The inside name is referred to as the noro name and the outside name is called the fam name. Fam is an Ambonese Malay word of Dutch origin used throughout parts of Maluku to refer to the general notion of kin group\(^5\). The reason given for why each noro has two names is that the inside name is used when speaking the Buru language and the outside name is used when speaking Ambonese Malay or Indonesian. In practice the two names are actually used in these ways. The outside name is also called the "Indonesian name" and is used by individuals much like a surname when they interact with the Indonesian state, such as enrolling their children in school, on legal documents and so on.

Bia lahin and hum lolin do not have outside names. At the same time, it would be rare to ever need to discuss specific bia lahin or hum lolin in the "outside" language. Buru people claim the lack of an inside name is partial proof that certain people on the island are outsiders, because outsiders only have an outside (fam) name. They give as an example the Raja of Regentschap Wae Sama. He is from the Tom Nusa fam but there is no Buru inside name for Tom Nusa people as they are outsiders.

Both the inside and outside names for a noro come from a variety of sources. Frequently the name of the noro's original ancestor or ancestress is reflected in one of the names. For example, the original ancestor of noro Masbait is Masbait Letigugurfila. The ancestress of the

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\(^5\)Cooley (1961a,b) describes how the term is used on Ambon. Van Fraassen (1987) also discusses the use of this term throughout Maluku.
Mual noro came from the Hoamoal peninsula of Seram. Another naming strategy is to make use of the noro's origin place name. The tean elen ("place of the house pole") of the Wae Temun noro is a small stream called Wae Temun. The Wa Kolo noro has its origin place at Wa Kolo, an alternate name for the lake (Rana) in the centre of the island.

*Fam* names, "outside" names, can be manipulated to a certain degree. Two similar but different *fam* names are used by different parts of the Wa Hidi noro. The Moslem Wa Hidis on the coast use the *fam* name Belewael, while the traditional Wa Hidis who live in the mountains use the *fam* name Nurwael. This distinction though is an "outside" one. On the inside they all have a Wa Hidi origin structure.

The Secondary Ties of an Individual to Other Noro

Up to this point I have illustrated how an individual on Buru is affiliated with one noro and more specifically with one *hum lolin* within one *bia lahin* of that noro. The noro an individual is affiliated with is thus the most significant social group in his or her life because they not only belong to it, but it defines who they are more than any other fact in Buru social life. While the primary identity of an individual comes from the noro with which he or she is affiliated, it is recognised that he will have connections to other noro. The term *mara* refers to the noro of an ego's *mem-lahin* (MB - "source/root uncle") and *halan* is the noro of an ego's *mem-lahin's mem-lahin* (MBMB). These two terms, *mara* and *halan*, are used specifically to define relationships of individuals to other noro, and their importance in defining kin terms will become apparent as this study progresses.6

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6Van Wouden (1968:79) comments that Schut's information (1918, 1921, 1923) on what is spelled *marah* [sic] is "not at all clear", but then goes on to conclude that various
Chapter 5) make it possible for an ego's *halan* to be the same *noro* as his own *noro* if his mother married someone from her *mara*.

At birth then, individuals are affiliated with their natal *noro* and have secondary ties to their *mara* (MB's *noro*) and their *halan* (MBMB's *noro*). These connections are illustrated below:

![Diagram of noro connections](image)

Figure 2: Links at birth to other *noro*

In this diagram a male or female ego is affiliated with the C *noro* at birth. In the case shown here ego is affiliated with the same *noro* as his father and father's father. Ego's mother is affiliated with the C group through marriage to ego's father, but her natal *noro* (her brother's *noro*) was B so her affiliation is symbolised as Cb. Through ego's mother, ego has ties to his *mara*, the B kingroup which is the *noro* of his *mem-lahin* (MB). Through his mother's mother (whose affiliation is Ba), ego has ties to his *halan*, the A *noro*, the *noro* of his *mem-lahin's mem-lahin* (MB's MB).

Remarks Schut made "point in the direction of sub-clans", what Schut (1918:17) called *stamdeel*. While the *noro* of Buru are segmented, it is wrong to equate *mara* with a segmentation of a *noro* as Schut and then van Wouden did. *Mara* refers to the *noro* of one's *mem-lahin* (MB), while the segmentations of a *noro* are *bia lahin* and *hum lolin*. Schut (1918:18) was correct in saying, however, that between *noro* and *mara* "there is a distinction never lost sight of".
Besides these ties to different noro which individuals can have at birth, additional ties are provided through affinal relationships. This is particularly important for a male who can be linked to numerous different noro as a wali ("brother-in-law" ZH/WB). Sisters frequently marry men of different noro and thus provide their brothers with numerous links to ZH's groups. The importance of sisters marrying men of different noro was expressed to me by one woman who had two other living sisters. The three sisters were mhuka Wagit ("maidens of the Gewagit noro") and she proudly explained

_Saa oli di Gebhain, saa oli di Mual, saa oli di Wae Temun_

"one returned [married] to the Gebhains, one returned to the Muals, and one returned to the Wae Temuns".

Upon his own marriage, a man also gains affinal ties to his wife's brother's noro. When a man has more than one wife, his wives can have come from different noro, giving him two, three, or more ties to WB groups. While there is no native term meaning "wife's noro" or "sister's husband's noro", the significant fact is that through their sisters and wives men become wali (ZH/WB) to men in other noro. In fact, it is the relationship of brother-in-law that is used to describe the relationship between two noro when marriage exchanges are frequent: _du wali-dawen_ ("they brother-in-law each other").

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7 It is not unusual for a man to have two or more wives on Buru, even among the recently Christianised population. The man who had the most number of wives that I have heard about on Buru was Manitang Tama, who was considered a very wealthy man and had seven wives, ten sons and 46 daughters. He was of the Wae Temun noro and lived in the mountains around the headwaters of the Wae Kabo River. I estimate that he died sometime during the 1920's or 1930's.

8 This phrase is glossed in Ambonese Malay as "Dong dua baku iper".
In summary, secondary ties to other *noro* are recognised for all individuals by links through ego's mother to ego's *mara* (MB's *noro*) and links through ego's mother's mother to one's *halan* (MBMB's *noro*). For a male ego there are also links through sisters and wives to the *noro* of their husbands and brothers. These secondary ties to other *noro* are an expression of the alliances that exist between Buru *noro*. In practical terms this means that people with these "secondary" ties to other *noro* have "secondary" hunting and "eating rights" from the land and gardens belonging to other *noro*. The connections to *mara* and *halan* produce the strongest secondary ties and if someone asks properly, he must be granted hunting and eating rights from the land and gardens of his MB or MBMB. By announcing to the Wae Lua *noro* for example, "Yako halan fidi kimi Wae Lua." ("I am *halan* from you Wae Luas") a man should be given permission to hunt in Wae Lua territory. If he asks permission of a *wali* (ZH/WB), a man should also be given the privilege of hunting and eating from their land, although it is not taken for granted as in the case of asking from his *mara* or *halan*. In this case it depends on the goodwill of his WB or ZH.

Upon marriage a woman leaves her natal *noro* but for the rest of her life she continues to have eating rights from the land of that *noro* should she ever be in need. Her marriage establishes ties between her brother's *noro* and her husband as well as between her brother and her children.
natal noro, the noro of her brother, is never forgotten, however. She continues to be referred to and addressed as a mhuka ("maiden") of her natal noro as in Mhuka Temun ("Wae Temun maiden") and her husband is referred to and addressed as son-in-law of his wife's natal noro as in Nsa Wa Temun, ("son-in-law of Wae Temun").
CHAPTER FOUR:

KINSHIP

In the previous chapter I described how individuals are related to the most important social group of Buru society, the noro, and its smaller units, the bia lahin and hum lolin. Individual membership in a noro is determined according to Buru cultural ideas about affiliation which will be discussed in Chapter 6. Before that, however, it is necessary to understand how individuals on Buru are related to other individuals; this chapter describes the Buru kinship terminology. For the sake of communication I have chosen to gloss relationships in the traditional manner referring to geneological and affinal connections, recognising all the while that there is much more to a "kinship term" than merely denoting such connections. In fact, to understand how affiliation is conceived of and operates in Buru society, it is necessary to see Buru "kinship terms" through Buru eyes, where geneological connectedness is not the primary criterion in determining kin term usage. I will discuss this point further in the final chapter, but in the meantime I will continue to translate Buru kin terms by denoting the prototypical geneological and affinal connections.

Scheffler (1974:760) notes that when two systems operate simultaneously within a society, one relating individuals to social groups and one relating individuals to other individuals, the two systems need to be seen as separate but complementary subsystems of the larger social system. On Buru people do recognise these two systems as separate modes of relating individuals. One defines relationships in reference to noro and the other defines relationships in reference to an individual. For example, it is possible to specify relationships with the same individuals, say for example
cross-cousins, either in terms of affiliation to different *noro* or in terms of kinship ties to *ama emsian* ("one/same father"). *Feta sar naha* is the term used to describe a group of individuals related to one another through cognatic geneological connections to "one father". The term literally means "being sister and brother to each other." This group of individuals -- regardless of their different affiliations -- can call each other with the basic sibling terms. However, when the focus is on their affiliation to different *noro*, cross-cousin terms are used. This is illustrated in the following diagram where the third generation children are *feta sar naha* ("sister and brother to each other") and at the same time affiliated with three different *noro* (A, B and C).

![Figure 4: The complementation of kinship and affiliation](image)

**The Kinship Terminology**

Typical of Austronesian kinship terminologies (Fox 1988:37), generation, gender, and relative age are the primary criteria for Buru kinship categories. The traditional label "classificatory" is also applicable to this system as collateral relatives are classified as lineal with the *hum lolin* defining the limits of classificatory kin as I mentioned earlier. People from other *hum lolin* or *bia lahin* within an individual's *noro* are referred
to with relative age sibling terms, but there it is the relative age of the
social units, the hum lolin or bia lahin, that is the basis for the
classification, not relative age between the individuals.

Relative age is also very important in defining relationships between
individuals, particularly in the first ascending and the zero generations,
specifically with ego's same sex relatives and ego's parent's same sex
relatives. Using Lounsbury's formalism (1964), it could be said that the
Buru system has a "same sex sibling merging rule" resulting in equivalences
between siblings of the same sex. While it is correct to say in some
regards that same sex siblings are classed together on Buru, the added
hierarchy of relative age is always so important that it would be misleading
to say that same sex siblings are "equivalent" on Buru. They are not
equivalent for the very reason expressed on Buru as "No one should forget
that seniors should be treated as seniors (kai) and juniors should be
treated as juniors (wai)." This means that while one's father's elder
brother can be referred to as ama, it is never forgotten that he is
actually elder to one's real father and therefore ama bau (FeB).

For collateral cousins the use of the same sex relative age sibling
terms (kai/wai) hinges on the relative age of the original lineal siblings
(i.e., the parents or grandparents) not the relative age of the collateral
cousins. At times this creates situations where ego's kai ("elder same sex
sibling") is significantly younger than ego, but must nevertheless be treated
with the respect due to a kai.

The Buru kinship terms are listed below, grouped by generation for
the sake of convenience:
Second, Third, Fourth Ascending/Descending Generations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Combinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pio</em></td>
<td>PPPP/CCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>osi</em></td>
<td>PPP/CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>opo</em></td>
<td>PP/CC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**First Ascending Generation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Combinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ama</em></td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ama bau</em></td>
<td>MeZ/FeB</td>
<td>FFeB/MeZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>meme</em></td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ina</em></td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ina bau</em></td>
<td>MeZ/FeB</td>
<td>FMeZ/FeBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>infain</em></td>
<td>MyZ/FyB</td>
<td>FMZ/FyBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yoi</em></td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wate</em></td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Zero Generation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kai</em></td>
<td>elder same sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wai</em></td>
<td>younger same sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>feta</em></td>
<td>Z (m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naha</em></td>
<td>B (f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>emdaa</em></td>
<td>MB/MBD/FZC (f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wali lahin</em></td>
<td>MBS (m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naha lahin</em></td>
<td>MBS (f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wali enewet</em></td>
<td>FZS (m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>feta enewet</em></td>
<td>FZD (m.s.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**First Descending Generation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Combinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>anat</em></td>
<td>C/BC (m.s.)/ZC (f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ana newet</em></td>
<td>ZC (m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wate</em></td>
<td>WBC/HZC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wai</em></td>
<td>BC (f.s.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5: Buru Consanguineal Kin Terms**

All father's brothers, regardless of relative age, can be called *ama*, as can all mother's sisters be called *ina*. Individuals addressed as *ama bau* (MeZ/FeB) and *ina bau* (MeZ/FeB) can all be referred to by the generic term *bau* for "parent's elder same sex sibling or their spouse". An *ama bau* can also be called *bau-shana* ("male bau") and an *ina bau* can be
called a bau-fina ("female bau"). Ama roit ("small father") is an equivalent term for meme (FyB/MyZH). In the same way, ama haat ("big father") is an equivalent term for ama bau (FeB/MeZH); ina haat ("big mother") for ina bau (MeZ/FeBW); and ina roit ("small mother") for infalin (MyZ/FyBW). The use of the terms haat ("big") and roit ("small") to denote the relative birth order of parents and their same sex siblings parallels the Ambonese Malay system with terms such as bapa tua ("old father" = FeB/MeZH). I suspect that the use of haat and roit to modify ama and ina is a strategy borrowed from Ambonese Malay as an additional method of denoting relative age in the Buru system where it is so important. People have frequently told me that ina roit is equivalent in meaning to infalin, but it is better to use infalin because it is more "original". Likewise, ama roit and meme are equivalent (FyB/MyZH) but meme is more "original". Infalin and meme are in fact used more frequently in everyday discourse than the other terms.¹

Co-wives of the same husband address each other with relative age sibling terms (kai/wai). Here the determining criterion is the relative marriage order to the husband. The term infalin is thus also used by children to address their mother's "younger" co-wife.

The above chart shows that meme, in its unmarked form, is the term used for FyB but the same root is included in the term for MB, mem-lahir. This suggests that meme has an underlying meaning of parent's male sibling, but when it is specified as mem-lahir, it can only be MB. Wate is also similarly used in compound terms. In all cases it denotes the relationship between an ego's spouse's cross sex sibling's child and is used reciprocally.

¹Barnes (1974:268) notes a similar use of the terms "great" and "small" within the "father" category in the Kédang terminology. Again, people told him it was not original Kédangese usage and he attributes it to the influence of Indonesian bapak besar (FeB) and bapak kecil (FyB).
by an ego's parent's cross sex sibling's spouse. It can also be specified as *wate-lahin*, which then can only be MBW.

