**PREMISES**

**KINSHIP AND AFFINAL RELATIONS AMONG THE KARO OF NORTH SUMATRA**

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Doctor of Philosophy

in the

Australian National University

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**Preface**

There are already in existence a number of ethnographic accounts concerning the Batak. Some important adat-law studies have been made, and in recent years several empirical fieldwork studies have been completed. None of this last mentioned research was, however, undertaken among either the Simelungun, the Pakpak or the Karo.

**Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION: KAROLAND AND ITS PEOPLE**

The Karo inhabit the northern part of Batakland in North Sumatra together with two other Batak peoples, the Simelungun to the east and the Pakpak to the south. The coastal strip, to the north is
the homeland of the Malays, long standing political rivals of the Karo. To the west is another Moslem society, the Alas, with whom the Karo are closely affiliated linguistically. In a broader sense, however, all these peoples merge into one cultural, linguistic and racial group, the Malay; the Batak being classified as belonging to proto-Malay and the coastal Malays to deutero-Malay. Geographically and administratively, Karoland may be divided into two major areas, the Highlands and the Lowlands (also known as Dusun). For decades the latter had been subject to the domination of Malay Sultans, a domination which came to an end only after Independance in 1945. The present system, however, continues the administrative separation of the Lowlands from the Highlands. There is a wide recognition of the Highlands being their cultural centre.

Chapter 2: THE VILLAGE

Karo villages, regardless of their size, are compact. Large villages are composed normally of several wards, but the majority of villages are small or of medium size, each forming a cohesive territorial unit both socially and politically. Heterogeneity marks one distinctive feature of its social composition. Various lineal groups are represented in the village, and more often than not the members of the five Karo clans are to be found there. Members of the local group are intricately linked by kinship and
There is always a 'principal lineage' in the village, a group from which a village headman was nominated in the past. They are the male descendants of the village founder. Today the headman is chosen by universal suffrage but the superiority of the 'principal lineage' still remains deeply embedded in numerous social institutions. Yet the village, as a whole, is a land-owning unit. In places like Kuta Gamber and Liren where the traditional shifting cultivation method is still practiced, the villagers enjoy equal right of access to the unused village land.

Chapter 3: THE DJABU-FAMILY

The smallest, discrete social group in Karo society is the djabu-family or the djabu. It is a residential and economic unit, i.e. a unit of production and consumption. It is also an allodial unit and the inheritance of property is in conformity with the prevailing rule of patrilineal descent. Partition occurs at each generation after the death of both parents, and this event marks not only the economic dissolution but also the disappearance of the djabu concerned. Numerically the djabu is a small group, composed commonly of an elementary family, consisting of a husband, his wife and their children. An extended family occasionally emerges by the marriage of a son or, sometimes, a daughter. Such
an arrangement lasts as a rule for only one year after which economic and physical separation takes place and a new djabu is established by the newly married couple.

Chapter 4: THE ADAT-HOUSE

There are two types of domicile in Karo villages: the adat-house and the modern. Architecturally they are entirely different. The design of a modern house is a copy - very often a poor copy - of those found in towns and it is usually occupied by one djabu-family. The adat-house, in which the majority of the inhabitants of Kuta Gamber and Liren live, is constructed in accordance with traditional design and procedures, and great cultural value is attached to it. It typically consists of eight sections, each of these being the dwelling place of one djabu-family. However various important parts of the adat-house, for example, the ladders, platforms, doors and so on, are corporately owned by its members. Though they own no property in common, they actually form a specific local group within the village community. They have a common leader, in various occasions form a ritual and ceremonial unit, and share in a common responsibility for the upkeep of the various parts of their dwelling place. There is an intensive, daily, social contact between the members of the house, among whom there commonly exists a network of relationship based on kinship and affinity.
Patrilineal kinship is a dominant characteristic of Karo social organization. The clan, the largest agnatic unit, possesses a clan name and is, ideally, exogamous. Its members are highly dispersed, a clan leader is lacking and the clan has no totem, insignia or myth, or even an acknowledged remote ancestor in common. There are five clans altogether and these are divided into 83 sub-clans. Major characteristics of the sub-clan are the possession of a name, a sub-clan myth, sometimes a founding ancestor and the remnant of a totem which now persists in the form of taboos against eating certain plants or animals. But, again, its members are widely dispersed and it has neither a religious nor a political leader. A sub-clan consists of a number of lineages which may be viewed as its genealogical segments. It is the largest agnatic group in which the genealogical links between its constituent members are traceable.

It is customary for a lineage to become 'the principal lineage' in a particular village or ward, and that is based upon the historical fact that the place concerned was first settled by the founding ancestor of the lineage concerned. Yet a substantial part of its members reside outside 'the mother' village or ward.

A number of hierarchically arranged segments are to be found within the lineage, the most important of them being the smallest segment, the djabu-family, which is the basic social unit of Karo society.
Chapter 6: ANAKBERU-KALIMBUBU RELATIONS - I

The foundation of Karo adat in the eyes of the people themselves is 'the three categories of kinship' (senina, anakberu and kalimbubu) but analytically viewed there exist only two irreducible kinship ties: the mutual senina (agnatic) and the anakberu - kalimbubu bond. Anakberu may be defined as 'the woman-taking category' and kalimbubu as 'the woman-giving category'. In isolated cases the operation of anakberu - kalimbubu relation is observable at the individual level, but essentially it signifies the relationship between agнатic groups. A man's immediate kalimbubu is his mother's brother and his father-in-law, and this is extended to their respective lineages. His immediate anakberu is his father's sister's husband, his sister's husband and, later in life, his son-in-law. At the lineage level we find two lineages, each representing 'the traditional anakberu' and 'the traditional kalimbubu' of the lineage as a whole, deriving from the institutionalized anakberu and kalimbubu relationships of the founding ancestor of the lineage. The anakberu - kalimbubu tie is extended further to the anakberu of the anakberu (anakberu menteri) and the kalimbubu of kalimbubu (puang kalimbubu). Indeed, for various social purposes even further extension is made, thus, the kalimbubu of puang kalimbubu is of considerable significance in certain ceremonial and ritual contexts. Despite the great
complexity of these anakberu - kalimbubu ties, it is, however, the immediate anakberu and kalimbubu that matter most in everyday affairs.