Several other kin terms in the above list are statements of marriage alliance. This is particularly obvious in the case of male cross-cousins who are classed as "brothers-in-law". Because of this it is difficult and in fact artificial to differentiate between strictly consanguineal and affinal kin on Buru. It is not artificial though to say that the above list includes the relationships that individuals have with other individuals at birth. At marriage, an individual enters into relationships with a whole new set of individuals which are listed below:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kete</em> (&quot;parent-in-law&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>Anyone ego's spouse calls <em>ama</em> (F) or <em>ina</em> (M), egos calls <em>ama-kete</em> or <em>ina-kete</em>, respectively.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>MAN SPEAKING:</strong></td>
<td><strong>WOMAN SPEAKING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>fin-haa</em></td>
<td><em>geb-haa</em> (^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>wali</em></td>
<td><em>kakan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kai(fina)</em></td>
<td><em>kai(mhana)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>wai(fina)</em></td>
<td><em>wai(mhana)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>bela</em></td>
<td><em>bela</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>emsawan</em></td>
<td><em>DH</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>fina-msawan</em></td>
<td><em>SW</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>A spouse of anyone ego calls <em>anat</em> (C) is either <em>emsawan</em> or <em>fina-msawan</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6: Buru Affinal Kin Terms**

As the table shows, affinal terms are contingent on the term used by ego's spouse for the given person. For example, anyone the rank of *ama* (F) to one's spouse is one's *ama kete* ("father-in-law"). Distinctions of relative

\(^2\) *Geb-haa* (H) and *fin-haa* (W) mean literally "big man" and "big woman." The northern Lisela dialect uses *na-mori* (H) and *ge-fina* (W).
age are maintained in affinal terms of the same generation and again it is the birth order of the lineal siblings that determines what the affines call each other and, correspondingly, how they are expected to behave toward each other.

The inclusion or exclusion of gender in the semantics of Buru kin terms correlates to a large degree with the generational reference of the term. The following table illustrates this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego</th>
<th>Alter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+1 terms]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0 terms]</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-1,2,3,4/+2,3,4 terms]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Specification of gender in Buru kin terms

All +1 generation terms specify gender of the referent, but not of ego. In other words, both male and female egos call their +1 generation kin by the same terms and those terms always reveal the gender of the person being address as in *ama* ("F") or *ina* ("M"). Many 0 generation terms (both "consanguineal" and "affinal") specify the gender of both ego and the referent as in *naha* (male sibling, female speaking) and *feta* (female sibling, male speaking). Some 0 generation terms can be used by an ego of either gender, but then the gender of ego always determines the gender of the referent. This occurs in the relative age terms (*kai/wai*), the reciprocal term *be la* (WBW/HZH) and the term *emdaa* for a male ego (MBD). The remainder of the Buru kinship terms, namely the +2, +3, +4, -1, -2, -3, and -4 generation terms, specify the gender of neither ego nor the referent. Gender can be lexically specified if needed, but is not usually specified as it is either known from the context, or unimportant. For example, *opo* (PP/CC) can be modified to either *opo-fina* ("female PP/CC") or *opo-shana*
("male PP/CC"); *anat* (C) can be specified as either *ana-mhana* (S) or *ana-fina* (D).

To understand how these terms are actually used on Buru it is important to understand the context in which they are used. In other words, not only are semantics important, but pragmatics (meaning in the situation) are as well. I have already shown how the focus of discourse determines what terms are used in referring to 0 generation kin. The basic set of 0 generation terms are the same sex relative age terms *kai* (elder) and *wai* (younger), and the cross sex sibling terms *feta* (Z (m.s.)), and *naha* (B (f.s.)). These basic terms are used when cognatic kinship connections are in focus, when things happen because of the relationship to "one grandfather" and the fact that the 0 generation kin are *feta-sar-naha* ("brother and sister to each other"). When the focus is on the "cross-cousinliness" of the relationship, on the fact that two kin groups are involved, the cross-cousin terms are used: *emdaa* (MBD (m.s and f.s)/FZC (f.s.)); *wali-lahin* (MBS (m.s.) "source brother-in-law", *naha-lahin* (MBS (f.s.) "source brother"); *wali-newet* (FZS (m.s.) "living brother-in-law"); and *feta-newet* (FZD (m.s.) "living sister"). When the focus of discourse is on the relative age of any two 0 generation kin whose gender is already known, the terms *kai* and *wai* are used in an extended sense of simply "elder/younger" for kin of either gender. The following table illustrates the different uses of 0 generation kin terms:
The Metaphors of Buru Kin Terms

It is obvious by now that several Buru kin terms are based on significant cultural metaphors, particularly the terms associated with MB, FZ and their families. The terms for MB (*mem-lahin*), his wife (*wate-lahin*) and his son (*wali-lahin* - (m.s.) and *naha-lahin* - (f.s.)) are all compound words which include a kin term (*meme, wate, wali, and naha*) plus the modifier *lahin*.

_Lahin_ is the Buru term for a widespread eastern Indonesian concept which is impossible to translate into any single English term. The Buru term includes semantic elements from ideas expressed in various English words: _trunk, base, root, source, cause, origin, foundation, beginning_ (see also Fox 1971, 1980b, 1988a; Traube 1987 for similar concepts in other eastern Indonesian languages). If someone on Buru were asked to point out a _lahin_, it would be a _kau lahin_ ("wood-lahin") which would include the main trunk of a tree and the roots. A proto-typical _kau lahin_ would be a tree with a tall single trunk such as a _niwe lahin_ ("coconut tree"), _bia_

---

3 People on Buru recognise the patterns in their terminology. I have been told that for a male ego, _emdaa_ (MBD) means the equivalent of _feta lahin_ ("source sister"), although only the term _emdaa_ is used.
lahin ("sago tree"), or ipa lahin ("canarium tree"). Based on the botanical image of a tree trunk and the main root system that supports it, lahin is also used metaphorically to refer to the base, origin, source, or beginning of something, whether it be a person whose lahin is his or her MB, an endohin ("story") where the lahin is the beginning of the story, or a perkara ("social litigation") where the lahin is the original cause or the beginning source of the problem. The tree and root imagery of lahin is an ideal metaphor for an "origin structure".

The counterpart to lahin is luken. This is another botanical image referring to the tiny new leaves that grow off the tips of branches, as in mangkau luken, the young new leaves picked to eat from the top of the cassava plant. Metaphorically luken is used to refer to the tip, the end, the results, or the ramifications of someone's deeds, and not surprisingly, to someone's "descendants". Anyone who reckons his geneological connections to an important person from the past will proudly tell you Ya puna luken fidi rine ("I am a tip from him"). Buru ideas about personal origins are thus turned upside down to European ideas about "descent" as Fox (1988a) has pointed out occurs in many eastern Indonesian societies. While Europeans talk about "descendants" in reference to someone's CCC, for example, on Buru people talk about CCC as luken -- "ascendants" or "tips". Not only personal origins, but all origin structures on Buru progress fidi lahin eta suba luken ("from the source/root/trunk until coming out at the tips").

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4 In many eastern Indonesian languages this "origin" concept belongs to a word cognate with proto-Austronesian *puqun ("tree") (cf. also Fox 1988:14). Following regular historical changes, *puqun appears in Buru as puun, but with a slight semantic shift. Buru puun is used to refer to plants which are more along the lines of what is called bush/shrub in English, rather than tree. So while the word lahin may not be cognate with *puqun, it is semantically very similar to both botanical and metaphorical meanings associated with the cognates of *puqun in other eastern Indonesian languages. Here it appears the semantic associations have remained relatively stable, while the actual word used has shifted. This shift may possibly have been motivated by linguistic tabooing which is very prevalent on Buru (C. Grimes 1989).
Ego's MB and his family are thus ego's *lahin* (base/source) relatives. Another metaphor is used to refer to the opposite set of cross cousins, FZ's children. A male ego calls his FZS *wali newet* ("living brother-in-law") and his FZD *feta newet* ("living sister"). And most importantly, a man calls his ZC *ana newet* ("living child"). This means that for any given set of cross cousins, the children of the sister call their MB and his family "source relatives" and the children of the brother call their FZ's children their "living relatives". Metaphors of source and life are thus used to express the relationship between the offspring of a brother and sister.

![Source and Living Relatives Diagram](image)

**Figure 9: Source (-lahin) and Living (-newet) relatives**

There is another term for a kinship relationship using the spatial metaphor of *sakmena* ("in front"). The term, *mamenaro* means "ancestors" and is derived from *sakmena* as "those in front". This metaphor is used similarly to the English term *forefathers*.

**The Model of Asymmetric Prescription**

In this section I consider the Buru kinship terminology outlined above in terms of the model of prescriptive alliance. I do this not to pin some typological label on the Buru kinship system, but because using the model illuminates important aspects of the Buru terminology. This model is part
of the more general alliance theory which developed out of the works of Levi-Strauss, Dumont, Leach and Needham, based on Durkheim's ideas of organic solidarity and collective representations, and Mauss' ideas of reciprocity. The theory considers the implication of "repeated intermarriage between groups" (Dumont 1968:19) which results in perpetual affinal relations and exchanges of women between the groups. A prescriptive system is a kinship terminology that articulates these affinal alliances between different groups (Schneider 1965:28,29; Needham 1972:20; Scheffler 1974:780).

There are several things to consider about the Buru terminology in light of this model. First, there is the kin category, *emdaa* (MBD (m.s and f.s) and FZD (f.s)). Marriage is socially enjoined between males and females in this relationship. The *emdaa* relationship is diagrammed below:

![Figure 10: The Reciprocal Emdaa Relationship](image)

*Emdaa* is the term used by an ego of either sex to refer to his or her MBD. In addition, the term is obligatorily a reciprocal term, so that when a female ego reciprocates, she calls both her FZS and FZD *emdaa*. It is the MBD (m.s.) - FZS (f.s.) relationship that is referred to on Buru when people say that it is good for two *emdaa* to marry each other.

Secondly, the Buru terminology reflects asymmetrical marriage alliances. The prescribed cross-cousin marriage is "restricted" in that it is only with MBD and not FZD. Terminologically, FZD is not in the
marriageable kin category of *emdaa*, but a *feta enewet*, a "living sister". The asymmetry of the Buru terminology is more transparent when the terms are arranged to reflect an asymmetric alliance system having three "lines" representing three groups: an ego group, a wife-giver group and a wife-taker group. These three lines are terminologically differentiated on Buru.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
A (m) & b (f) & B (m) & c (f) & C (m) & a (f) \\
\hline
& ope & ope & ope & ope & \\
& wate & yoi & ama & ina & mem-lahin & wate-lahin \\
& wali-newet & feta & kai/wea & *(e/y)* & emdaa & wali-lahin & feta-newet \\
& ana-newet & anat & anat & wate & wate & ana-newet \\
& ope & ope & ope & & ope \\
\end{array}
\]

Figure 11: Buru kin categories arranged as in asymmetric alliance (Male Ego)

In his article "The transformation of prescriptive systems in eastern Indonesia" (1984) Needham notes that in eastern Indonesia there are kinship terminologies which are "consistently symmetric", others which are "consistently asymmetric", and a significant number which are what he calls "composite systems" in that they "exhibit combinations of symmetric and asymmetric features" and are what he sees as transformations of elementary prescriptive features (p.221).

Needham (1984:225) gives a methodological caution saying that

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5 It should be noted though that while marriage is not terminologically prescribed with FZD, it is permitted in actual marriage practices particularly in cases of sister exchange. Actual marriage patterns on Buru are discussed in the next chapter.
in resorting to criteria of symmetry or asymmetry in the analysis of a particular system we are not trying to assign it a place in a sociological typology.... The purpose is not to prove that the system has a fixed form -- symmetric or asymmetric, prescriptive or non-prescriptive -- but to explicate its proper arrangement of categories of social classification.

Needham then goes on to compare terms from the three medial genealogical levels (which are the best "diagnostic" levels for symmetry and asymmetry) in the kinship terminologies from 15 Nusa Tenggara Timur societies. These terminologies range from consistently asymmetric to consistently symmetric with various mixtures in between, but all with a "preponderence of asymmetry".

Here I follow Needham's approach and consider the three medial levels of Buru terminology because it does help "to explicate its proper arrangement of categories of social classification" in a way that might be overlooked without using this model. As the above table highlights, Buru terms at the +1 level are asymmetric in that

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mem-lahin (MB)} & \not\sim (FZH) \text{ wate} \\
\text{yoi (FZ)} & \not\sim (MBW) \text{ wate-lahin}
\end{align*}
\]

The 0 level terms are "composite". Some terms show asymmetry:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{emdaa (MBD-m.s.)} & \not\sim (FZD-m.s.) \text{ feta-newet} \\
\text{wali-lahin (MBS-m.s.)} & \not\sim (FZS-m.s.) \text{ wali-newet} \\
\text{bela (WBW)} & \not\sim (Z-m.s.) \text{ feta} \\
\text{bela (HZH)} & \not\sim (B-f.s.) \text{ naha}
\end{align*}
\]

while other 0 level terms show symmetry:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ZH = WB} & = \text{DHF} = \text{SWF} \ (\text{all m.s.}) \ wali \\
\text{B} & = \text{DHF} = \text{SWF} \ (\text{all f.s.}) \ naha \\
\text{Z} & = \text{DHM} = \text{SWM} \ (\text{all m.s.}) \ feta \\
\text{HZ} & = \text{BW} = \text{DHM} = \text{SWM} \ (\text{all f.s.}) \ kakan
\end{align*}
\]
The -1 level terms are again asymmetric:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wai} & (\text{BC-f.s.}) \ \& \ (\text{ZC-f.s.}) \ \text{anat} \\
\text{fina-msawan} & (\text{SW-m.s.}) \ \& \ (\text{ZD-m.s.}) \ \text{ana-newet}
\end{align*}
\]

This shows us that although the Buru terminology has symmetric components in the 0 level, as a whole, the terminology is another "composite" system that is predominantly asymmetric. Considering the Buru terminology in terms of prescription and asymmetry is helpful but only in regards to understanding the social arrangement of kin categories. Numerous people, including Needham (1984:223), have pointed out that the mode of affinal relations depicted in the terminology "carries no necessary implications as to the actual contraction of affinal alliances." In the next chapter I show what people do in the "actual contraction of affinal alliances" on Buru.

**The Conventions of Behaviour**

Before leaving this chapter it is important to consider one additional element: the expected role behaviour between relatives of different kin categories, or what Levi-Strauss calls the "system of attitudes" (1964:43). Because kin terms also define social relationships and name roles to be performed, it is important to understand some of the behaviour associated with key relationships.

\[\text{---} \]

6 In Needham's study of Nusa Tenggara Timur he concluded that "The preponderance of asymmetry is no doubt to be connected eventually with the empirical fact that in all of the societies under consideration, so far as we know, the transfer of women in affinal alliance is asymmetric" (p. 227). Although Buru is outside the specific area of that study, it presents a much different picture. There, like much of Nusa Tenggara Timur, the terminology tends toward asymmetry, but the transfer of woman in affinal alliance is symmetric as we shall see in the next chapter. Buru is a case that refutes Needham's earlier remarks (1967:43-44; 1968:332) that "there is no known case of the combination of an asymmetric prescriptive terminology and a symmetric organisation of alliances", a combination he considered "structurally unfeasible". In his 1980 article he again noted that "An asymmetric terminology (one characterized at least by MBD \& FZD) is incompatible with symmetric alliance" (p. 31), but this is what occurs on Buru.
Mem-lahin (MB) - Ana-newet (ZC): I have already noted the importance of this relationship and discussed the semantics of *mem-lahin* as "source/root uncle" and *ana-newet* as his "living child". A mother's brother represents the source of a child's life. A MB is responsible for the fertility of his sister and for ensuring that her children do not die in childhood. While his *ana-newet* does not belong to his *noro* and he is not primarily responsible for feeding his ZC, if needed, he can be asked to assist and frequently is asked to help at such times as providing money for his ZC to go to school. The *ana-newet* must of course respect his *mem-lahin* and the curse of sickness and bad fate hangs over anyone who does not obey their *mem-lahin*.