Chapter 7: ANAKBERU-KALIMBUBU RELATIONS - II

According to Karo values, and as prescribed in their adat, the kalimbubu is superior in status to the anakberu. Submissiveness marks the kinship behaviour of the anakberu towards 'the visible god', as the kalimbubu is frequently called. As this implies, the anakberu as subordinates are traditionally under an obligation to render continuous service to the kalimbubu. This service covers almost every aspect of social life. Economic assistance is regularly given in numerous ways. Other services of an anakberu take the form of mediation in disputes and various adat affairs, and the taking of jurally binding oaths on the kalimbubu's behalf. Further, this institution is deeply rooted in Karo religion. The wrath a kalimbubu brought about by neglectful anakberu is believed to bring supernatural harm to the latter. In his capacity as kalimbubu, a man enjoys many privileges and is 'endowed' with mystical power, but the same man is powerless in his capacity as anakberu.
Chapter 8: MARRIAGE

Marriage is a compact between two bodies of kin. It creates an institutionalized relationship, linking not only the bride's and the groom's agnostic groups but also the anakberu and kalimbubu of both sides. In addition to clan exogamy, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (i.e. a man marrying his FZD) is strictly prohibited. It serves to prevent the estrangement of the existing anakberu - kalimbubu relation, for should such a marriage take place, his father's sister and her husband, who are actually his anakberu, become his kalimbubu. However, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (i.e. a man marrying his MBD) is preferred. By this mechanism the already existing anakberu - kalimbubu tie, originating from the marriage of the parents, is perpetuated or renewed by the marriage of the children. The delivery of a marriage payment is one of the essential jural procedures connected with marriage. The system of its distribution is a highly complex one, and it expresses the basic categories of the kinship structure very clearly. In intra-village marriage - which is, in fact, common in Kuta Gamber - both the bride and the groom continue to stay in their natal village. In inter-village marriage, virilocal residence is the preferred pattern but the incidence of uxorilocal residence is comparatively high. As the five clans are generally represented in every village, a bride residing virilocally will find a group of agnates in her new place.
Similarly, a groom residing uxorilocally will be incorporated into his 'new' agnatic group in the new local community.

Chapter 9: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Being himself a typical representative of the kalimbubu, the mother's brother, instead of representing the mother, is recognized as a father figure. Unlike many African lineal societies, in which ties of affinity are, functionally considered, of secondary importance, the anakberu - kalimbubu institution among the Karo constitutes a basic element of the social structure. Deeper analysis reveals that the anakberu - kalimbubu bond is essentially an expression of the ties between agnates of opposite sex, i.e. female members of the lineage stand as anakberu and male members as kalimbubu. The two foundations of the kinship structure, i.e. the patrilineal descent system and the anakberu - kalimbubu alliance, are rooted in the social dominance of males over females which, analysis shows to be a basic characteristic of Karo society.
Appendix I: KARO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The terminology is predominantly classificatory. Distinctions are made on the basis of sex and generation. The structuring of the three categories of kinship is, to a certain degree, reflected in the vocative system, but it is more comprehensively manifested in the terms of reference.

Appendix II: KARO WEDDING INVITATION

The distinction between the three categories of kinship is described.
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Canberra
March 1965
This thesis is my original work, based on fieldwork which I carried out in North Sumatra from September 1960 to April 1962, as a Scholar of the Australian National University.
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Note:
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GLOSSARY OF KARO WORDS

adat : custom; customary
anak taneh : principal lineage of a village or a village ward; also bangsa taneh
anakberu : wife-taking category
anakberu menteri : anakberu of the anakberu
anakberu si empat : the four anakberu of the lineage, referring to the four other clans
anakberu tua : the senior or the traditional anakberu of the lineage
bangsa taneh : see anak taneh
bégu : soul of the dead
beré-beré : maternal patri-clan and sub-clan affiliation; sister's child (of a man)
beru : patri-clan and sub-clan membership of woman; woman
dibata ni-idah : the visible god, kalimbubu
djabu : domestic family; apartment in the house
ertutur : identification ceremony: by means of enquiring each other's kinship affiliation and conjugal bond, a new kinship tie is established
guru : medicine-man; a magical practitioner and diviner
kalimbubu : woman-giving category
kalimbubu iperdemui : kalimbubu by marriage, e.g. a man to his parents-in-law
kalimbubu si mupus: kalimbubu by birth, e.g. a man to his MB
kalimbubu si empat: the four kalimbubu of the lineage, referring to the four other clans
kepala kampung: village headman; formerly pengulu
merga: clan; sub-clan; patri-clan and sub-clan membership of man
merga si lima: the five (Karo) clans
pengulu: see kepala kampung
perbégu: the traditional religion
puang kalimbubu: kalimbubu of the kalimbubu
sangkep si telu: compound of the three categories of (ego's) kin and affines: senina, anakberu and kalimbubu
sembujak: a man's male agnate or agnates belonging to the same sub-clan; sibling
senina: a man's male agnate or agnates belonging to the same clan; a woman's sister or classificatory sister; having a common anakberu or kalimbubu; sibling
sentjepik: one section of the adat-house
seruang: compound of two adjoining sentjepik of the adat-house
tendi: soul of the living
turang: brother or sister of opposite sex, actual or classificatory; darling
turé: open bamboo platform of the adat-house
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

F = father
M = mother
B = brother
Z = sister
S = son
D = daughter
ZS = sister's son
(I) = Bahasa Indonesia

Symbols

Δ : male
○ : female

Δ
○ : male or female

□ : marriage

| : filiation
PREFACE

Previous kinship studies of the Batak

The anthropological study of the Indonesian peoples is far from complete. Compared with what has been done in other areas, namely Africa, India, Australia, Melanesia and Polynesia, the state of the ethnography of the Indonesian peoples in general has been described by the doyen Dutch anthropologist, Fischer (1952: 57-8), as 'embarrassing'. This, to a certain extent, holds also true for the Batak, especially for the Karo, Simelungun and Pakpak.

In addition to the various general ethnographic accounts already in existence, a number of adat-law studies concerning the Batak peoples have been made, the most important of which are the works of Vergouwen (1933), Ypes (1932), Enda Boemi (1925), Nasoetion (1943) and Keuning (1948). Of these Vergouwen's book dealing with the jural life of the Toba Batak ranks as one of the best of comprehensive legal studies of an Indonesian people. Ter Haar (1948: 238) wrote of this book that 'it might well be first if the sequence were dependent of the manner in which a forceful description of the sphere of adat law is joined to a treatment of typical problems of the adat law'.
The postwar studies of the Batak as represented by the works of Tobing (1956), Cunningham (1958), Tugby (1958), and Bruner (1959, 1961) demonstrate that there is a notable shift of interest and a utilization of new methods of investigation. Tobing, himself a Toba, makes a profound study of Toba religion. He employs the concept of 'the totalitarian way of thinking' as an analytical tool and, after denouncing Durkheim's sociological explanation about religion, propounds a hypothesis that the social order is secondary to All-Order and that the 'individual, as well as communal life are reflections of All-Life' (p.133). In other words the social structure of the Toba is a reflection of their religious belief. Tugby's intensive fieldwork concerns a general study of the social organization of the Mandailing while Bruner and Cunningham have largely concentrated attention on specific problems: those of urbanization and migration.