When an *ana-newet* reaches marriagable age, the *mem-lahin* is very important. If a *mem-lahin* has a marriageable daughter he has the prerogative to say to his sister and her husband *pemsawan nim anat* ("cause your child to become son-in-law") and so a boy's *mem-lahin* becomes his *ama kete* (WF). If his sister's son does not marry his daughter, the *mem-lahin* must be the one to *duwe todo la sasa tohon la ketik geba meget* ("give the machete to cut open the path for marrying someone else"). The *mem-lahin* then acts as one of the spokesmen (*kori-sanat*) in the marriage negotiations of his ZS as well as his ZD.

Wali (ZH/WB): The relationship between two *wali* ("brothers-in-law" ZH/WB) is another focal relationship on Buru, this one marked by friendship and companionship. Two *wali* frequently go hunting together during the day and drink *eha* ("palm wine") together at night. I am told if problems arise between them they should never remain angry at each other for any length of time for *wali* are meant to be the best of friends. Men often spend more time with their *wali* than with their elder or younger brothers. The hierarchy of relative age is always present in the relationship between
same-sex siblings, sometimes driving brothers apart. But *wali* are treated as friends and equals even though it recognised that if his WB requests something of him, a man should attempt to honour that request because he is *emgea* ("shy/embarrassed") for taking his WB's sister. The higher status of ZH as "wife-giver" found so commonly throughout eastern Indonesia and beyond, is on Buru relative only to a specific marriage because *hum lolin* and *noro* are not in permanent affinal relationships of wife-giver and wife-taker to each other and because of the nature of their symmetrical marriage alliances. It is usually the case that a man's *hum lolin* and *noro* have also given women to his ZH's *hum lolin* and *noro*. Therefore, the demands a man puts on his WB can be reciprocated.

The closest *wali* relationship and the closest friendship is associated with two *wali* who are *wali-tal-dawet* — men who have married each others sisters. In this relationship the two men are simultaneously ZH and WB to each other. Neither can claim a higher status of ZH for they are both ZH to each other.

**Relations of Avoidance:** Besides ideas about behaviour expressed in terms of what people should do, there are a considerable number of ideas about behaviour on Buru which are expressed specifically in terms of what people should not do. Behavioural taboos are very much in focus in Buru culture in that they are repeatedly referred to and acknowledged as the reason for certain actions or non-actions. Taboos are convenient measuring sticks for evaluating the behaviour of people when misfortune arises and are often used for that purpose.

Affinal relations between individuals of the opposite sex are the focus of many taboos. A taboo on saying the name of cross sex affines applies even to husbands and wives. Social avoidance is required of cross
sex parent and child in-laws (WM-DH; HF-SW), of *waifina* (yBW) and *kaishana* (HeB), and of *bela* (WBW/HZH), the relationship that is seen as the ultimate avoidance relationship. Although this relationship is terminologically distinguished, the symmetrical nature of marriage alliances means that frequently a WBW and HZH are actually brother and sister or at least from the same *noro* and not from different *noro*. Only when they are from different *noro* does the term and the taboo apply.

Besides name avoidance, these affines must observe a high degree of social avoidance. They are prohibited to *epetia* ("sit") with each other which means eating together at the same table, conversing together, passing in front of each other's face, or even letting their shadow fall on the other person. The high degree of name avoidance leads to the frequent use of teknyonyms in which individuals are referred to as the father or mother of their eldest child, as in *Ben-tama* ("Ben's father") or *Ben-tina* ("Ben's mother"), a term of address appropriate for anyone to say. The use of *Nhuka X* ("maiden of *noro* X") or *Emsawan X* ("son-in-law of *noro* X") are other ways to refer to adults by avoiding the use of their personal name.

**Feta (Z) - Naha (B):** The brother-sister relationship is the pivotal relationship in the Buru kinship terminology. The relationships between *mem-lahin* and *ana-newet* and between two *wali* all hinge on the brother-sister relationship. The relationship between a brother and sister is characterised by friendship and companionship in stark contrast to the avoidance behavior and negative social interaction required of cross sex affines. The brother-sister relationship is a relationship of positive social interaction, a relationship which remains important throughout life as a woman links her husband and children to her brother. In adulthood a woman's childhood companion, her brother, becomes her husband's companion.
Not only the kinship system but society as well is articulated in terms of the fundamental relationship between brother and sister. A brother, as they say on Buru, stays at home to *enaba fatu enodot* ("guard the sharpening stone"). Upon marriage his sister will *suba* ("exit") their natal *noro* but in a subsequent generation her daughter will *oli* ("return"). Relationships of alliance between *noro* on Buru are created because women, as sisters who exit and return, link their brothers. In the next chapter I will describe how this happens.
CHAPTER FIVE
MARRIAGE

In this chapter I discuss Buru marriage from several different reference points. First I look at marriage on Buru from the perspective of marriage exchanges between noro and then how specific alliances are tied to specific locales. Then I look at the relationship between the two individuals being married, both in terms of "ideal" and real relationships between marriage partners. In the final section I describe the marriage process.

Marriage Alliances

I have illustrated how the kinship terminology of Buru can be considered an asymmetric prescriptive terminology which defines relationships with three different groups: ego's noro, a wife-giving MB's noro, and a wife-taking FZH's noro. Here I shall show how there is no consistency between the kinship terminology and the actual marriage practices. Marriages take place on Buru in patterns that have been labeled as "symmetric connubium". Symmetrical marriage alliances exist between two hum lolin who exchange wives with each other and are thus simultaneously wife-givers and wife-takers to each other.

While marriages are actually transactions between two hum lolin, a marriage is expressed in terms of a transaction between two noro. The phrase mentioned earlier du wali-dawen ("they brother-in-law each other") is used in reference to either two men or two noro and always implies the symmetrical exchange of women. When the statement is made in reference to
two noro it has the further implication that the two groups repeatedly give and take wives from each other. This is positively valued and implies that all men in these two noro can treat each other with the friendliness and intimacy of two brothers-in-law.

Sister exchange, the diagnostic feature of symmetrical alliance systems, is expressed on Buru as du eptukar saro ("they exchange [women] with each other") and is what happens when anafina saa rogo, saa suba ("one woman enters, one exits"). For two women to be classed as mhuka eptukar ("exchanged maidens") in Buru terms, their marriages have to have been negotiated in one transaction. If two men marry each others' sisters in two separate marriage transactions the men are still wali tal-dawet, but their wives are not considered to be "exchanged maidens" because separate bridewealth negotiations and payments occurred for each woman. When it is decided in a marriage negotiation that sister exchange will take place, only small amounts of token bridewealth are exchanged. This makes sister exchange desirable for many. In addition, it is expressly recognized that sister exchange has more potential for strengthening or establishing ties between two noro than a single marriage. The attitudes about sister exchange were expressed by one man in the following way:

"From long ago here on Buru, if a man marries my sister, I take his sister. We both benefit, we both feel happy."

In 1969 the rajas of south Buru issued a Letter of Decision (Surat Keputusan) in Indonesian regarding marriage practices on Buru (see Appendix). One of the stated points included, with no further comment, Dilarang tukar menukar perempuan ("It is forbidden to exchange women"). The raja who initiated the document is now deceased, but in talking with his son it appears that the problem with sister exchange had nothing to do with the symmetrical nature of affinal relations, but with the fact that
women were being exchanged without any bridewealth changing hands. Being a proclamation from "outside" rajas, this document is largely ignored and even unknown on many places in south Buru, and marriage negotiations continue to include the exchange of sisters in a single transaction. For those who recognise the existence of the letter, it appears that the prohibition of sister exchange has been interpreted as not a prohibition on the symmetrical or even the simultaneous exchange of women, but a prohibition on exchanging women without bridewealth. The importance of including at least token bridewealth in exchange for each bride has been reaffirmed.

The following case describes the events that led to an agreement regarding *mhuka eptukar* ("exchanged maidens") in marriage negotiations that took place in June of 1989. When the argument for *mhuka eptukar* was presented, the elders of both sides agreed because it would establish a symmetrical affinal relationship between the two *noro* in distant villages.

**A Case for "Exchanged Maidens"**

The village of Selwadu on the north coast of Buru is the result of a migration from the lake in the center of the island over 50 years ago. In Selwadu there are people from several *noro*, including the Wa Kolo group whose origin place is at the lake and many of whom still live at the lake. A half day's walk inland from the south coast of Buru is the village of Neat. Most of the people in this village migrated from their origin places south of the lake around 30 years ago, including people from the Gewagit *noro*.

It was noted earlier that on Buru people frequently walk to distant villages to visit relatives and return to
their origin places. Trips of that nature, visiting relatives, brought a masmori Wa Kolo ("a marriageable age male of the Wa Kolo noro") from Selwadu and an mhuka Wagit ("maiden of the Gewagit noro") from Neat to the lake area at the same time. When they met they liked each other and subsequently they eptafe saro ("tied themselves together") with a promise to ask their elders to arrange things so that they could marry. The elders were all agreeable to the marriage, but because of the extreme distance between Selwadu and Neat (a 7 or 8 day walk) there were special things to consider.

The Wa Kolo elders from the groom's hum lolin walked seven days across the island from Selwadu to Neat to ask for the girl and their proposal was accepted by her geb emtuat ("parents/elders"). When the Wa Kolo elders were due to arrive in Neat the second time to begin the bridewealth negotiations, the girl's father's elder brother, a Gewagit living a day's walk from Neat, went to Neat to be involved in the negotiations of his "child's" marriage. He wanted to be at the negotiations to propose mhuka eptukar ("exchanged maidens") for several reasons. As a geb emtuat of his hum lolin in the Gewagit noro, he was responsible for several "sons" who would be needing wives and if they "exchanged maidens" it would provide a wife for one of them. This was of considerable importance to the Gewagits, but they phrased their proposal in terms of providing a way for the Wa Kolos, the girl's elders, to avoid the logistical problems of delivering large amounts of bridewealth from Selwadu to Neat. The Gewagits had already let it be known that they
would be asking for a bridewealth of around 200 items. To carry that from Selwadu to Neat would be an incredible burden and to charter an outboard to travel along the coast was impossible for no boat owner would travel that far, and such an undertaking would be far more expensive that the cost of the bridewealth itself. To alleviate this problem for the Wa Kolo then, the girl’s FeB suggested *mhuka eptukar* as only a few items of bridewealth would need to be carried from Selwadu.

Another argument in favor of *mhuka eptukar* advanced by the Gewagits was specifically in regard to the need for establishing symmetrical affinal ties between the Wae Kolos of Selwadu and the Gewagits of Neat. This was expressed by the girl’s FeB as:

*Kae ingin Bora di Buru Utara, ya ingin mhuka Selwadu di Buru Selatan.* (“You want Bora [the girl’s name] in north Buru, I want a Selwadu maiden in south Buru”).

After the arguments were presented, it was agreed by both the Wa Kolo elders and the Gewagit elders in the marriage negotiations, that *mhuka eptukar*, the exchange of maidens, should take place.¹

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¹Another dynamic that was going on in this proposal for *mhuka eptukar* was that the girl’s FeB was under the impression that the Protestant denomination to which his younger brother (the girl’s father) belonged prohibited sister exchange. He went to Neat expecting some resistance from his younger brother to the idea because of that. I do not know if that denomination actually does prohibit sister exchange, but I do know that he was successful in persuading not only his younger brother, but all the elders of both sides that *mhuka eptukar* was the most appropriate thing to do.
Negotiations following an elopement also frequently involve *eptukar*. If a man from one *noro heka tuha* ("runs off with") a woman from another, her family are expected to act (and often are genuinely) angry. Her fathers and brothers *cefal* ("do a war dance") in front of the boy's family's house and then tear it down (or at least partially tear it down), all the while demanding in loud voices the return of their daughter or sister. The boy's family cannot retaliate or stop the destruction of their house. They must accept it and are collectively at fault because of what their son did. The eloped couple usually runs off into the jungle or goes to visit sympathetic relatives in a distant village for a month or two until things settle down. When it becomes obvious to the girl's family that she was agreeable to it all, they accept the situation after several days of great commotion, and then immediately begin demanding bridewealth plus fines. If it appears the bridewealth and fines will not be forthcoming, the girl's *hum lolin* can demand a sister from the boy's *hum lolin* in exchange for the one they lost.

At that point there may be no male in the girl's natal *hum lolin* to marry the exchanged maiden given by the boy's *hum lolin* or the exchanged maiden may be a pre-adolescent girl. In either case, if no immediate marriage is to occur for the exchanged maiden, she is still taken by her future in-laws and raised until such time as the elders of the *hum lolin* decide when she is to become a a wife and which male of their *hum lolin* should marry her. It is considered a positive arrangement when a young girl is given as an exchanged maiden like this. She not only replaces the girl lost due to the elopement by her "brother", she can be trained to act as a proper daughter-in-law for her new *hum lolin*, which has gained a future wife for a son without the need for further marriage negotiations or the arranging of a large bridewealth payment.
Two cases of *mhuka eptukar* as the result of elopement are described briefly below. These cases again illustrate the centrality of symmetrical alliances in Buru society. When a woman, be it a sister or a wife as in the second case here, is "run off with", her *hum lolin* has the right to rectify the situation by demanding another girl in direct exchange.

**Loce Replaced Anci**

One of the first things I was ever told about Loce, the twenty-ish year-old second wife of an elder in the Gewagit *noro*, was that "Loce replaced Anci". Loce's "brother", a Gebhain from a village three days walk away, had *heka tuha* ("ran off with") Anci, a *mhuka Wagit* ("Gewagit maiden") and a "sister" of the elder. When the Gewagits went to demand Anci back, the Gebhains *epkere* ("stood forth") Loce instead to replace Anci. So the Gewagits took Loce back with them when she was around ten years old and later she became the elder's second wife.

**An Exchanged Maiden**

Tete Botit ("White Grandfather") was the oldest male in his *hum lolin* in the Gebhain *noro*. He and his family had migrated from a distant hamlet near the headwaters of the Wae Mala River into the Masarete area about 10 years ago. Some 25 years ago, Tete Botit's wife ran off with a Wae Temun man from a village in the Wae Kabo River area. Because a Wae Temun *heka tuha* ("ran off with") a woman who belonged to the Gebhain group, the Wae Temuns *epkere* ("stood forth") a girl who was about 8 years of age as an *mhuka eptukar* ("exchanged maiden"). She was brought by the Gebhains to their hamlet and raised by
Tete Botit's younger brother's wife until she was older. She then became the wife of Tete Botit's eldest son.

**Marriage Alliances and Place**

So far I have shown how marriage "connects" Buru *noro* and *hum lolin* in symmetrical alliances in which they repeatedly give and take wives from each other. In the context of the entire island, any one group will have symmetrical alliances with numerous other groups. Given the importance of origin places on Buru, it is not surprising that there is a high correlation between place and the frequency with which certain alliances occur. For example, in several villages in the Masarete area, it is common to find marriage alliances between the Gebhain *noro* and the Gewagit *noro*. Around the transition area between the Masarete and Wae Kabo regions, in the Gewagits own origin place, they have frequent marriage alliances with the Wae Temun *noro*. Further east into the Wae Kabo area Wae Temuns have frequent marriage alliances with the Wae Lua *noro*. This correlation between place and marriage alliances is openly acknowledged on Buru, so much so that places have come to be, at least in part, defined by the marriage alliances that occur there. A common way of explaining a distant unfamiliar place is to contextualise it as the place where two specific *noro* "marry each other".