Bruner's study deserves our attention because it casts new light to the study of social change and urbanization. He has found that 'social relationships among the Toba Batak community in Medan are based upon kinship as well as territorial organisation, that the unilineal descent group has been retained, and that the village social system has not changed in basic structure when transplanted to the city. These findings do not conform to current views on the evolution of social organization' (Bruner, 1959: 123-4).
There are two noteworthy points, however, concerning these studies of the Batak. First, the various Batak societies have not received equal attention from investigators. Much has been written about the Toba, for instance, but much less is known about the Karo, and very little about the Simelungun and the Pakpak. No intensive study has been undertaken of these last three societies. Secondly, insufficient attention has been paid to the empirical study of kinship systems despite the fact that a number of anthropologists, notably Fischer (1935) and Leach (1961), have been well aware of the great theoretical interest of Batak kinship systems.

The present study

This study is the result of a long standing interest. My education was interrupted by the war and I was forced to leave school, with my studies uncompleted, in 1942. During the unsettled years that followed, years of occupation by the Japanese, and then of revolution against the Dutch, I became, in circumstances that were often difficult, a tobacco and cattle trader, a butcher, a refugee and finally a 'smuggler'. With two Karo companions I engaged in the hazardous task of carrying medicines through the jungle from Republican to the Dutch-occupied areas, there to collect illegal Republican currency. Then, for security reasons (I had fled when a number of Dutch
soldiers made an attempt to arrest me in a village where my mother was then living) I had to leave my homeland in 1948 and seek shelter in Medan where, after changing my name, I entered a private middle school.

Soon after this my interest in the study of the customs of my own people took root. My teacher in adat matters was my classificatory father (my father's half brother), Nini Satria, and with him I spent my vacations returning to Tiga Nederket, my natal village. From Nini Satria I learned a number of myths, the history of our lineage and sub-clan and tales of ancient warfare and supernatural beings.

In High School I received my first lesson in ethnology and I realized, with surprised interest, that there was a branch of knowledge that dealt with the adat of pre-literate peoples. Our textbook was exclusively based on Duyvendak's,1 *Inleiding tot de ethnologie van de Indische Archipel* (1940) in which the cultures of the primitive or the 'nature' peoples are defined as the subject of ethnology. For some obscure reason this standard book contains an exceedingly long account of Mentawai ethnography. Our textbook carried this emphasis even further so that the major

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1 In later revised editions the title is: *Inleiding tot de ethnologie van de Indonesische Archipel*. 
part of it was devoted to the description of Mentawai custom. This gave rise to the fact that for we students, it was the Mentawai people, the natives of an island off the western side of Southern Sumatra, who came to represent primitive peoples in general. For our final examination we had to learn Mentawai custom and the meaning of various terms like endogamy and exogamy, as well as Tylor's definition on culture. It was indeed a stimulating subject but as we Batak have our own script I took it for granted at that time that my own people did not belong to the subject matter of ethnology.

I left Sumatra for Java in 1955 to continue my studies in the Faculty of Education, Gadjah Mada University. By that time I had learnt something of Karo dance and folk music and had compiled a collection of about 1500 Karo proverbs. At Gadjah Mada, my interest in anthropology found new ground, because apart from our normal courses in anthropology and sociology, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to join the weekly seminars concerning these subjects of the Social Research Committee. Furthermore, I had the opportunity to join my teacher, Mr M.A. Jaspan, in undertaking two brief field trips (in 1956 and

2 The defect has been rightly critized by Koentjaringrat (1964: ff. 89-92), who has made valuable suggestions for the modification of the teaching of anthropology in Indonesian High Schools.
1957) to Karoland, and thereafter, I became one of his assistants.

The opportunity for my intensive study of the Karo arose when my application for a research scholarship was accepted by the Australian National University in 1959. On my arrival in Canberra it was decided that Karo society should be the object of my study, and during the initial stages of my scholarship I worked under the supervision of Dr Derek Freeman who gave me training in methods of field research and discussed with me problems associated with the analysis of Karo social behaviour.

The fieldwork on which my thesis is based was carried out in two neighbouring Karo Batak villages, Kuta Gamber and Liren, in the Ketjamatan Taneh Pinem. My wife and I arrived in the region in September 1960 and remained until April 1962. Our first twelve months of research was spent in Kuta Gamber and this was followed by seven months in nearby Liren. Our main reasons for selecting these villages was the existence in them of strongly traditional Karo culture and social organization. At first it appeared that another area, namely Liang Melas in Ketjamatan Kuta Buluh, was more isolated from roads and markets but a brief tour of reconnaissance there revealed considerable depopulation; many villages having been deserted in recent times and in the remaining villages as many as 50 per cent of
the inhabitants having emigrated to the more fertile valleys and to market towns.

Important features of Kuta Gamber and Liren are that, in contrast to most other villages, their economies are largely dependent on shifting cultivation and more than two thirds of the inhabitants live in adat-houses. Again, adherence to the traditional Perbegu religious beliefs and practices is stronger than in many parts of Karoland. There are seven guru si baso (spirit mediums) in Kuta Gamber alone and three medicine men (guru) in a population of 88 families. The Perbegu religion encompasses the whole of the two villages' population with the exception of one Muslim family in which the husband was converted to the religion of his in-marrying wife. There have thus far been no converts to Christianity.

Being myself a Karo gave me a number of advantages. Most importantly I was master of the language, it being my mother tongue. I was able to mix freely with the people I was studying and had no difficulties in understanding their idioms and proverbs of which I had already made a study. In addition to this I had a broad picture of the kinship system and the culture in general so that I was quickly able to implement the research programme I had drawn up in Australia.

A potential danger of which I was aware from the outset of my fieldwork was that distortion could result from my strong
identifications with my own people. But I think I have been able effectively to guard against this danger by my cross-cultural experiences and knowledge, my anthropological training and awareness of the scientific purpose of the study. At different stages of my life I have lived with peoples of different cultures, namely the Alas, the Malays and the Javanese, and, more importantly, my wife herself is a non-Karo.

Kuta Gamber and Liren are quite far away from my natal village - few people in my village knew where Kuta Gamber was - and this geographic factor had the advantage of exempting me from various adat duties and obligations for my relatives. It seemed, however, that they, on the other hand, understood my position perfectly well. Indeed my adat obligations had been minimized to such an extent that even though I was in Karoland I was not invited to attend the burial ceremony of my immediate classificatory mother (FBW).

The present essay is primarily concerned with the kinship and affinal relations of the Karo. My reason for selecting this topic is that the Karo kinship system is of a very interesting type, particularly because of the peculiar characteristics of its affinal relations and the extremely important function of affinity within the system. It is of considerable theoretical interest because here we are dealing with a system where affinity has a characteristically specific meaning and dimension so that,
in fact, the conventional dichotomy between consanguinity and affinity becomes inappropriate when employed to analyse the Karo system. A number of scholars: Fischer (1935), Leach (1954, 1961) and Dumont (1957), have drawn attention to this peculiar type of affinity and to the need for further study of it, and it is therefore understandable that the present thesis is much occupied with the presentation of ethnographic data on this important subject. This thesis is primarily intended indeed to make a contribution to the study of affinal systems and thus a substantial part of what follows is devoted to the discussion of 'anakberu' and 'kalimbubu' relationships.