Another example of the relationship between place and marriage alliances can be seen in the following table. Wae Katin and Wae Loo are two villages in the Masarete area of around 40 houses each (approximately 200 inhabitants each). Both these villages can be seen as predominately Gebhain villages. In 86% of the marriages in Wae Katin there is a Gebhain spouse and in Wae Loo there is a Gebhain spouse in 92% of the marriages.
This means that most people in these two villages are either affiliated with the Gebhain *noro* themselves, or have connections to the Gebhain group through their wife or mother. There are significant differences, however, between the frequency with which the Gebhains have contracted specific marriage alliances with other *noro* in these two villages which are only one day's walk apart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noro</th>
<th>Wae Katin</th>
<th>Wae Loo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gewagit</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mual</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masbait</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangwasit</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalbessy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wae Dupa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gebrihi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa Kolo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12: Number of marriages contracted between the Gebhain *noro* with other *noro* in the villages of Wae Katin and Wae Loo.

The best way to interpret this table of course is in reference to a map (see the following page). The village of Wae Loo is on the northern border of the Masarete area and has more than half of its marriages contracted with *noro* whose origin places are around Rana, the lake: the Nalbessy, Wae Dupa, Gebrihi, and Wa Kolo *noros*. The village associated with the Hangwasit *noro*, Unet (from a former village located at Ena Biloro), is located roughly equi-distant from both Wae Katin and Wae Loo. The village of Wae Katin is near the Mual *noro's* stream of origin, Wae Brapa, as well as being near Mngeswaen, a village associated with the Muals. The Masbait *noro* is associated with the village of Fakal. The Gewagit *noro's* origin place is around a village called Wang Karang Fatan. Between that village and Wae Brapa, there are several small Gewagit hamlets.
I have shown how marriage alliances on Buru are contracted on a symmetrical basis and that there is often a direct exchange of women between *hum lolin* in one transaction. In the following section I discuss marriage on Buru from a different perspective. Rather than considering the nature of the alliance in regards to the exchange of women between *noro*, I now consider the nature of marriage relationships in regard to ego-centered ties of kinship.

**The Relationship Between Marriage Partners**

I have already noted that the kinship terminology prescribes marriage between kin of the category *emdaa* (MBD (m.s.)/FZS (f.s.)). Marriage between two *emdaa* is not only prescribed; in the actual contraction of marriages it frequently occurs. High value is placed on *emdaa* marriages and their
importance is expressed as *la hubungang bara delak* ("so that the connection [between the two *noro*] is not broken/separated").

Following the classificatory nature of Buru kin terms, a man's *emdaa* is any female in the entire *hum lolin* of his MB whom his MB calls "daughter". So when a man marries his *emdaa* he is marrying someone of his *mara*, his mother's brother's *noro*, and even more specifically, someone from his mother's brother's own *hum lolin*. If a man does not marry his *emdaa*, however, the next best thing is to still marry someone from his *mara*, his mother's brother's *noro*, but from a different *hum lolin*. When a man marries someone from his *mara*, whether his actual *emdaa* or a girl from a different *hum lolin*, it is considered to be an arrangement which restores life to its proper order and brings things to completion. This marriage relationship is also seen as the foundation for the most stable marriages in society, and the relationship that will provide the potential for producing the best offspring.²

Given the nature of symmetrical marriage exchanges on Buru, it is common for a bride actually to return to the *noro* and *hum lolin* that her mother, mother's mother, or mother's mother's mother left, thus completing what Levi-Strauss (1969) calls a "cycle of reciprocity" in one, two, or three generations. To "return" a bride must marry her matrilateral cross cousin (MBS), rather than her *emdaa* (FZS). Levi-Strauss has pointed out the structural differences of MBD marriage versus FZD marriage. MBD marriage is based on indirect exchange, while FZD marriage is discontinuous in the sense that it "closes the cycle of reciprocity and prevents it from being extended to the whole group" (p. 448) and actually produces a multitude of small closed cycles of exchange (p.445).

²From a male perspective, when there are high stakes on the need to produce children it is very important to return to one's *mara* to find a wife, as in the cases where men take second wives when their first wives are barren.
Marriage on Buru is based on the direct (and sometimes simultaneous to be classified as *mhuka eptukar*) exchange of women between *hum lolin*. There is however, a preference expressed for individual marriages with MBD although FZD marriage is not prohibited and it is recognised that with *mhuka eptukar* and other cases FZD marriage can occur. It has been noted before that sisters frequently marry into different *noro*. The following diagram illustrates a real life situation concerning the marriages of three women who are sisters, were *mhuka Gebhain* ("Gebhain maidens"). The first daughter returned to (married into) the Wae Temun *noro* which her MMM had left upon marriage. The second daughter returned to the Mual *noro* which her MM had left. The third daughter returned to the Gewagit *noro* which her mother had left.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 13: Marriages of three daughters closing three "cycles of reciprocity".

While many marriages do involve a bride returning full circle to the *noro* and *hum lolin* that one of her matrilateral relatives left as in the case of these sisters, not every marriage closes a full cycle. But whether a marriage closes a cycle or not is not differentiated in the use of the
metaphor *oli* ("return"). Upon marriage all brides are said to *oli* ("return") to the *noro* of their husband.

**The Marriage Process**

Before considering specific phases in the process of becoming married, it is important to stress that Buru marriage is not an event involving only a man and a woman, but is a transaction between two *hum lolin*. Furthermore, what is required for a man and woman to be considered fully married to each other does not occur in a single event, nor on a single day. Time involved in the process of becoming married varies greatly from marriage to marriage and time serves as little indication of progression in the marriage process. There is, however, a definite beginning to the process and a definite end to the process as well as major landmarks along the way at which progress in the marrying process can be plotted. There is first the establishment of a marriage contract whereby the groom's elders *enika anafina* ("request the bride"); then the negotiation of bridewealth by elders of the two *hum lolin* involved; the exchange of bridewealth presentations after which both parties are involved in *epsuba anafina* ("exiting the bride") from her parent's home; and a final return by the couple to visit the bride's parents. People frequently refer to the progression of a particular marriage in terms of these phases, as in *du enika haik buu du kori-sanat mahede* ("They have already requested [the bride], but the elders have not yet negotiated [the bridewealth]”). Because it is a process which occurs over time, I refer to the sequence of these events as the "marriage process".  

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3 Modern ideas about a civil wedding performed by the *camat* with the resulting "official" letter of marriage and church service have, in a very few cases, been added to the marriage process, but have not replaced any of its essential stages. If the bride actually lives near one of the three *camat* offices on the island, a civil ceremony may be done at the time she exits her parents' home, but frequently the long walk (and the
Enika Anafina: "Requesting the Bride"

*Enika anafina* ("requesting the bride") is the first step in the marriage process and establishes a marriage contract between two *hum lolin* in regards to the specific couple. In previous times a girl could be requested in marriage at any point in her life: when she was a young child, an infant, or even before she was born, contingent on the fact that the child to be born was a girl. She was not only requested when she was very young, but the marriage process continued. The bridewealth was presented and the child taken to be raised by her in-laws soon after being weaned. The early arrangement of marriages has been reported in the literature on Buru by several different observers, including Forbes (1885:404) who commented about Buru marriage after a visit there in 1882:

> Marriage among them, as far as I could learn, was the simple purchase of a woman for a large sum in all manner of trade article, and is celebrated by a feast. Very often she is purchased when yet a child, and is reared in the house of her master and husband, who may have as many wives as he can afford.

Today marriages arranged at a very early age or before birth are still remembered as something that used to be done, but now many people consider asking for a girl at a very young age to be a "forced" marriage and, they add, those marriages often do not work out well. It is "prohibited" by the Letter of Declaration from the *rajas* of south Buru (see Appendix).

While marriages are actually contracted between two *hum lolin* ("circle of houses"), the smallest social segment of a *noro*, in the discourse...
of marriage negotiations the two parties are never referred to by their human names, but by the names of the noro to which they each belong. The two negotiating parties are the geb emtuat ("elders") of the bride and groom. It was mentioned earlier that if a boy is not marrying his emdaa (MBD), his mem-lahin (MB) usually is included amongst his geb emtuat and accompanies them in the negotiations, particularly when requesting the bride, as he must fuka tohon ("open the way") for his ana-newet (ZS) to marry someone other than an emdaa.

When the groom's geb emtuat come to request a bride, they bring a machete, spear, betelnut and lime as gifts. If the girl's geb emtuat accept their proposal, the machete is presented to them and then used to open the betelnut. This machete is called a todo ka faka fua ("a machete which habitually splits betelnut") and is then hung in the girl's parent's house as evidence that a marriage contract has already been established and that she has been asked for already should anyone else come to do so. If the girl is still young, or if the groom's party takes a long time to collect the bridewealth, the machete can hang for years in her parents' house.

Today it is seen by many people on Buru that the girl be given an opportunity to agree to the marriage. Some people who have been educated in the Indonesian school system now submit a letter from the groom's geb emtuat to the bride's geb emtuat after an initial visit to her house and a conditional agreement from her geb emtuat. At a second visit the girl is given the opportunity to accept or refuse the letter when it is personally presented to her by the prospective groom in the presence of their parents and other elders (see photo on title page). In these cases, the letter, rather than a machete, is seen as evidence of the beginning of the marriage contract. This is called enika tu surat ("asking with a letter") in contrast to enika tu todo ("asking with a machete"). At least one symbol,
either the machete or letter, is necessary to legitimate and provide evidence of the marriage contract established between the two *hum lolin*. Without the procedure of *enika anafina* ("requesting a girl") and the resulting evidence of a machete or letter, a marriage cannot be considered *syah* (Indonesian - "legal") from a Buru point of view. After the machete or letter has been accepted, the girl's family often responds in hospitality by killing and cooking a *fafu ehe* ("yes pig").

*Kori-sanat: The Elders Negotiate*

The next stage in the marriage process is the gathering of the elders to *enaba filin* ("declare the price"), that is, to agree on the bridewealth. The elders who come together for these marriage negotiations are referred to by the specific term *kori-sanat*. The *kori* is the *geb emtuat* of the bride's family and the *sanat* is the *geb emtuat* of the groom's family. The *kori-sanat* can meet almost immediately after the initial request has been made for the girl or they may not meet until several years later, depending on the circumstances of the particular marriage.

The discussion by the *kori-sanat* is described as one where both parties obligatorily *li haat* ("speak in a loud voice") with the expectation that the other party will be hard to please. Each side is very animated in making their demands and refusing the other's. Eventually a compromise is reached and the bridewealth agreed on. The *enabat* ("declaration") of

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5 *Filin*, which literally means "price", is the Buru term for the goods which are given to the bride's family by the groom's family. The Ambonese Malay term *harta* and sometimes *kupang* are used as well. While the bride's family reciprocates with other items ("counter-prestations"), the terms *filin*, *harta*, and *kupang* are used on Buru to refer only to the goods from the groom's family. I therefore translate *filin*, in this context as bridewealth, rather than using a more generic term such as marriage prestations which implies the items exchanged by both parties.
bridewealth is traditionally expressed in terms of the number of items given: 150 to 200 items are normal, although as many as 500 items may be given with an amount of money specified in addition. Besides deciding on the total number of items for the bridewealth, expressed in terms such as *filin utun telo* ("a price of 300"), the *kori-sanat* agrees on the number of specific items. As they say on Buru, the *kori-sanat* decides "how many machetes, how many spears, how many woks, how many bolts of white cloth, how many antique bowls, how many regular eating plates, how many gongs and so on". Each machete, spear, wok, bolt of cloth, etc. counts as one item. In addition, tape recorders, pellet rifles, radios, and treadle sewing machines can be asked for and are counted as one item. A sum of money may also be requested on top of the numbered items (Rp. 100,000 or more).

In the context of marriage negotiations everyone acknowledges that *geb emtuat anafina gao katuen maen* ("The bride's elders hold the machete handle") and can request things without reservation. The "superiority" of the *kori* ("bride's elders") over the *sanat* ("groom's elders") is consistent with the status of wife-givers and wife-takers in many Southeast Asian societies, but on Buru this affinal status is relative only to the specific marriage at hand. Given the nature of symmetrical marriage alliances, for a particular marriage the *hum lolin* of one *noro* will be *kori* in relation to the *hum lolin* of another *noro*, but in the near future, in another marriage, they could stand in exactly the opposite relationship to each other. Or, it may even be the case that the *kori-sanat* agrees on sister-exchange, making both parties simultaneously *kori* and *sanat* to each other. Whatever the case may be, no two *hum lolin* or *noro* ever stand in relations of permanent asymmetric affinal status to each other.

Complaints about excessive bridewealth are frequently verbalised on Buru. The *sanat* (groom's elders) always attempts to negotiate for less, but
recognise that they do not "hold the machete handle". In the 1969 "Letter of Decision" put out by the rajas of south Buru (see Appendix) a clarification was made as to what bridewealth should be for Moslems and what it should be for Christians, which, it was added, the "Hindu" population should also be taught to follow. It was stated that a clarification on bridewealth was needed because some traditional bridewealth items such as gongs could no longer be purchased and were very difficult to obtain. In addition, the requests made for bridewealth were often felt to be exhorbitant, frequently causing problems and the need for outside arbitration by village and noro leaders.

The bridewealth specified for the Moslem population was one bolt of cloth and money. For the Christian population of South Buru bridewealth was declared to be:

- one bolt of white cloth
- one large wok
- one knife
- one dozen serving bowls
- one "heart buying" pig
- Rp. 25,000

As has been noted before, very few villages actually follow the Keputusan Latupatti. People recognise that it is "much easier" to get a bride in a village where this is followed, but on most of Buru, brides'...
families still "hold the machete handle" and continue to ask for bridewealth of 200, 300, or 400 items for their daughters and sisters.

Either at the meeting of the *kori-sanat* or at a later date the *sanat* (groom's elders) will *edobon waktu* ("set the time/date") for when they will return with the bridewealth. They usually specify a season or year, depending on the amount of time they need to gather the bridewealth, and occasionally on the age of the bride and what has been negotiated with her parents about when she will leave home. It is the responsibility of the entire *hum lolin* to assist the groom in collecting the bridewealth and usually he is unable to do it without their assistance. The cooperation of a groom's "fathers" and elder and younger brothers is therefore essential and to some extent places the groom at the mercy of his family. They of course recognise this and intra-*hum lolin* tensions can be played out among brothers by not assisting the groom with the bridewealth, or not assisting him as quickly as he would like.

*Epsuba Anafina: "Exiting the Bride"

So days, weeks, months, or years may pass after the *kori-sanat* first meets to settle the bridewealth and when the groom's family delivers the bridewealth to the bride's family and she returns home with them. It is very common for two years to be needed to collect the 200, 300, or however many items, and when it is finally gathered, the groom's family carries it to the bride's house, beating drums as they arrive. This may be only across one village, or it may be three days walk across the mountains to another village. Upon their arrival, all the bridewealth is laid out in the front room of the bride's family's house.
When they receive the bridewealth, the bride's family divides it into two parts with an equal number of items in each part. The first half, called *berhadat*, goes to the birth parents of the bride (or to those who raised her in case of an orphan) to *sili nun emloo* ("pay for their sweat/tiredness") in raising her. The *berhadat* part of the bridewealth is also called *harta pei* ("pain bridewealth"). The second half of the bridewealth is called *jiwa filin* ("soul price") and is divided among the bride's *geb emtuato* in her *hum lolin*. Upon delivery of a bridewealth of 300 items, for example, it would be divided by the bride's family into 150 items of *berhadat* for the birth parents and 150 items of *jiwa filin* for the *hum lolin* elders.

The bride's family is then obligated to reciprocate with gifts of pork, chicken, rice, sago, salt, sugar and clothes to the groom's family. The amount of reciprocated items *hai nak harta* ("goes according to the bridewealth") very strictly. A big pig, for example, would be reckoned as adequate reciprocation for one bolt of white cloth and four woks; a normal size pig equivalent to a dozen plates. The pig that is given specifically as part of the reciprocation for the *harta pei* ("pain bridewealth") is called the *fafu ka dora pei* ("pig which habitually reciprocates for the pain").

The next day (or several days later if the groom's party has walked a long distance) the groom's party leaves the bride's house with the bride, again accompanied by beating drums. The entire party walks to the groom's

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7 There are a variety of other synonyms for *jiwa filin*, some reflecting Ambonese influence. It is also called *harta fana* ("village bridewealth") and *harta pamarinta* ("government bridewealth") because it goes to the elders of the *hum lolin*. Other terms are *harta negri* (Ambonese Malay - "village bridewealth"). *harta makan minung* (Ambonese Malay - "eating and drinking bridewealth") and *harta ongkos* (Ambonese Malay - "cost bridewealth"). In Ambon a bridewealth payment is given to the village when a girl marries out of her native village (Cooley 1961). People equate that bridewealth payment with what is given to the *hum lolin* elders on Buru.
house, including the bride's brothers who carry her *ii mhuka* ("maiden [household] things"). These items are for use in her new home as it is felt that *anafina te suba tu fahan fuun moo* ("a bride should not exit with empty hands"). So she brings to her new home her own fire grate, firewood, sago, rice, chickens, cooking pots, drinking glasses, plates, spoons, brooms, pillows, curtains and other household items. These *ii mhuka* items were collected by the bride before leaving her parent's home. She *ik tangi* ("went crying") to all her relatives in the days before she left, saying she was about to leave her natal family. Her relatives then give her some household items for her new home as well as advise on how to act as a wife.

On the day when the groom's family "exit the bride", her brothers carry these things on their shoulders to the groom's house. Upon arrival her brothers will not put them down until the groom's family agrees to *sili* ("pay in return/reciprocate") every item with either money or other things. The groom's family is in a position that they must agree to whatever the bride's brothers demand for the *ii mhuka*. Only after they agree to reciprocate do the bride's brothers put the items down.

I was told that a bride needs these things because she will be too *emgea* ("shy/embarrassed") to use her mother-in-law's things or to ask her husband for money to buy food right after they have been married. It is very important that she be able to cook for her parents-in-law without being embarrassed. One man described the numerous items of *ii mhuka* his wife brought with her, how his family had to reciprocate for them all, and then concluded:

*Rine koi emhewake nak pala emhewake, da masak tu nak priut*

emhewake la tuke pa ya nang ama tu nang ina kaa.
"By herself she scooped her own rice, by herself she cooked it in her own cooking pot and gave it to my father and my mother to eat."

Several other rituals take place when the bridal procession enters the groom's house which will be discussed later in the next chapter as they pertain to the transfer of the bride's affiliation to her husband's noro. After they are over, the first responsibility the bride has in her new home is to pefua nak geb emtuato ("serve betelnut to the parents and elders") and serve them tea and cakes all of which she has brought with her from her parents home.

That evening and possibly for several evenings du puna ramen ("they make festivities") which includes epkiki ("traditional dancing"), inga fuka (singing of traditional songs with drums) and joget, considered modern dancing with music supplied by a tape recorder. For the festivities, both parties contribute food, with the bride's family killing a fafu ramen ("festivities pig").

The Final "Grass Bending" Exchange

After the marriage festivities are over and life has returned to normal for a while, the bride and groom hama sakik ("seek again") ten or so items to take back to the bride's parents. These items are called ii ka pyolik pifit and the bride's family then kills the final pig to give to the groom's family called the fafu ka pyolik pifit. These mean "the things which allow the grass to regularly bend in the opposite direction" and "the pig which allows the grass to regularly bend in the opposite direction". The metaphor of grass refers to long waist high grass growing on the side of trails which bends in the direction people have walked. When people
return on the same trail, the grass bends in the opposite direction. The grass on the trail between the two houses should regularly bend both ways now: the bride and her family are free to visit each other. With this final "grass bending" exchange, the marriage process is complete.
CHAPTER SIX
AFFILIATION

This chapter addresses the issue of noro membership. In the first section I discuss how affiliation is determined for new children born into Buru society. Cultural ideas about affiliation are invoked not only at the birth of a child, but also when individuals transfer their affiliation to another noro. In the second half of this chapter I discuss the different social occasions when this occurs.

Determining Affiliation at Birth

I mentioned earlier that when asked what noro children belong to at birth, people on Buru unanimously affirm that children are affiliated with their father's noro. That children somehow "belong" to their father has also been frequently noted in the literature on Buru (Wilken 1875:3; Forbes 1885:404; Schut 1921:615). The following case is a brief description of typical child-father links in a noro:

Typical Affiliation of Children on Buru

The Gebhaa (literally "big man", a term for a noro leader) of the Gebhain noro in the southern Masarete area is the son of a Gebhain father. The Gebhaa married his emdaa (MBD), a mhuka Wagit ("Gewagit maiden") and they have had ten children, although the eldest three have died in childhood. All of their children, both males and females, were at birth
affiliated with the Gebhain noro like their father and father's father before him.

Typical as this case may be, there are numerous cases where children are not affiliated with their father's noro. The following cases illustrate other common scenarios in regards to the affiliation of children on Buru.

When a Mother's Brother is not a Mother's Brother

A man of the Masbait noro and his wife, married over seven years, were childless. Over the past five years the man's two unmarried sisters both became pregnant before any elders of another noro came to ask for them in marriage. The elder sister's child was a girl and the second sister's child was a boy. Both children became affiliated with the noro and hum lolin of their mother's brother who is their ama (F). The two children remained with their mother's brother and his wife after they were weaned and their mothers eventually married and moved to their own husbands' houses.

This case highlights how Buru kin terms must obligatorily and primarily reflect affiliation. Because this man and his sisters' children belong to the same noro and hum lolin, he is their ama (F), not their mem-lahin (MB). They are his anat (C), not his ana-newet ("living child" ZC). Correspondingly, his wife is their ina (M), not their wate lahin (MBW). Should he and his wife ever have any children of their own, they would be considered lineal siblings (wai "younger siblings") of the two sister's children, and not their mother's brother's children.

On Buru there are several terms for children such as these who are affiliated with their mother's natal noro. One term is an tunin which
means "child of origin". An *an tunin* is "original" to his *noro* because he did not come from a mother with origins in another *noro*. The metaphor *ana fua-tabako* ("betelnut and tobacco child") is also used for these children and the analogy made that, like betelnut and tobacco which are offered to all guests and not to one specific person, these children are born without any specific father. Two other terms are borrowed from Ambonese Malay: *anak bujang* ("child of an unmarried person") and *anak berkat* ("child of blessing").

The following case is very similar to the previous one in that the child here also became affiliated with his mother's natal *noro*. In this case though, shortly before the birth of the child, elders from several other *noro* made almost frantic attempts to establish a marriage contract and thereby gain the right to the affiliation of the child.

**When No Machete Hangs in the House**

*A mhuka Temun* ("maiden of the Wae Temun noro"), and her siblings were orphans. Because of extenuating circumstances they lived outside the general Wae Temun area with their *memlahin* (MB) and their *opo lahin* ("source grandparent" -- MM) who belonged to the Gewagit *noro*. Several years ago a man of the Gebhain *noro* from a different village had moved in with the girl as a lover/provisional husband. Gebhain elders were

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1 This phrase is translated into Ambonese Malay as *anak asli*.
2 From Valeri's description (1980) it appears that very similar dynamics also occur in Huaulu society on Seram in regards to affiliation. There Valeri notes that "paternal affiliation is associated with high status and maternal affiliation with low status" (p.184). It is not clear how this high or low status is evidenced in Huaulu society, but on Buru there does not appear to be any "status" differentiation made between *an tuni* who are original to their *noro*, and children who are affiliated with their father's *noro* and through their mother have origins in a different *noro*. There is a social recognition of the differences in origin of these two "kinds" of children, but not a differentiation in status or inheritance. There is no low status or social disapproval associated with an *an tunin* on Buru, and the term *anak berkat* is an apt description of how people perceive these children: a blessing.
not involved in this arrangement, nor was there any agreement on the part of the Wae Temun elders. There had been only a verbal agreement between the Gebhain man and the girl's mem-lahin. After several months the relationship did not work out; the Gebhain man left and eventually married someone else from another village.

About two years later this same girl was at the center of a great debate between members of the different noro in the village where she lived with her MB. She was pregnant and claimed that she and a young man from the Mual noro had eptafe saro ("tied themselves together") by holding hands over a Bible and swearing that they would arrange things so their elders would agree for them to marry each other. Now he refused to acknowledge his paternity or the fact that they had "tied themselves together" with a promise of marriage. There was considerable pressure put on him by various elders to marry her, but he refused and eventually ran off to stay with relatives in a village several days walk further into the mountains.

Then Gebhain elders in the village entered the debate and claimed that the rights to the unborn child belonged to them. This, so they argued, was because the earlier "husband" had been a Gebhain and therefore they had the rights to any children. This argument was immediately rejected by the elders of the other noro, because there had never been any official marriage agreement -- or the intent of one -- made between the Gebhain and the Wae Temun elders in regards to this
couple. The Gebhain noro, it was declared, had no legitimate claim to the child at all.

In the end, because the Gebhain elders could not substantiate the existence of a legitimate marriage agreement with the Wae Temuns, and because the Mual elders could not initiate one, it was unanimously agreed that the Wae Temuns still held the rights to the unborn child and that the child would be a Wae Temun when it was born. This was because there was no machete hanging in the house.

This case brings up another important point regarding affiliation on Buru: affiliation has nothing to do with biological paternity. Regardless of whom the biological father of the child might have been, had any other noro been able to provide evidence of a legitimate marriage agreement with the Wae Temuns, they would have had the right to claim the affiliation of the child. The fact that biological paternity is a non-criteria in determining affiliation is also seen in regards to widows. Any children born to a widow regardless of how long after her husband's death (provided she has not remarried), belong to the noro and hum lolin of her dead husband, for they still hold the affiliation rights to her children.

Affiliation at birth is thus determined by which noro and hum lolin has the "rights" to the children of a woman's womb. This cultural idea is expressed as hak anat ("child right"). The rights to a woman's children are transferred in the marriage process from her brother's noro to her husband's noro. One responsibility of elders on Buru which is frequently carried out with great commotion and li haat ("loud voice") is protecting their rights of affiliation. A village row over affiliation is taken up with much enthusiasm, particularly in cases like the one described above where
the status of a marriage agreement was initially ambiguous. The definiteness of the cultural rules regarding affiliation at birth are evident by the unanimous conclusion which eventually was reached regarding the rights of the Wae Temuns to the affiliation of the child. The rules are even more evident in that there were no Wae Temun elders present in the village to demand and protect their rights. But, the absence of a machete or letter as evidence of a marriage agreement meant that there had been no transfer of *hak anat* to any other *noro*.

The following case illustrates the relationship between temporality in the marriage process and the affiliation of children. In this case a Mual man stalled the marriage process to gain the affiliation of his daughter's child in his hopes for a "son". This story is a translation of an actual text told by the man's son-in-law.

**Refusing the Bridewealth to Gain a Child**

"I'm going to tell you about the time when An and I were married. We both liked each other but my mother didn't agree that we should get married, and my father, well, he thought it would be all right, but he didn't agree to it wholeheartedly. So we were lovers for a long time. It wasn't long though, and An became pregnant. When she became pregnant her mother and father didn't want us to get married because her father had no sons and hoped that An would bear a son for him to help him, because he had many cash crop [coconut, clove and nutmeg] trees, but no sons.

"Well, my heart kept sticking to An. I tried to find a way to elope with An but she refused. She insisted that my
parents go to her parents and ask for her properly. I was afraid but I knew that whether I wanted to or not, I had to tell my father and mother that An was pregnant ....

"And so, want to or not my father was forced to have a meeting with the elders of the Mual noro. But he didn't go to that meeting. He had Elder Brother DokasTama go and open the way along with Elder Brother AnaTama. So they opened the way, they talked back and forth, they discussed matters skillfully, and they talked about deciding whether the two of us should marry or not. He asked me and I said it was up to what the elders decided. Eventually they chose the path that we should marry.

"My parents had already gathered the bridewealth for the marriage. But my father-in-law and my mother-in-law refused the bridewealth because they wanted the child; they wanted a male child. Then An gave birth; the child was born. It was Meri. When my father-in-law and mother-in-law saw it was a girl, they weren't very happy. They wanted a boy.

"So my father and my mother and my relatives gathered and they wanted to be able to deliver the bridewealth. So they discussed the matter for a full day. Eventually my father-in-law and my mother-in-law and relatives decided to accept the bridewealth."

The significant thing that occurred here was that the bride's father, having no heir and needing a son, "refused the bridewealth to gain a child". Temporarily refusing the bridewealth effectively stalled the marriage process and meant that the hak anat had not yet been
transferred to his son-in-law's *noro*. The affiliation of the child was therefore negotiable by the *kori-sanat* and An's father was certain he could convince them to give him the child (which they did). So, by refusing the bridewealth he gained a child.

Besides being the negotiators of the bridewealth during the marriage process, should the situation arise the *kori-sanat* also negotiates other things pertaining to the specific marriage. Frequently the *kori-sanat* agrees to allow the groom to *eptea ba uta* ("habitually sit at his affine's house") in uxorilocal residence during the interim period of the marriage process. The groom lives with his wife's family until the bridewealth is collected and his family comes to *ego* ("get") him at the same time they *epsuba* ("exit") the bride. Because a man can *eptea ba uta* for several years before the marriage process is completed, when he finally leaves his father-in-law's house with his bride, they may already have several children. The *kori-sanat* is responsible for negotiating the affiliation of children born during this interim period.

Frequently the *kori-sanat* is needed to decide on the affiliation of children born during the interim period not because the bride's father refuses to accept the bridewealth, but because of difficulties the groom's family has with collecting the bridewealth. In lieu of the *berhadat* part of the bridewealth the *kori-sanat* can decide that one or two children should be given to the bride's family. This is the part of the bridewealth that "pays for their sweat". So rather than bridewealth reciprocating for the bride's parents' sweat, children may be given instead. These children are also considered *an tunin* ("children of origin") in the *noro* of their mother's father and mother's brother because they came from a mother "original" to that *noro*. Sometimes it is decided early on by the *kori-sanat* that a child will be given in
lieu of the _berhadat_ particularly if the groom's family is not well off. Most frequently, however, it happens after a man has been living uxorilocally for several years and several children have been born and the bridewealth is still not forthcoming. Then the _kori_ (bride's elders) begin to demand the affiliation of one or more of the children. In typical Buru style negotiation, the _sanat_ gives counter offers and tries to arrange for the affiliation of as many children as possible to their own _noro_. In the end, though, the _kori-sanat_ must come to a consensus in their negotiations over the affiliation of the children, recognising that some children may be given in lieu of bridewealth. The number of children given is always negotiable.