In the writing up of my field material I have been forced by the problem that my command of the English language was such as to inhibit, in various ways my best efforts at description and analysis. For this reason, at one stage of my course it was decided that I should write my thesis in Bahasa Indonesia and that it should then, under my supervision, be translated into English. However this arrangement failed because no good translator was available, and I have therefore, with the advice of my supervisors, written the dissertation in English. In some cases where fine description and analysis is called for I have not, I would think, succeeded in expressing myself with the exactness and the detail that I would have been able to achieve were I writing in Karo or in Bahasa Indonesia. However, I hope
that as the result of my efforts I have succeeded in giving an account, in English, of the affinal system and related aspects of Karo Batak society that will be of interest and value as a contribution to anthropological knowledge about an important but neglected subject.

A note on spelling and terminology

The prevailing orthography for Bahasa Indonesia, notably 'j', 'dj' and 'tj' for their respective English equivalents 'y', 'j' and 'ch', has been adopted throughout the thesis in writing Karo and Indonesian words, including the place names. Karo and Indonesian words are underlined. Indonesian words, excluding those which have become currently spoken Karo, are followed by (I).
Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to Mr M.A. Jaspan for the basic anthropological training I received at Gadjah Mada University. Later (when he joined the Australian National University) he was appointed as one of my supervisors and I benefited greatly from the help and encouragement he gave me both during my fieldwork and in the writing of my thesis. I owe an especial indebtedness to Dr Derek Freeman from whose supervision, guidance, help and friendship I have drawn great benefit. I am also grateful to Professor J.A. Barnes who, during his visit to Indonesia in 1960, visited me in the field and gave me valuable help and advice.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Australian National University for the scholarship which made my researches possible.

I also wish to thank my wife for her encouragement and invaluable assistance at all times. She helped me in obtaining information from Karo women during the course of our field researches, and in drawing all the diagrams and one of the maps of this thesis. Finally, I am grateful for the help given by many Indonesian officials, by my landlords and by informants during my field work. Their names need not be mentioned here individually. 'Mention all their names or none at all', a Karo would say in this context, and I have decided to follow the latter course.
INTRODUCTION: KAROLAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Karoland

The entire area of Karo settlement, which will be referred to as Karoland (Taneh Karo), is approximately 5,000 square kilometers, stretching between 3° and 3°30' North Latitude and 1°30' and 2°30' Western Longitude. Broadly speaking Karoland may be divided into two main areas, the Karo Highlands and the Karo Lowlands or Dusun. These two areas merge into one another, however, there being no sharp escarpment dividing the Lowlands from the Highlands. The lowlands proper (Lower Dusun) lie at an altitude of approximately 40 to 200 metres; the transitional country (Upper Dusun) - which is also included in the Karo Lowlands - is at between 200 and 700 metres whilst the highland villages are at an altitude of 700 to 1,400 metres. The seven highest peaks in the Karo Highlands range from 1815 to 2417 metres. Two of these, Sibajak (2070 m.) and Sinabun (2417 m.), are active volcanos.

The geographic neighbours of the Karo are the East Coast Malays to the north, Simelungun to the east, Pakpak to the south and Alas to the west (see Map 1). With the latter peoples the Karo have close bonds of language, culture and clan structure.
Traditionally there was no common boundary between Karoland and Tobaland.

From the administrative point of view however Karoland is not a cohesive unit. Since Independence it is composed of one regency (kabupaten) and three disconnected parts of three other neighbouring regencies. These four areas are (i) Kabupaten Karo, in the Karo Highlands, which is regarded as the original homeland and main cultural centre of the Karo people; (ii) Kabupaten Langkat, a plantation area to the west of Medan, consisting of alluvial coastal plains and rising foothills; (iii) Kabupaten Deli-Serdang, which is ecologically and demographically similar to Langkat, in the sense that the Karo population of these two Kabupatens is concentrated in the inland areas while the coastal strip is largely inhabited by Malays; (iv) a small part of the highland Karo reside in the Taneh Pinem district (ketjamatan) of Kabupaten Tapanuli Utara. This district is geographically contiguous with Kabupaten Karo to the north and east. Since the PRRI\(^1\) rebellion of 1958 the Taneh Pinem district together with the north eastern part of North Tapanuli (Dairi) has been declared a special area called Wilajah Koordinator Dairi (Dairi Co-ordination Region) and is subject to the direct rule of the provincial governor in Medan. As has been

\(^1\) Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia = the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia.
pointed out in the preface, my intensive fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in this area, i.e. in Kuta Gamber and Liren villages in Ketjaman Taneh Pinem.

The climate and rainfall varies from one part of Karo country to another. The average temperature in the Lower Dusun is about 80° F.; inland it is lower corresponding with the higher altitude. Buluh Awar village in the Upper Dusun, at an altitude of 400 m. has an average temperature of 75° F., the minimum being 61° F. and the maximum 88° F. In the Highlands the contrast of temperature is higher. Thus in Kabandjahe (1300 m.) the average minimum and maximum temperatures are 50° and 85° F.

In the Highlands people distinguish two seasons of the year: the dry and the wet. Roughly speaking, the first half of the year is dry and the second wet. Unlike the Highlands there are two dry and two wet seasons in the Lowlands. April - May is the 'small' and August - December the 'big' rainy season.

Rainfall is heavier in the Lowlands than in the Highlands. In the Lower Dusun it averages about 2200 mm., in the Upper Dusun about 4000 mm. whilst in the Highlands it varies between 1500 and 1900 mm.

**The people**

The Karo belong to the Batak which is a collective name for a group of peoples - Toba, Karo, Simelungun, Pakpak, Angkola and Mandailing - in North Sumatra. They call themselves Karo or Batak
Karo, but seldom Batak. Only the Toba now identify themselves strongly with the term Batak and perhaps 'the least' Batak are the Angkola and Mandailing (cf. Keuning, 1958: 3-4), the only two wholly Moslem societies among the Batak.

The reason why the Moslems dislike being regarded as Batak is that the word Batak is a stigmatic term, though this was truer in the past than now. According to Loeb (1935:20): 'The origin of the name Batak is not certain, but it was already in use in the seventeenth century. It was probably an abusive nickname given by the Mohammedans and signifying pig-eater. The Bataks have taken up this nickname as an honorary title, thus distinguishing themselves from the Djawi, the Mohammedans, and Malays.' Moreover the term is associated with barbarism because in the past the Batak practised cannibalism. Even today one can still frequently hear the expression Batak makan orang (I), which means 'Batak eat people', in many parts of Indonesia.