To summarise, the affiliation of children is directly connected to the marriage process and specifically to the stage in the marriage process at the time of the child's birth. Children born before the marriage process has been initiated (before they _enika anafina_ "request the bride") are "original children" and belong to the _noro_ of their mother's brother. The _kori-sanat_ agrees upon the affiliation of any children born in the interim period of the marriage process. Children born after the marriage process is completed belong to the _noro_ and _hum lolin_ into which their mother has married. When a woman _leli nak leit_ ("exchanges her affiliation") in a ritual which will be discussed below, the affiliation rights of her children are transferred to the _noro_ and _hum lolin_ of her husband. Most children, like the Gebhaa's children described above, are born after their mother is "completely" married and are thus affiliated with her new _noro_. The temporality of the marriage process and the affiliation of a woman's children coincide in the following way:
Affiliation of children to noro & hum lolin of a woman's brother | Affiliation of children negotiated by kori-sanat | Affiliation of children to noro & hum lolin of a woman's husband

| Enike | Leli nak |
| anafina | leit |
| "Requesting the Bride" | "She exchanges her affiliation" |
| Initiation of process | Completion of process |

Figure 14: The affiliation of a woman's children in relation to temporality in the marriage process.

Transferring the Affiliation of Individuals

I now describe the social occasions where the affiliation of individuals is transferred to a different noro. Individuals in these situations are said to rogo ("enter") a different noro. While their original affiliation is never forgotten, when these individuals change affiliation they become full members of their new noro. They take on not only the name of their new noro, but they gain the origin structure of that noro as their personal origin structure including the ancestors of their new noro through whom they have access to spiritual power.

Marriage

Remembering how marriage is expressed on Buru in terms of the metaphor of oli ("return"), I now discuss the specific rituals of marriage which concern the bride's affiliation. The climax of the marriage process, the point at which the marriage requirements are considered to be complete according to adat, occurs when the bride leli nak leit ("exchanges her
affiliation"). This occurs after the bridewealth has been delivered, and after the bride has left her parents' home in procession. Upon arrival at the groom's house, before the bride enters the door of the house, an elder of the groom's *hum lolin* pronounces the exchange of the bride's *leit* as in the following example of a Gewagit maiden marrying a Gebhain man.

_Yako fene mhuka Wagit naa, kami leli mhuka Wagit naa la da oli saki gam di fena Gebhain tu umur eslamate._

"I say about this Wagit maiden, we exchange this Wagit maiden so that she returns again to the Gebhain group with a long life."

After this has been said everyone gathered at the door *du hulun lalen telo fen adat sah* ("they give three cheers that adat is fulfilled/legal"). The bride then crosses the threshold of the door of the groom's house where a sister of the groom *temu kadan* ("washes her feet") by slowly pouring water from a *pir dolo* ("antique bowl") to symbolize that *anafin fehut pehek subu* ("a new woman steps across the doorway") who now belongs to her husband's *noro* and *hum lolin*. The bride takes a ring off her finger and places it in the bowl as a gift to her husband's sister and then *rogo* ("enters") the house, as well as the *noro* and *hum lolin* of her husband.

This ceremony is, from a Buru perspective, the climax of the marriage process: the bride has returned. In exchanging her affiliation, the rights of her children are transferred to her husband's *noro* and in stepping across the door, she has entered as a new woman. The "grass-bending exchange" in which the bride and groom later return to the bride's parents home is a necessary final exchange in the process of marriage, but occurs after the climax of exchanging the bride's affiliation.
Adoption

On Burn it is not uncommon to find children living in a household and being raised by those other than their biological parents. Schooling is one scenario where this frequently occurs as children from villages without schools are sent to live with relatives of their mother or father while they attend school. These children are obligated to work for their relatives, but there is no change of their affiliation as it is at most a temporary arrangement, although it is one that indebts the child to his relatives for caring for him. These children are referred to as *ana-ndefut* ("child who stays").

There are other scenarios where children are raised by those other than their biological parents and where there is still no transfer of the child's affiliation. A brother may give his childless brother a child to raise, but as they belong to the same *hum lolin*, there is no need to change the affiliation of the child. Similarly orphans are raised by relatives, primarily by their father's brothers or someone else of their *hum lolin*. A *mem-lahin* (MB) can also raise his orphaned sister's children in extenuating circumstances, but they remain affiliated with their own *noro* and do not change affiliation even if they have no relatives in their own *hum lolin* to care for them. *An tunin* ("children of origin") are another example as they are often raised by their mother's brother and his wife who are their social *ama* (F) and *ina* (M), but not their biological father and mother. There is a smaller number of children raised by non-biological parents where an actual transfer of the child's affiliation occurs. Like a

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3This is equated to the Ambonese Malay term *anak piara*, a child who is being raised or cared for long term by someone other than his biological parents.
bride, such a child is said to rogo ("enter") a new noro and children are specifically called an rogot ("child who enters").

On Buru infant mortality is high and when a woman's children repeatedly die in infancy or early childhood they are considered to have noron boho ("bad fate/ancestry") and their mother is called an anafin ban mata ("woman who gives birth which results in death"). A cultural solution to prevent "birth which results in death" is to change the fate/ancestry of a new baby by transferring its affiliation to another noro and thereby giving it new ancestors and, hopefully, noron gosat ("good fate/ancestry"). It is necessary to trick the ancestors about the affiliation of the baby so when this course of action is deemed necessary a mother takes her newborn to the edge of the village where the rubbish and grass is thrown out. She leaves the baby there until someone from a different noro comes to repu ("retrieve") the child according to arrangements which have been made ahead of time. From then on the child is affiliated with the new noro of its adoptive parents. The biological mother will continue to nurse the baby and care for it but eventually the child will live in the house of its adopted parents. This child, in addition to being referred to as an an rogot, is called an an repun ("retrieved child") and frequently given the nickname of Wedu which means "place of thrown out grass" because it was picked up at the place where grass and rubbish are thrown out. Adults who have noron boho in some situations can also rogo ("enter") a new noro to gain new fate/ancestry.

4 To ban mata ("give birth with results in death") or to ebana boho ("give bad birth") refers not only to miscarriage and stillbirth, but neonatal death as well as death in later infancy and early childhood.
Paying For Blood

Besides marriage and adoption for reasons of bad fate, there is another scenario in which a person can change affiliation on Buru: to replace the life of someone in another noro who was killed. When death occurs by human hand whether it was intentional or not is irrelevant. Such an event immediately precipitates intense hostility and creates a crisis for all members of the two noro involved, regardless of repeated marriage alliances between the two groups. Kalungan ("revenge killing") is expected. The noro of the victim has an obligation to reciprocate for the life they lost. People in the noro of the killer immediately abandon their homes and gardens and flee to the jungle to hide because they are possible targets for kalungan.

If the noro of the victim decides to opt for peace rather than revenge, they can request the offending noro to offer a living soul -- usually a child -- to gati ("replace") the life they lost. Giving a soul to the other noro is said to sili rahan la puna damen ("pay for blood to make peace"). The term used to refer to such a child is again an rogot ("a child who enters"). In this case, he is entering a noro to "pay for blood".

When the person given to gati geba ("replace the person") is a girl, the possibility that she may change affiliation again when she marries is recognised. If the child is a boy an additional ritual is performed to assure that he does not oli ("return") to his original noro. A fat-aa (monument of piled rocks) is built and then a pigan ("antique plate") is broken in two at the fat-aa and a vine is sliced in two. The plate and the vine can never be put together again and neither can the boy or any of his male descendants ever oli ("return") to their original noro. In addition, a plant called mokin is planted at the fat-aa and when its leaves
grow big and thick it serves as a further reminder that the boy has changed affiliation permanently, because, as it is quickly pointed out, the mokin plant never dies, not even in times of drought. Should the boy, or any of his descendants, ever consider returning to their original noro, a person has only to remind them of the fat-aa. If they insist upon returning to the original noro, picking one of the mokin leaves will cause them to die.

The following cases describe the events surrounding two different situations in which a child was given to another noro to sili rahan ("pay for blood"). In the first case, a Mual boy was given to replace a Wae Temun man who was killed accidently by a Mual friend. It is narrated here from the perspective of a Wae Temun man, explaining the affiliation of Ayatama, a descendant of the child given in exchange. As the narration explains, this story is known all over Buru.

A "Living Child" to Replace a Dead Son

I'm going to tell you about Ayatama. I'll start from the root [lahin - beginning, source] of the story. Ayatama belongs to the Wae Temun noro, and to this day, if he were to return to the Mual noro, the three ancestresses and the three ancestors of the Wae Temun noro would forbid it. Because, a long time ago, our grandfather, Manitangtama, his eldest son, Manitang, went with a Mual man to pick some sugarcane in a field. On their way home they went up a very steep trail. The Mual was in front carrying a stalk of sugarcane at the base [lahin] along with his spear over his left shoulder. He did not hold the sugar cane and spear very tightly, they slipped backwards, the spear pierced Manitang's throat and he died.
The Mual man left the area and fled several days walk into the main Mual territory in Masarete. Then my grandfather, Manitangtama, sat down to decide whether or not to have a Mual speared in revenge for his son's death. But instead he sent a message to the Matgugul Mual [head of the Mual noro] down in Mngeswaen, saying,

"Because some of our Wae Temun ana-newet ("living children" - ZC) are among you Muals, give one of my living children to replace my dead son."

So the Muals sent Sadawang and all over Buru, from Kayeli to Masarete, to Lisela, the Dutch government knew that Sadawang replaced Manitang. And now today Ayatama is Sadawang's descendant and it is still the case that if he or any of his descendants were to return to the Muals, a curse would fall upon them. They broke a plate and they cut the wa stifo vine and they build a fat-aa monument as tall as a house loft to serve as evidence. And they planted mokin which now is very big. All this evidence is still there up in the mountains at a place called Bitter Water.

The final case describes the circumstances following a murder which occurred approximately 12 years ago. It involved two noro which have frequent marriages exchanges. A Gebhain maiden was given to the Gewagit noro to replace the life of a Gewagit man murdered by a Gebhain man.

A Peace Child

When visiting another village, a Gebhain man went off to cut a field with a relative (through his mother) who was a
Gewagit. When they didn't come back for a long time, people went to the field and found that the Gebhain had murdered the Gewagit with his sword. The Gebhain man was nowhere around and managed to hide in the jungle for three months. All of the Gebhains in the area fled to the jungle in fear, for the Gewagits were determined to kill a Gebhain in revenge. Because of the murder, people from all other noro living in the village abandoned the village. The Gebhain man finally showed up in a village further in the interior where numerous Gebhains live. Some of the elders there convinced him to go with them to Leksula (the ibukota kecamatan) and surrender himself to the police. He finally did this and was jailed for seven years in Leksula, Namlea, Ambon and finally Java.

Upon his return to Buru the Gewagits and the Gebhains decided to damen fena ("make peace between the two groups and villages"). The oldest child of the murderer's elder brother, a daughter, was given to the hum lolin of the Gewagit who was murdered. In the ceremony the head of the Gewagit noro and the head of the Gebhain noro swore an oath and shook hands over a small table which had a white flag placed at each end. Then they killed two fafu damen ("peace pigs"), one pig from each noro, and ate a meja damen ("peace table") together.

War Captives

The final situation in which people are said to rogo ("enter") another noro on Buru is in reference to warfare and war captives. I have noted how warfare on Buru is articulated in terms of inter-noro conflict and that the existence of marriage alliances between two noro does not preclude
warfare. I have been told that in the past people of a noro would efrake geba ("capture people") through warfare and make them rogo their captor's noro. After the ancestress Bokis Raja of the Mual noro came to Buru, the noro had very few people so they efrake geba edemen la du rogo Mual ("captured many people and made them enter Mual"). The term efrake is the same one used to refer to catching a chicken, which on Buru can be quite an ordeal involving stalking the chicken for several hours in order to either spear it or catch it with one's hands. Today people no longer efrake geba to increase their noro and warfare for this reason appears to not be as prevalent as it was in the past. While warfare for these reasons is not prevalent today, kalungan ("revenge killing") is still expected.
CHAPTER SEVEN:
CONCLUSION

The goal of this study has been to describe affiliation to the primary social groups in Buru society, the noro. In this final chapter I argue that this system of affiliation not only defines distinct social categories into which all of society is divided, it also articulates the relationships between those categories in both the presence and absence of alliance. I conclude the chapter with some comments on the relevance of various theoretical models that I have had to examine in the course of this study and note several areas where the study has raised questions for further investigation.

Affiliation and Alliance on Buru

In retrospect it is not surprising that my initial inquiries into the affiliation of children revealed a considerable number of children who did not belong to the noro of their biological father or father's father. It is now clear that affiliation with a Buru noro is not the consequence of father-child ties. In this study I have shown how people on Buru formulate their ideas about the affiliation of children in terms of hak anat ("child rights") which are transferred in the marriage process from a woman's natal noro and hum lolin to those of her husband. The affiliation of children is thus intricately tied to the marriage process. Before marriage negotiations have been initiated in regards to a particular woman, children born to her belong to her natal noro, which is also the noro of her brother, who is her child's ama (F). Such a child is called an tunin ("child of origin"). On the other hand, after the final stages of the marriage process have been completed, hak anat has indisputably been transferred to
the *hum lolin* and *noro* of a woman's husband. This occurs after the
bridewealth has been delivered and the bride "exits" from her natal home.
Upon arrival at the groom's house the bride *leli nak leit* ("exchanges her
affiliation") and she "enters" the *hum lolin* and *noro* of her husband. From
that point the affiliation rights of her children belong to that *hum lolin*.
Because the process of becoming married on Buru can involve an extended
period of time during which several children may be born, the *kori-sanat*
(the group of elders involved in the marriage negotiations) is frequently
called upon to determine and negotiate the affiliation of the children born
during the marriage process. One or more children born during this time
may be given to the bride's parents in lieu of the *berhadat* part of the
bridewealth that pays the bride's parents for their "tiredness" in raising
her. The interplay of *hak anat* and the marriage process was illustrated
earlier in Figure 14.

I have also shown how Buru concepts about affiliation operate in
wider contexts than merely determining to which social group new babies
belong. In the last chapter I described numerous other affiliation related
transactions that occur on Buru. When an individual's affiliation is
transferred to another *noro*, he or she is said to *rogo* "enter" the new
*noro*. People who "enter" a new *noro* include wives, individuals in need of
new ancestors and a different fate, individuals who are given to replace a
dead soul, and war captives.