Joustra (1926:15) pointed out that the practice of cannibalism was indeed an important factor which distinguished the Batak from neighbouring peoples. This tradition however has been abandoned since the beginning of this century. Until 1904 there were still some sporadic occurrences of cannibalism in some parts of Simelungun and Pakpakland. Among the Toba it was given up about half a century earlier and there have been no cannibalistic practices among the Karo since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Joustra further says
that the occurrence of cannibalism among the Batak is generally highly exaggerated and that sometimes it is an invention - for instance when it is said that old people are eaten.

Independence brought drastic social and economic changes for the Batak. Many Batak hold important economic, military and political positions both inside and outside their homeland and these have tended to lessen the stigmatic implication of the term Batak. It is now well known that even a Moslem Batak is no longer ashamed of being called a Batak.

The total number of the Karo is not exactly known. The census of 1961 gives the population of Kabupaten Karo 147,673, Kabupaten Langkat 341,615, Kabupaten Deli Serdang 971,621 but, like the previous census of 1930, the ethnic affiliation of the people was not taken into account. Joustra (1926:58) made an estimate of 150,000 souls in 1926; assuming that the natural increase per annum was about 1.5 per cent the Karo may now number about 240,000. Based on the information of a number of officials, my rough estimate is that there are about 300,000 Karo thus constituting about 16 per cent of all the Batak who roughly number 1,800,000.

In terms of physical characteristics the Batak, like the Dayak in Kalimantan and the Toradja in Sulawesi are regarded as Proto-Malay.

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The distinction between Proto- and Deutero-Malays, to whom the Minangkabau, the coastal Malays, the Sundanese and the Javanese belong, is summarised by Kennedy (1943:5) as follows: 'the proto-Malay is shorter and has a darker skin, wavier hair and stockier physique than the deutero-Malay, and his facial features lack the characteristic Mongoloid slanting eye with inside fold on the upper eyelid, as well as the prominent cheekbones of the deutero-Malay.'

The dress the Karo wear in everyday life is much the same as other neighbouring peoples. The essential garments for a man are a pair of trousers and a shirt whilst women wear a sarong and a kebaja, which is a long sleeved blouse reaching below the waist. It is also customary for a man to wear a sarong in addition to his trousers. On formal occasions he wears a black velvet cap (songkok) and a coat. Additional garments for a women are a stole, which she hangs over her shoulder, and occasionally a folded cloth head-dress (tudong).

On ceremonial occasions everyone wears colourful ceremonial attire called paken adat, adat attire. Unlike everyday clothing, which material is either imported from overseas or manufactured in Java, adat attire is the produce of local industry. The adat attire of a man consists of a long black cloth with geometrical decorations to cover the lower part of his body from his waist to his ankles, a red sarong with starlike decorations which he uses as his stole and a head-dress of cloth decorated with golden threads.
Plate 1.

Karo men in ceremonial attire, at a purification ritual (erpangir kulau). Limang.
Women wear heavy colourful head-dresses, stoles on their shoulders and long cloths covering their sarongs. On special occasions both men and women wear golden bracelets and necklaces.

History

Not much can be said about the history of the Karo. Despite the fact that a local script called Batak script (surat Batak) does exist there are, to my knowledge, no chronicles written in that script. The texts deal mainly with divination and spells written by priests (guru) on bark, bamboo and, more recently, on paper. The practical value of the script in their everyday life seems to be insignificant and is not a media of communication. I never came across a letter written in Batak script.

Hindu influence in Batak culture is remarkable. Loeb writes (1935:20-1):

Direct Hindu influence is said by the natives themselves to have come from the east (Timur). They state that this country was the starting point of indigenous 'science' (divination books, magic staves, and magic preparations). The more important Hindu traits imported into the Batak country were wet rice culture, the horse, the plough, the peculiar style of dwelling, chess, cotton and the spinning wheel, Hindu vocabulary, system of writing and religious ideas. Some of the colonies from India were Dravidian, as has been shown by the presence of

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3 Timur or Timor is a classic name for Simelungun; Loeb (1935:20) made a mistake in saying that 'The Toba Bataks who live east of Toba Lake (sic) are called Timur (east) (cf. Tideman, 1935).
Dravidian sib names among the Pak-pak, Karo, and even the Gajo and Alas. Even the Batak term for sib (Toba, marga; Karo, merga) is Sanskrit in origin. Mohammedan influence came to Sumatra earlier than Java and had the effect of stopping Hindu influence on the Bataks, thus isolating them from contact with higher civilizations.

Barus, Pansur and Lubuktua, the three important commercial centres on the southern coast of Batakland, undoubtedly played an important role in channeling these foreign influences. Since the beginning of our era Barus or Baros was already very widely known for its camphor and benzoin and this is clearly seen in the term - used both in Malay and many local languages - kapur Barus (literally Barus lime) for camphor. In about 150 A.D. Ptolemaeus had already referred to North Sumatra and its surrounding islands as Barus islands (Joustra, 1926:20).

Available data indicated that, for political and religious reasons, the Batak people, including the Karo, were never on good terms with the Atjehnese. The latter made several attempts to establish political control over the Batak and convert them to Islam. The Batak reacted strongly against this. Muslim proselytizers from Atjeh frequently visited Karoland but did not achieve much success. One of them, Tengku Sheikh Lau Bahun, was opposed by the Karo and killed. His grave is to be seen at a place about five kilometers from Kabandjahe. The only notable progress of Islam was at Tigabinanga, which now has approximately 250 Karo Muslims.
There are many accounts in Karo folklore of the conflict with the Atjehnese. Most important is a legend called the story of Puteri Idjo. The Indonesian version, which is slightly different from the Karo, is called Puteri Hidjau and has been published in verse form (see Rahman: Sja'ir Puteri Hidjau, Djakarta, 1955). The Karo version has not been written but it is a popular story in their oral literature. A summary of it runs as follows:

There was a beautiful princess in Deli Tua named Puteri Idjo who belonged to the Sembiring clan by birth and originated from Seberaja village in the Karo Highlands. She had two brothers, a cannon and a huge snake.

One morning the king of Atjeh saw a brilliant blue light in the east and sent a number of officials in his court to inquire what it was. The officials returned to Atjeh saying that the blue light was the radiance of a beautiful princess, Puteri Idjo, the daughter of the king of Deli Tua.

The king of Atjeh fell in love with her and sent an envoy to make a proposal of marriage but this was refused by the princess. He decided to marry her with or without her consent and sent his troops to capture her.

There followed a bitter war in which the Atjehnese were beaten. Later the Atjehnese renewed their attack, this time employing new tactics. They used silver coins as bullets and the Deli Tua troops, instead of defending their country, busied themselves collecting the precious coins. However, the cannon, who was Puteri Idjo's brother, fought violently. Eventually his body became aglow and got thirsty. He asked Puteri Idjo for some water. His sister refused saying: 'You won't get a drop of water before the Atjehnese are defeated'. When somebody served the cannon some water, it fell to pieces, one part in the vicinity of Sukanalu village in Karo Highland and the other part near Medan. (There is a broken piece of a cannon near Sukanalu and the other one
at the front yard of Sultan Deli palace; both are believed to be the broken pieces of Puteri Idjo's brother and have been treated as sacred objects). Deli Tua was defeated. After conversing with his sister the snake left Deli Tua and went to the ocean.

At her own request Puteri Idjo was placed in a glass container on board the ship which brought her to Atjeh. Another request of the princess was that every Atjehnese family should give her a handful of tjiimpa (uncooked rice flour mixed with brown sugar) and a chicken egg and these should be placed in a heap at the harbour at which she landed. When she set foot in Atjeh it was indeed near the heaps of tjiimpa and eggs and looked out to the sea. Thereupon a storm broke out and a huge snake, the brother of Puteri Idjo, emerged from the rough sea and landed near his sister. The snake consumed all the heaped tjiimpa and eggs. Then Puteri Idjo climbed onto the snake who carried her out to sea where they disappeared.

Despite this and other legends the Karo seemed to attribute some degree of political authority to the Atjehnese prior to the coming of the Dutch. It is remembered that a representative of the Sultan of Atjeh - who was called tuan kita (our lord) - came to Karoland and appointed four Karo radjas called sibajak (literally 'the rich') to govern Karoland. According to Tamboen (1952:25-6) the king of Atjeh summoned the Karo chiefs to a place near the Bahun river between Lingga and Surbakti villages. Here the appointment of a sibajak was based on an ordeal. Only a chief who was endowed with supernatural power could be a qualified sibajak and to test this each chief drove a legendary buffalo called si nangga lutu by turn. It is said that when such a chief drove the buffalo the animal felt heavy and its back caved in. Through this procedure the king of Atjeh nominated
four Karo sibajaks: the sibajaks of Lingga, of Barusdjahe, of Sarinembah and of Suka. Each sibajak received a knife called bawar as a symbol of office from the king of Atjeh.

However the effective authority of the four sibajaks was very limited for the Karo had no tradition of kingship. Political organisation had hitherto been based on a non-centralised segmentary lineage system and there is no tradition of Karo ever having paid homage to foreign peoples or their kings, not even to the king of Atjeh.

A turning point in the history of the Karo people was the annexation of their country by the Dutch in 1906 without any significant opposition from Karo. Dutch troops were previously involved in a number of minor wars when they first arrived in Kabandjahe in 1904 but as the Karo were comparatively backward in military organisation and equipment their attempts at resistance were overcome without much difficulty. Pa Tiram, an old man of Lau Perimbon, said: 'It was useless to fight against the tuan (Dutch). They could shoot in any direction and were able to reload their guns in such a short time. Their guns were much more powerful than ours and could kill a man across a paddyfield. We could not shoot downhill for our round bullets would roll out of the barrel. Ammunition and bullets were loaded separately and so loading took
a long time. When it rained we were in a hopeless situation. We
could not load our guns in the rain.'

The only local chief who refused to cooperate with the Dutch
government was the renowned Pa Tolong, the sibajak of Kuta Buluh.
Pa Tolong, according to my informants, prevented his people from
performing statute labour in building a main road to and through the
highlands. Further he claimed that what he meant by 'my people'
were those who grew bamboo (buluh). It is said that when the Dutch
admitted that they themselves grew bamboo, the answer of Pa Tolong
was: 'you are also my people'. This expression of Pa Tolong became
very popular among the Karo. Pa Tolong was captured and brought to
Seribu Dolok in Simelungun, the then capital of the subdivision of
Simelungun and the Karoland. What happened to him is not known and
he never returned. Today the Karo regard Pa Tolong as a hero; there
has recently been an attempt to have him declared a national hero by
the central government in Djakarta.

The coming of the Dutch brought drastic changes in various
fields of Karo social life. The tribal political organisation which
lacked central authority was replaced by a stable colonial government.
Traditional institutions such as inter-village warfare and slavery
were abolished and Christianity was introduced. A number of new
regulations were issued by the Dutch including the prohibition of
abortion, which was a common practice in the pre-Dutch period, the
restriction and later prohibition of opium trading and the segregation of lepers to a newly founded asylum at Lau Simomo; finally, vaccination became obligatory.

In the Dutch administrative system Karoland was divided into a number of administrative units. The political implication of this fragmentation of Karoland was that, under the prevailing policy of indirect rule by the Dutch, part of the Karo people became subject to non-Karo native chiefs. Thus the Dusun Karo became administratively separated from the Karo Highlands which they regard as their place of origin. Instead they were included in the sultanates of Langkat, Deli and Serdang respectively, each of which was ruled by a Malay sultan. Part of Karoland was included in the 'onderafdeeling Dairiland' in the 'afdeeling Bataklanden' whose capital was Tarutung. Although Dairiland is indeed another name for Pakpakland, economically and politically the Pakpak and their country were subject to Toba-Batak hegemony.

Karoland, in administrative and consequently in political terms, was restricted by the Dutch to the confined geographic area of the highlands. It became the 'onderafdeeling Karolanden', administered by a Dutch 'controleur' whose office and residence was in Kabandjahe, the newly built capital town. Together the 'onderafdeeling Karolanden' and the 'onderafdeeling Simelungun' constituted the 'afdeeling Simelungun en de Karolanden', headed by a Dutch 'assistent-resident' at
Pematang Siantar. This 'afdeeling' belonged to the province of the East Coast of Sumatra, whose chief administrator was a Dutch governor in Medan.

The Dutch appointed the existing four sibajaks sub-district chiefs. In addition the Dutch government nominated one other sibajak, the sibajak Kuta Buluh, so that the Karo highlands or the 'onderafdeeling Karolanden', was subdivided into five smaller administrative units. Each unit was called keradjan (literally 'kingdom'), headed by a sibajak.

Each keradjan was divided into several urung. The number of urung in a keradjan ranged from two to six and the total number of urung in the Highlands was eighteen, each administered by a radja urung. An urung composed several villages, each with a village chief called pengulu (from ulu which means 'head'). The office of these native chiefs, from the pengulu to the sibajak, was transmitted to their descendants following the rule of male primogeniture.

The administrative system described above remained in force until the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945. Since Independence however various modifications were introduced including the elimination of the prerogatives of the traditional chiefs. Now the

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Since August 1915 the status of the East Coast of Sumatra as an administrative unit was raised from gewest to gouvernement (Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol.III, 1919:148).
chief administrator at each administrative level is elected to his
office. At the village level the headman is elected by the
villagers but at the higher levels it is by a body of local
representatives. The administrative divisions above the village
level are the ketjamatan (district), kabupaten (regency) and
propinsi (province) respectively, the first two terms being
Javanese in origin and the last Dutch.