Various alliance theorists have stressed how the exchange of goods
functions to create and maintain intergroup relationships. Levi-Strauss
(1969:61) in particular has focused on the exchange of "that most precious
category of goods, women" in the creation of alliance. Buru cultural ideas
regarding affiliation are in fact based on an ideology of exchange which
creates and maintains inter-*noro* relationships in both war and peace. At
any given moment, the relationship between two noro can be hostile, stressing the need to replace dead or captured souls, or it can be a relationship of alliance stressing inter-noro connections provided by women who link their brothers and husbands as wali (WB/ZH) and their brothers and children as mem-lahin (MB) and ana-newet (ZC).

All affiliation related transactions presuppose exchange and are actually talked about in the Buru language using the idiom of exchange. The affiliation of a bride is leli ("exchanged") when bridewealth (or in lieu of bridewealth a child, or in the case of sister exchange, another bride) is reciprocated. A noro can offer one of its members to another noro in order to procure peace and to gati geba ("replace a person") killed by one of its members. An individual who is considered to have bad fate is given to another noro in exchange for new ancestors which will hopefully give new life. In the past perpetual warfare between noro was conducted in the ideology of "a soul for a soul". A noro which lost members in war as captives or by death, was obligated to replace those souls from the noro which took them. It is exchanges of life, articulated in terms of affiliation that create and maintain inter-noro relationships in both war and peace on Buru.

There are two possible ways for a noro to gain new members or, to put it in Buru concepts, two "sources" for noro members, both of which can involve the presence and absence of alliance. The first way is to gain members from a source internal to a noro via an tunin who are "children of origin". When a marriage alliance as been established for a particular marriage, one or more children (an tunin) may be given to the bride's parents in lieu of bridewealth. An tunin are also gained when children are born if "no machete hangs in the house" in the absence of a marriage alliance. The second source of members is external to a noro; people who
have their source or origin in a different *noro*. This includes brides, their subsequent children (whose MB represents their source), adopted individuals, individuals exchanged for peace, and, in the absence of alliance, war captives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE INTERNAL TO NORO (Children of origin)</th>
<th>SOURCE EXTERNAL TO NORO (Source in another noro)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ALLIANCE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>an-tunin</em> children given in lieu of bridewealth</td>
<td>brides and their subsequent children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adopted individuals in need of a different fate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>individuals exchanged for peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ALLIANCE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>an-tunin</em> children of unmarried sisters when &quot;no machete hangs in the house&quot;</td>
<td>war captives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15: The "Sources" of noro members.

Social actors on Buru are very aware that marriage operates as an alliance mechanism as they desire to repeat certain marriage alliances "so the connection does not break". However, when blood is shed between members of two *noro*, the alliance can only be restored by *sili rahan* "paying for the blood" in giving a child for adoption. In describing the Nambikwara Indians of western Brazil Levi-Strauss (1969:68) concluded:

> The exchange of brides is merely the conclusion to an uninterrupted process of reciprocal gifts, which effects the transition from hostility to alliance, from anxiety to confidence, and from fear to friendship.

On Buru both marriage and adoption operate in alliance. But the primary alliance restoring mechanism is the exchange of a child, not a bride, to effect the transition "from hostility to alliance, from anxiety to confidence, and from fear to friendship."
Implications of the Study

In this study I have had to address several theoretical concepts in the process of understanding Buru society. One was the anthropological concept of descent which I found inappropriate for discussing noro membership. It is intriguing to consider why calling a Buru noro a "patrilineal descent group" is so inappropriate and at the same time accounting for the fact that people on Buru claim a child belongs to the noro of his or her father. Fox (1988a) has illustrated how the European idea of descent (from which the anthropological concept is derived) is turned upside down to ideas expressing links to ancestors in many eastern Indonesian cultures. This is true of Buru and I have noted in this study how it is more appropriate to consider lukken as "ascendants" or "tips" coming from the lahin ("trunk/base/source"). People on Buru thus conceive of themselves "ascending" from previous relatives rather than "descending". From a Buru perspective, the anthropological concept of descent is based on an upside down metaphor. Here I consider why the concept of descent (even if it were turned around as "ascent") is not appropriate to describe the criteria which determines how people are affiliated with a Buru noro.

Ideas about descent, based on a European worldview as Fox has noted, appeared in the writings of Sir Henry Maine in one of the earliest works in the discipline of anthropology. In studying Greek and Roman classics Maine developed his "Patriarchal Theory" when he wrote *Ancient Law* (1861) where he saw that the aggregation of families and extended ties of kinship provided a basis for some types of societies (cf. Kuper 1982: 73). In the following decade Morgan, reflecting ideas about cultural evolution that were forming in his day, wrote *Ancient Society: Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877). He saw promiscuity as the original state of human society. Subsequently
the mother-child bond became highlighted and matriliney developed. At a later more "sophisticated" stage patriliney developed when both marriage and legal paternity were recognised. According to Morgan then, human society progressed from promiscuity to matriliney to patriliney as it recognised and implemented varying descent principles (cf. Kuper 1982: 74).

In the early 20th century this proposition was called into question. Some of Boas' students in the United States began to apply Morgan's model to actual data from American Indian societies, eventually bringing the model into disuse. In one of the early issues of *American Anthropologist* (1905) Swanton questioned Morgan's hypothesis that matrilineal organisation was prior to patrilineal social organisation. Many North American tribes were not matrilineal and furthermore, tribes organised around families and patriliney were no further "advanced" than matrilineal tribes. In 1920 Lowie more or less put the matter to rest when he established from the collation of ethnographic data that had been collected by that point, that there was no fixed order of matrilineal and patrilineal descent. He noted "if the highest civilizations emphasize the paternal side of the family, so do many of the lowest" (Lowie 1920:185; Kuper 1982:75,76).

As anthropology developed the term *descent* came to be used in numerous ways. Because of this, in his 1924 *Social Oraganization* Rivers proposed that the term should be used only to refer to "membership of a group". His recommendation did not really set things straight and terms such as "clan", "gens" and "lineage" were used in a variety of ways, including the use by van Wouden in his work on eastern Indonesian societies.

In Africa anthropologists made use of the concept of descent to describe societies such as the Nuer and Tallensi. Confusion still remained
as to what descent really was, however, and in 1959 Fortes attempted to clarify the situation by distinguishing between filiation and descent:

**Descent**: "genealogical connection recognized between a person and any of his ancestors or ancestresses".

**Filiation**: "the relationship that exists between a person and his parents only".

Descent has thus come to be seen as the fundamental principle in the constitution of groups, while filiation was the basis for domestic relationships of kinship (Kuper 1982: 86). When ethnographic research began in earnest in the New Guinea Highlands in the middle of the present century anthropologists again found groups which they initially labelled as "descent groups". It was soon evident, however, that these societies could not be characterised in terms of African models of descent (Barnes 1962).

In a 1985 article Scheffler reviewed various kinds of groups that had been described in the literature as "descent groups". He urged for a return to Fortes' common sense distinction between descent and filiation and he argued that if we restrict our definition of descent group to a category in which descent is the only criterion for membership, as Fortes had suggested, great confusion can be cleared up. He presented an analysis based on set theory in which conditions for inclusion in a category are seen as necessary and/or sufficient. He argued (1985:1) that Fortes' "rule of descent" is a special case of a "rule of filiation" where patrifiliation or matrifiliation is "the necessary and sufficient condition for possession of a status".

Scheffler then presented an analysis of the three types of "descent groups" he found in the literature. First, he noted typical African societies such as the Nuer, where patrifiliation (being the child of one's father) is both the necessary and sufficient condition for inclusion in a
Secondly, he noted groups like those in the New Guinea Highlands where being the child of a particular parent is one way of being included in a group, but not the only way. Throughout life there are various other ways and times in which individuals can become affiliated to a different group. So in the New Guinea Highlands filiation is a sufficient but not a necessary condition for affiliation in a group. Finally, he noted a third type, like the Maori hapu and the Choiseul sinangge, where something else in addition to filiation is required for membership in a group. In these groups filiation is necessary but not sufficient. He concluded that because patrifiliation was involved in all cases, there are surface similarities in the composition of the groups. The African types, however, are the only true descent groups, what he called de jure descent groups, and the other types are very different in nature. In groups where a form of filiation is sufficient but not necessary, or necessary but not sufficient, there is only "defacto" descent.

In summary, anthropology has historically been quick to see descent, be it matrilineal or patrilineal, de jure or defacto, as somehow operating in the constitution of social groups. There are two problems with this approach to kin group affiliation on Buru, both of which are interrelated. The first problem is that descent is defined by geneological connections but there are often numerous people who belong to a group who do not have geneological connections to any of the group's ancestors. Schneider (1984) noted that in Yapese kin groups in-marrying wives had to be swept under the carpet in order to claim a geneological criterion for membership in a tabinau. On Buru not only are in-marrying wives without patrilineal geneological connections to ancestors or to others in the noro, but there are also numerous other people who for one reason or another have "entered" the noro and have no actual patrilineal geneological connections.
to its ancestors. Furthermore, on Buru where *noro* should be claimed as "patrilineal descent groups", there are numerous *an tunin* who are affiliated matrilineally with their mother's natal *noro*. The second serious problem with the concept of descent is that it does not represent an emic viewpoint, or as Kuper (1982:92) has noted, "the model does not represent folk models which actors anywhere have of their own societies." Buru ideas about *noro* membership are expressed in terms of *hak anak* ("child rights"), brides who *leli nak leit* ("exchange their affiliation"), and individuals who *rogo* ("enter") a new *noro*.

The problem then is that the anthropological model of descent uses a genealogical criterion for group membership but this is clearly not the case for Buru *noro* membership. A genealogical link of father-child is often present between two co-*noro* members, but that link is not the basis for *noro* membership. In light of all the *an-rogot* ("children who enter") it is clear that biological parenthood, or in Scheffler's terms a "rule of filiation", is also not a criterion for *noro* membership. To describe Buru society I had to abandon both Fortes' model of descent and Scheffler's ideas about rules of filiation being necessary and/or sufficient. I had to approach *noro* membership in Buru terms where neither descent nor filiation are criteria for membership.

Recently there has been considerable research in the cognitive processes of human categorization stemming from Rosch's seminal research into the structure of categories. It is now recognised that some categories are classical categories with necessary and sufficient conditions for membership while other categories have fuzzy borders with prototypical members (best example of the category) (cf. Lakoff 1987). In order to understand a Buru *noro* is it necessary to recognise what kind of category it is. Because every individual in society belongs to one and only one
noro, as a social category a noro must be seen as having rigid boundaries. It is not a category with fuzzy borders. There is no ambiguity as to who does and does not belong to a noro. In seeking to understand the semantics of categories, Wierzbicka (1989) has pointed out that prototypicality can be at work in bounded categories as well as fuzzy categories. On Buru a prototypical member of a noro is a child who belongs to the same noro as his or her biological father. Over generations children repeatedly belong to the same noro as their father, making the category look as if it is defined in terms of patrilineal descent, but this is really an effect of prototypicality. In a similar way, "being able to fly" is a prototypical effect of the English category bird, but is not what defines the category bird. In groups like the noro of Buru which would be what Scheffler called "defacto descent groups", the mirage of descent is really an effect of prototypicality in a social category that is not defined at all in terms of descent or filiation.

Buru ideas about affiliation do not appear to be unique in Maluku. Several ethnographic descriptions of other societies in Maluku (cf. Cooley 1962a, 1962b; Valeri 1980; Barraud 1979, 1984) note a connection between bridewealth and affiliation, but it is expressed in terms of affecting the "descent principle". In describing the Huaulu of Seram, a society which is divided into "patrilineages", Valeri (1980:183) notes:

There is no automatic functioning of the descent principle. Arata [bridewealth] subordinates descent, since an individual's affiliation depends on the transactions between his father's and his mother's groups.

Regarding the Tanebar-Evav society in the Kei islands Barraud (1984:192) has noted

Descent has only a very subordinated position compared with marriage alliance, the existence of houses and the relations of society within its neighbourhood.
To describe affiliation on Buru it is not necessary to say that a descent principle is "subordinated". There is no descent principle operating in these social groups. Patrilineal descent is not a subordinated principle, nor is patrifiliation a sufficient or a necessary condition for noro membership.

A second area which I have had to re-examine for this study is in relation to the "meaning" of kin terms. This is an issue that has always haunted anthropology and most anthropologists readily acknowledge that kin terms mean/denote/connote more than just geneological connections. But just what their "real" or "primary" meaning may be has been debatable. Schneider (1984) has attempted to re-analyze Yapese kin terms without assuming any "primacy of geneological ties", challenging the discipline to consider if "blood is really thicker than water" in the primacy western and anthropological ideas assign to geneological relationships.

This study has shown how Buru kin terms are not purely or even primarily statements of geneological connection, but are statements of affiliation and alliance as well. Mem-lahin, to take that one example, must be seen as having at least two semantic components which are equally important. A social component in the semantics carries the information that a mem-lahin is a male from another noro whose sister "returned" to ego's noro by marriage. The second component in the semantics denotes a geneological connection between ego and the sister of the mem-lahin: she is ego's closest ascending female matrilateral relative. Because this woman is usually ego's mother, ego's mem-lahin is prototypically, but not necessarily, his geneological MB. The mem-lahin of an an-tunin is his MBMB. The important point is that both a social statement and a geneological statement are obligatory in defining mem-lahin. Not any man of a wife-giving noro is a mem-lahin. At the same time, a geneological
connection to mother's brother without the social element of mother's marriage, makes a mother's brother a "father".

I have also shown how Buru kin terms must be understood in terms of pragmatics, or the meaning inherent in the social situation in which they are used. Terms like ama (F), ina (M), anat (C) have both geneological and social semantic components. In context the terms may be used to express both of these components simultaneously, or only one component, depending on the situation. While an tunin ("children of origin") call their mother's brother ama (F) because they are affiliated with the same noro and hum lolin as he, they can always use other kin terms to clarify their geneological relationship to him as their ina ebanat nak naha meaning "the brother of their birth mother" (literally, "mother + one who gave birth + possessive + brother"). This point brings me back again to the original statements made by so many people on Buru which motivated this study; they are correct. All children -- whether they be "children of origin", adopted children, or the children of mothers who have "entered" -- belong to the noro of their ama. Their ama may be their mother's brothers, their adopted father, or their biological father and mother's husband.

Finally, this study has illuminated several areas in need of further research on Buru. There is still much more to be said about how people on Buru conceptualize the role of noro both in the life of individuals and in society, particularly in the way the relationship between ancestors and progeny is articulated in a noro. In this study I have translated the term noron as "fate/ancestry". The morphology of this word, noro-n, contains the root noro with the addition of -n, a nominalizer stressing the essential nature of a relationship. While it is clear that good fate is the consequence of belonging to the right noro and having the right ancestors,
the way Buru people conceptualize the relationship between noro and noron needs to be studied further.

In the same way that further work is need to clarify the relationship between ancestors and fate, it is also needed to better understand the relationship between source and fertility. The way a mem-lahin (MB) is the source of life for his ana-newet (ZC) needs to be investigated further, including the ways in which this association is manifested in rituals throughout the life cycle of an individual and how a person's source affects his personhood.

Buru may prove to be of significance for those interested in kinship terminologies of prescriptive alliance. The Buru data refutes Needham's claims (1968:332; 1980:31; 1984:227) that an asymmetric terminology is incompatible with symmetric alliance and does not exist. Further study needs to be made of both Needham's claims and the situation on Buru.