The opening of a network of roads in Karoland after the Dutch
annexation, the establishment of new market places, the inflow of
industrial goods, the demand for wage labourers in various fields
and the obligation to pay annual taxes were determining factors in
changing their economic system. Another important factor in the
economic development of the Karo highlands has been their
geographical proximity to Medan, a boom town on the East Coast
about 60 kilometers from the Karo Highlands. The cool climate of
the Highlands make this area the main source of fruit and
European vegetables for Medan; it is also important as a tourist
and recreation area.

The Bataksch Instituut which was established in 1908 in
Leiden played an important role in pioneering this economic
development although, in fact, the aim of the institution was
primarily to deal with the promotion of scholarly studies of the
Batak. The Institute had an irregular publication called
'Uitgaven van het Bataksch instituut'. Of the twelve numbers
published before 1916 we find two of great importance: Batakspiegel (1910) and 'van Medan near Padang en terug' (1915), both by M. Joustra. Apart from its literary work, the institute conducted experiments in the practical fields which have subsequently been of great importance to the economic history of the Karo.

Under the leadership of Mr Botje, an agriculturalist, the Institute sponsored an experimental garden near Berastagi in 1911. (Since 1915 in Kuta Gadung between Kabandjahe and Berastagi). There he demonstrated scientific methods of growing European vegetables and explained that the demand for these goods in Medan was considerable. Botje's first experiment with tomato growing proved successful and this had a great influence on the people around Berastagi. The Karo Highlands soon became an important vegetable and fruit producer for Medan and other cities in east Sumatra and later for Penang and Singapore.

The development of the Karo Lowlands followed a different course, however. Unlike the Highlands in which there are no foreign plantations, Langkat, Deli and Serdang were among the most important centres of foreign plantations in Netherlands East Indies and this shaped, to a large extent, the economic life of both the rural and the urban population of the area.

The Highland Karo enjoyed a better political and economic position than the Lowland Karo and this fact is widely recognised. It is also acknowledged that 'adat is stronger' in the Highlands.
Malay influence is strongly felt among the Lowland Karo, particularly in music, dancing and religion. In the past many Karo families became Malays as Karo were then at the lowest level of the regional ethno-social pyramid. There were advantages to be gained from identification with the religion and ethnic group of the Malay sultans. Another reason for 'Malayanisation' was that this offered an escape and refuge for Karo who were banished from their own society for having broken the rule of clan exogamy or transgressed other indicted degrees of intermarriage.

After Independence however conditions changed radically. The sultans and their followers are no longer in power; instead they became the victims of the social revolution (revolusi sosial, I) which took place in 1946 in East Sumatra, and which ended the political and economic hegemony of the Malay chiefs in this area. On the other hand the Karo made considerable advances in various fields and now hold many key positions as army officers and higher government officials in North Sumatra. At the same time the Lowland Karo and other peasants in the area have repossessed their land formerly alienated by the plantations although in many cases they are still in the position of illegal squatters.
CHAPTER TWO:

THE VILLAGE

After having briefly described the land and the people, in this chapter we will proceed with our discussion of the local organization, the village. A village in Karo is a territorial entity but its specific feature is that its inhabitants are linked by intricate kinship bonds. A village is invariably compact with an average length seldom exceeding 150 metres. One may view a village as a parcel of land where people build houses, barns, a pounding house (lesung), a coffee-house, a village house (djambor) and poultry pens, each structure in close proximity to the others. In no circumstances, however, is a garden a part of the house.

Each village has its own name which is frequently based on the geographical, floral or other features of the locality. Kuala, the name of a village, means an estuary or a place of confluence of two rivers; Kuta Gamber means the village of gambier; Kempawa is a kind of palmtree; Kuta Mbaru means a new place or village, and so on.

Around the village is the village land (taneh kuta) used for agriculture and pasture. The inhabitants of the village constitute a land-owning unit and non-residents may not use the village land for economic purposes. The only exception to this rule was hunting provided that one fore-leg of a quarry was given to the pengulu,
the village chief, whilst for fishing no restriction is known. After Independence, however, the headman's right to the foreleg was abolished for such a prerogative was deemed feudalistic.

Demographically there is a marked difference between small and large villages. A small village is composed of a number of families, frequently less than ten, whilst a big village is inhabited by hundreds of families so that some villages have a population exceeding one or two thousand people. Djuhar, the biggest Karo village, has a population of about 4,000, consisting of about 800 families.

There seems to be a strong correlation between a village's population size and political structure. Unlike small villages, big villages are divided into several wards (kesain) and in the past (before Independence), each kesain was a political unit with its own chief (pengulu kesain) and land (taneh kesain) but the integrity of the village as a whole was characterised by the fact that the pengulu of the senior kesain, in an historical sense, was recognised as the senior pengulu. The number of kesain in such large villages varies and in Djuhar there are nine kesain.

Kuta Gamber and Liren, with which I am concerned in this chapter, are villages of medium size - with a population of 372 and 189 respectively - and are not divided into kesain. Indeed the majority of Karo villages (about 95 per cent) may be classified as medium and small and they are not divided into kesain. In
accordance with the people's own classification I classify a village as small if it is occupied by less than 25 families, medium if by 25 - 100 families and big if by more than 100 families. Ketjamatan Taneh Pinem, the district (ketjamatan) into which Kuta Gamber and Liren belong administratively, is composed of 42 villages and only one of them, Lau Perimbon, has kesain subdivisions.

Location and physical environment

To reach Kuta Gamber and Liren from Medan, the capital of the province, one travels by motor road to Kabandjahe, the capital of Karo regency. The distance between Medan and Kabandjahe is 77 kilometres and the condition of the road, in 1961, was good but the journey took generally about three hours, partly because the road is steep and winding and partly because the bus stopped several times on the way. The journey is continued by bus from Kabandjahe to Tiga Binanga, about 28 kilometres westwards, and this takes another two hours. From there one may continue by bus for another hour on a bad road to Kuta Buluh but the majority of people prefer to walk from Tiga Binanga to Kuta Gamber or Liren. It is more economical, of course, and, in fact, continuing the journey by bus to Kuta Buluh does not speed up the journey. The journey by foot from Tiga Binanga to Kuta Gamber covers about 12 kilometres and takes about three hours whilst from Kuta Buluh to Kuta Gamber the distance is about 8 kilometres and it takes about two hours.
The geographical environment of Kuta Gamber and Liren is mountainous. Both villages lie on the slope of a mountain, Deleng Kempawa, with the altitude of about 650 metres above sea level. This slope is the main agricultural land of the two villages. Lau Rimbon river marks the end of the slope and it was the bathing place of Kuta Gamber in the past. Across Lau Rimbon is part of the Bukit Barisan range which has to be climbed by people walking from Tiga Binanga to Kuta Gamber or Liren. The western slope of this part of Bukit Barisan serves as grazing land for both villages. Their main economic activities are thus located on these two slopes, the Deleng Kempawa slope for agriculture and the Bukit Barisan slope for cattle.