Buru ideas regarding exogamy also need further investigation. Starting again from what people say, a man should always marry a woman of a different noro. After taking marriage statistics in over five villages, I found it to be almost always the case that a man married an mhuka ("maiden") of a different noro. The very few exceptions to this all occurred in the marriages of an-rogot ("children who entered [a new noro"] and were not considered "bad marriages". An an-rogot, male or female, can marry someone of his or her new noro as long as it is someone from a different hum lolin within the noro. Although the affiliation of these children has been transferred to a different noro, the principle which determines marriage eligibility is somehow inalienable, unlike noro membership, and is not affected by a change of noro affiliation. Prototypically, an individual marries someone outside his own noro, but Buru
ideas of exogamy are based on something other than noro membership. It will be necessary to discover how people on Buru see this principle as operating and the metaphors they use to describe it. It is clear a noro is not an "exogamous patrilineal descent group", and further study should provide a deeper understanding of Buru social organisation and the metaphors they use for talking about their world.
APPENDIX

This appendix contains a reproduction of the 1969 "Letter of Decision" regarding marriage regulations for South Buru which was produced as a result of a meeting between the four raja of South Buru (Regentschappen Masarete, Wae Sama, Fogi and Ambelau), village leaders and Indonesian government officials. The letter was written in Indonesian and is followed here by an English translation which I have supplied.

Surat Keputusan

Kami Latupati se-Buru Selatan, dalam Rapat Kerja Pamong Desa se-Buru Selatan di Leksula dari tanggal 25 s/d 27 Maret 1969, mengadakan keputusan tentang perkawinan sebagai berikut:


MENIMBANG:

1. Bahwa Hukum Adat Buru tentang perkawinan adalah Hukum yang tidak tertulis sehingga perlu ditulis dan ditetapkan agar dapat
dipertahankan Adat asli serta mempertiadakan Adat2 tambahan yang dibuat-buat tentang perkawinan.

2. Oleh karena hingga kini masih terdapat perlaksanaan Adat asli dan Adat tambahan tentang perkawinan ini, maka dari sendirinya jumlah harta dan mas-kawin itu diperbesar dan hal ini dipandang selaku jual-beli perempuan, hal mana bertentangan dengan norma2 Agama dan Kesusilaan serta berlawanan dengan Hak2 Azasi manusia didalam Negara kita Republik Indonesia yang Merdeka dan Berdaulat ini,

3. Bahwa hal ini amat mempersulitkan perkawinan antara pria dan wanita, yang mengakibatkan pula banyak hal2 dan perkara2 yang selalu terjadi yang tidak diingini, yang selalu memusingkan kepala kedua belah pihak orang-tua dan kami staf Pamong Desa selaku Kepala2 Adat.

4. Bahwa hal ini sangat menghambat kemajuan Rakyat, yang kini masih berada di dalam hal perekonomian yang lemah.

MEMUTUSKAN: Berkehendak untuk menetapkan dan memutuskan peraturan2 tentang hal perkawinan di Buru Selatan, sebagai berikut:

I. Mengenai perkawinan Rakyat Buru Selatan yang beragama Kristen.

A. Harta kawin, bila wanita dipinang dengan hormat.

1. E'lefut (kain gendong) – kain putih satu kayu.

2. Okofnoit (tempurung mandi) – kuali satu buah.


4. Pirin taglasit (piring tagalaya) – piring kedalam satu lusin.
5. Fafu esnillalet (babi pembeli hati) - babi satu ekor.


7. Pesta kawin, terserah atas persetujuan orang tua kedua belah pihak.

B. Harta kawin, bila wanita dibawa lari.

1. Harta sama dengan A. diatas, hanya ditambah dendanya sebagai berikut:
   a. Kain putih satu kayu.
   b. Sopi satu botol.
   c. Surat lari dengan isi uang didalamnya sejumlah Rp.1.000.- Berhubung perubahan nilai mata uang, maka kini diganti dengan Rp.10.000.- (sepuluh ribu rupiah).

C. Lain2 hal yang bersangkutan dengan perkawinan.

1. Persediaan makan-minum yang disediakan oleh orang tua perempuan kepada orang tua pihak lelaki pada waktu musyawarah menimbang atau mengeluarkan perempuan, dibayar menurut persetujuan orang tua kedua belah pihak, dengan perhitungan harga yang wajar.

2. Dilarang panjar perempuan.

3. Dilarang tukar menukar perempuan.

5. Pria dan wanita yang belum dewasa, dilarang kawin.


7. Perkawinan, harus berdasar percintaan pria dan wanita, bukan kesukaan orang tua - Hanya perlu persetujuan orang tua kedua belah pihak.

8. Pria dan wanita muda yang berkumpul sehingga akibatnya wanita melahirkan anak atau hamil, harus dan wajib dipaksa kawin, kecuali turunan rapat, didenda cara besar atau hukuman badan.

9. Perempuan balu yang kawin, harta dihutung setengah dari yang tersebut diatas.

10. Segala E'naba dan lain2 Adat tambahan yang tidak ditentukan dalam Surat Keputusan ini, dipertiadakan karena tidak berdasarkan sesuatu Adat yang syah, termasuk Rohit atau gong serta Kehet atau Parang panjang dulun, karena selain tidak berdasarkan Hukum Adat Asli Buru, maka benda2 ini tidak terdapat lagi di toko2, sehingga amat menyulitkan Masyarakat dan menghambat serta manghalangi kemajuan kita selaku suatu bangsa atau suku.

11. Bilamana didalam perkawinan ada anak yang lahir sebelum harta Adat dimasukkan, maka anak tersebut menjadi milik orang tua si wanita yang melahirkan anak itu, kecuali ada sesuatu persetujuan lain diantara orang tua kedua belah pihak bersama wanita yang melahirkan anak itu.

12. Hal futan (denda karena zina), dilarang dibayar oleh keluarga, harus dibayar oleh yang bersangkutan sendiri dan bila dianggap perlu, diganti dengan hukuman badan. Bila ke-dua2nya didenda tetapi
Appendix

perempuan didenda separuh dari jumlah denda lelaki. Bila ternyata
perempuan dipaksa sehingga berbuat itu, maka lelaki saja yang
didendaikan.

13. Dilarang membawa lari isteri orang.

D. Kepada orang2 Hindu Buru, agar dilatih dan diberi penerangan supaya
mereka juga dapat menuruti dan mentaati segala Keputusan2 tersebut
di atas ini, sehingga sekali kelak peraturan2 ini ditaati secara
keseluruhan dan merata seluruh Buru Selatan.

II. Mengenai perkawinan Rakyat Buru Selatan yang beragama Islam:

A. Harta kawin, bila wanita dipinang dengan hormat.

1. Mas kawin, jumlahnya terserah dari sebutan ketentuan dari wanita
kepada pria, pada waktu pelaksanaan perkawinan, se-tinggi2nya Rp.400.-
(empat ratus rupiah) dan serendah2nya Rp.40.- Berhubung perubahan
nilai mata uang, maka ini dirubah menjadi Rp.10.000 dan Rp.4.000.

2. Uang Rp.14.000 (empat belas ribu rupiah) ini untuk Badan2 Agama
dan Pemerintahan, pembahagianannya diatur menurut instruksi dari Kantor
Agama.


4. Perstujuan kawin, harus terjadi diantara orang tua kedua belah
pihak.

5. Kawin lari, terserah dari putusan dan ketentuan pihak Agama, hanya
tambah Adat, yaitu: Harus ada surat pemberitahuan lari dan diisi
dengan uang sejumlah Rp.1000. Berhubung perubahan nilai mata uang,
maka dirubah menjadi Rp.10.000 (sepuluh ribu rupiah).
6. Adat dan pesta, terserah dari persetujuan orang tua kedua belah pihak.

B. Lain2 hal yang bersangkutan dengan perkawinan. Lihat peraturan2 pada I. bahagian C. ayat 1 s/d 13 yang pada golongan Kristen, berlaku juga kepada golongan Islam, kecuali ayat 9, harus dicocokkan dengan peraturan Agama Islam.

Demikianlah, agar Keputusan ini diindahkan dan ditaati oleh Raykat Buru Selatan.

-------------------

Leksula, 27 Maret 1969.

Disyahkan oleh:

A/n. Latupati se-Buru Selatan
Kepala Kecamatan Buru Selatan selaku Kepala2 Adat
selaku Pimpinan Rapat, Ketua Latupati Buru Selatan

Cap ttd. Cap ttd.

(M.SAIMIMA - B.A.) (A. LESNUSSA - RAJA MASARETE.)


Surat Keputusan ini dikirim kepada semua Raja dan Kepala2 Kampung dalam Kecamatan Buru Selatan pada tempatnya masing2 untuk dilaksanakan dan tembusannya disampaikan kepada:


Letter of Decision

We the Latupati [four raja, traditional leaders and village leaders] of South Buru, in a working meeting with leaders of village governments throughout South Buru held at Leksula from 25 to 27 March 1969, settled on the following decision regarding marriage.

HEAR: A high level of frustration and strong objections were expressed amongst the opinions of the members of the village leadership in their capacity as the Heads of Adat for South Buru at the meeting in Leksula from 25 to 27 March 1969 at which the heads of the kecamatan of South Buru, the head of police for the Leksula region, and the head of security and other government officials were also in attendance, because marriage adat needs to be reviewed and to be organized.

CONSIDER:

1. That Buru adat law regarding marriage is a law which is not written and therefore needs to be written and fixed so that it will preserve the original adat as well as prohibit additional adat from being made in various ways regarding marriage.

2. At the present time traditional adat is carried out as well as other adat being added, so that the total bridewealth and marriage payment [money] is becoming greater and greater. This is seen as selling and buying women which is in opposition to the norms of Religion and Propriety as well as opposing basic human rights in our Nation, the independent and sovereign Republic of Indonesia.
3. This matter has made marriage between a man and woman very difficult, resulting in many undesirable things and litigations which constantly occur and which continually preoccupy those representing both sets of parents and us, the village leaders in our capacity as heads of adat.

4. That this matter inhibits the progress of the people, who are up to this point still in a state of weak economy.

*IT IS THUS DECIDED:* Desiring to fix arrangements for marriage in South Buru, the following points have been decided:

I. Regarding marriage for the Christian population of South Buru:

A. Bridewealth, if the girl is requested [literally, given betelnut] with honor:

1. E'lefut (carrying cloth) One bolt [stick] of white cloth.

2. Okofnoit (bathing shell) One basin.

3. Kasihagit (a machete for prying candlenut) one machete.

4. Pirin taglasit One dozen bowls.

5. Fafu esnillalet (heart buying pig) One pig.

6. Marriage-gold -(Money) - Rp.2,500. (Rp.2,000 for the mother and father and Rp.500 for the village leaders). Because of the change in the value of currency, this is now to be Rp.25,000 (Rp.20,000 for the mother and father and Rp.5,000 for the village leaders).

7. Wedding celebrations can be decided upon by the two sets of parents.
B. Bridewealth, if the woman is "run off with" [elopement]

1. Bridewealth is the same as in Point A. above, except that the following fines are required in addition:

   a. one roll of white cloth

   b. one bottle of gin

   c. a letter of elopement with money of Rp.1,000 placed inside. (Because of the change in the value of currency, this is now replaced with a fine of Rp.10,000 (ten thousand rupiah)).

C. Other matters relating to marriage:

1. Food and drink prepared by the bride's parents for the groom's parents during the marriage negotiations or at the time the bride leaves, are to be paid for according to an agreement made between the two sets of parents, with proper reckoning of the price.

2. It is forbidden to pay in advance for a [young] girl.

3. It is forbidden to exchange women.

4. Forced marriages are forbidden.

5. Boys and girls who are not yet adults are forbidden to marry.

6. Marriage in which the groom enters (is adopted into) the bride's family is forbidden.

7. Marriage must be based on love between the man and woman, not the desire of their parents. What is required is the agreement of both sets of parents.
8. A man and women who have relations which result in the woman giving birth to a child or becoming pregnant, are to be forced to marry each other, except for close relatives who are to be heavily fined or given corporal punishment.

9. When a widow marries, the bridewealth is counted as half the above.

10. All declarations and additional *adat* which is not specified here in this Letter of Decision, are prohibited because they are not based on legal *adat*. In addition to not being based on legal traditional Buru *adat*, numerous of these additionally requested items are no longer able to be purchased in stores, so that it causes difficulty for the People and prevents and inhibits our development and progress as a race or tribe.

11. If in a marriage there is a child who is born before the *adat* bridewealth is given, then the child belongs to the parents of the woman who gave birth to it, unless there are other arrangements made between the two sets of parents and the woman who gave birth to the child.

12. Hal futan (fines for adultery), are not to be paid by the family, but must be paid by the individual involved and if it is seen as necessary, can be replaced by corporal punishment. If the two agree to do it, then both must be fined but the woman is fined half of what the man is fined. If it appears that the woman was forced to do it, then it is only the man who is fined.

13. It is forbidden to elope with someone's wife.

D. The Hindu population of Buru should be taught and given explanation of the above so that they will follow and obey all the decisions
above, allowing these arrangements to be followed uniformly throughout South Buru.

II. Regarding Marriage by the Population of South Buru who are of the Islam Religion:

A. Bridewealth, if the woman is asked for respectfully

1. Money, the total of which is up to the arrangements made by the woman to the man at the time of the marriage. The highest amount is to be Rp.400 (four hundred rupiah) and the lowest amount is to be Rp.40. Because of the change in the value of currency, this is changed to be: Rp.10,000 and Rp.4,000.

2. Money of Rp.14,000 (fourteen thousand rupiah) is for the officials of Religion and Government, the division of which should follow the instructions of the Office of Religion.

3. A carrying cloth - one bolt of white cloth.

4. Marriage arrangements need to be made between the two sets of parents.

5. Elopement, is subject to the regulations of the religion. The only additional requirements for adat are: there must be a letter informing [the girl's parent's] of the elopement and it must contain money totaling Rp.1,000.- Because of the difference in the value of currency, this is changed to be Rp.10,000. (ten thousand rupiah).

6. Party festivities and other arrangements depend on agreements made between the two sets of parents.
B. Other matters concerning marriage: Look at the regulations set forth in section I part C numbers 1 through 13 for the Christian parties. These are also in effect for the Islam parties, except number 9 which must be amended to fit with the requirements of Islam.

May these Decisions be observed and obeyed by the people of South Buru.

Leksula, 27 March 1969.

On behalf of

Witnessed by:
The Latupati of South Buru
Head of the Kecamatan of South Buru as heads of adat
as leader of the meeting head of the Latupati of South
Buru.
(signed) (signed)
(M.SAIMIMA - B.A.) (A.LESNUSSA - RAJA OF MASARETE.)

This decision is in effect from the date it was decided above, that is 27 March 1969.

This Letter of Decision is sent to all the Raja and the village heads in the kecamatan of South Buru in their respective places to be carried out. Copies are also sent to:

1. The Honorable Head of the Kecamatan of South Buru in Leksula.
2. The Honorable Head of the Police in Leksula.
3. The Honorable Head of Security in Leksula.
4. The Honorable Head of the Buru Classis [for Gereja Protestan Maluku].
5. The Honorable Head of the Region for the Assemblies of God Church in Leksula.

6. The Honorable Heads of P.3. N.T.R. of Ambelau, Waesama, Masarete and Fogi in their respective locations, for their information and use as needed.
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