The land is bare and mostly grown by alang-alang (I; Imperata cylindrica). People regret that, due to the extensive use of the land by shifting cultivation and specifically by its increasingly short fallow period, the forest has disappeared. In the past the fallow period ranged from ten to fifteen years whilst at present it has been drastically reduced to three to four years. On the other hand the period of cultivation is increased: instead of having one or two crops of rice within one or two agricultural years before the land is regenerated, it is now a common practice to cultivate a plot of land for six to eight crops - rice and cash - in three to four successive years. The condition of the
Plate 2.

Liren village. In the background is part of Bukit Barisan, covered by lalang (Imperata Sp.) which serves as pasture for Liren and Kuta Gamber villages.
soil is well described by a geologist who made a survey of this area.

Lateric soils of different kinds depending upon the percentage of Fe2O3 and Fe3O4 which changes with the location; this is because of the more or less intense weathering of original rocks which could be encountered in the sub-surface e.g. limestone, marls and metamorphic rocks like schists and shales. Also apparently the existence of pegmatites is present with SiO2 percentage which is relatively high in the petrographical sense.

So, from agricultural standpoint, it could be said that in general the soil in this area is poor and will not give satisfactory yields. Besides the influence of erosion (as the result of shifting cultivation) is quite great and special measures have to be taken for conservation of the soil.

The lay-out of the village

In stories and love songs a village is always described as sheltering under coconut palms. Indeed, looking at a village from some distance it looks like a coconut grove. It seems that there is a habit of planting coconut palms as soon as a village is founded so that when speaking about the history of a village one frequently hears that certain coconut palms are as old as the village itself. Moreover there are a number of villages which have been abandoned but their sites are still marked by coconut palms.

This is a personal communication from the geologist concerned but on his specific request I have not given his name.
In the past every village was encircled by a strong fence and the people who owned the gardens around the village were responsible for its upkeep. There was a gate for the entrance of cattle and carts but people entered the village by climbing one ladder and descending another. There was thus a clear demarcation of the village site and when people said 'in the village' they were referring to the geographical area 'inside the village fence and gate'. The fence and gate were built primarily for defensive purposes in the olden days and secondly to prevent pigs from leaving the village and damaging the fields. After the Dutch occupation inter-village warfare disappeared and keeping the pigs in check became the primary function of the village fence and gate. After Independence, in accordance with the national cleanliness movement (Gerakan Kebersihan Nasional, I) pigs are not allowed to roam in the village. Villagers must keep their pigs in pens and those who disregard this instruction run the risk of a police patrol killing their pigs. This resulted in village fences being neglected and gates have practically disappeared. Instead pig pens surround a village.

Map 2 shows the lay-out of Liren village which I consider to be a typical average village in Karo. I chose Liren rather than Kuta Gamber for this description because the former is smaller in size but nevertheless it is more typical because, unlike Kuta Gamber, it has a sembahen, a traditional shrine.
Map 2.

LIREN VILLAGE

cemetery

LEGEND
- adat house
- modern house
- cs coffee shop
- djambor
- si school for illiterates
- barn
- women's bathing place
- men's bathing place
- cement tomb
- pig pen
- chicken pen
- coconut grove
- tangerine grove
- banana grove
- path

---
to Kuta Buluh

to Kempawa

forest

village shrine

to Kuta Gamber

10 metres
There are two types of dwelling place: the adat and the modern house. In Liren we find six adat-houses, one of which is a small type consisting of four segments; the rest are the bigger and more representative type each consisting of eight segments. The division of the house in Map 2 however shows the social rather than the physical divisions of the house. In three of the six adat-houses the social divisions correspond with the physical divisions of the house because each family occupies one section (sentjepik). In the other three houses there is an asymmetrical division of the house because besides families who each occupy one section there are also families who occupy two adjacent sections (seruang). In one case a single family occupies four sections. This house however is comparatively small so that in size it is comparable with two sections in a big adat-house. The adat-house is further discussed in Chapter 3.

In Liren there are nine modern houses and these are architecturally distinct from the adat-houses and resemble the modern houses in a town. One house looks more like a hut than a modern house but for the sake of simplicity I have classified it as a modern house. Moreover, compared with an adat-house a modern house is smaller in size and it is occupied by a smaller number of families. An adat-house is ideally occupied by eight families and a modern house by one. As shown in Map 2 there is, however, a strong tendency for a modern house to be occupied by
more than one family. Two of the six modern houses in Liren were occupied by two and three families respectively.

There are ten barns in Liren village. Five of these barns serve as sleeping places for young boys, unmarried men and male travellers. They sleep in the attic of the barn which is reached by a bamboo ladder. Again two types of barns can be distinguished: one with an open platform and the other without, and this again corresponds to the distinction in their function. There are six barns with platforms in Liren. This type of barn has potentially three functions, i.e. it is a store house for paddy, its attic may be used as a sleeping place and the open platform of its lower part as a meeting place or sort of community centre.

The one which is situated in the centre of the village and which fulfils the three functions mentioned above is called a **djambor**. When speaking about a **djambor** however emphasis is laid on the two additional functions of the building: a dormitory for unmarried men and a meeting place. When people say: 'He sleeps in the **djambor**', reference is made to the attic, but when one says 'He is chatting in the **djambor**', the reference is to the open platform beneath the granary. However one never says that the paddy is stored in the **djambor** even though one is referring to the same building. In that case the building is called **sapo pagé**, the paddy hut.
Plate 3.

The structure in the background is 'the big djambor', also called balé. On the left is a coffee-shop and on the right 'the small djambor'. Liren.
Of the six store-houses with open platforms in Liren only three are called djambor: 'the big djambor' (djambor mbelin), 'the small djambor' (djambor kitik) and 'the djambor of women' (djambor diberu). The names of the first two djambor are based on their size but the third name is based on its function as a meeting place.

In general, the djambor, as a meeting place, is used exclusively by men. It is the place for a man to spend his leisure time, to talk there with friends or do some minor task like making a bamboo spoon or repairing a fishing net. When coming back from the fields in the afternoon a man usually goes to the djambor and 'there he waits for the food to be cooked'. He only goes home after the meal is ready and it is also a common practice to return to the djambor after having a meal and later to return home to sleep. The same thing happens in the morning: a man gets up around six o'clock, goes to the bathing place to perform his toilet and have a bath, and then goes to the djambor to smoke a cigarette and have a chat before breakfast.

That there is a 'djambor of women' in Liren is indeed an exception. Although this djambor is not as extensively used by women as the other djambor by men it is, nevertheless, very frequent that the djambor is filled with women. However, unlike the other djambor, which is exclusively for men, this djambor is not exclusively for women. Every morning a number of men sit there
but at noon it is sometimes occupied exclusively by women while they
dry their paddy in the sun before taking it to the rice-mill. Some
of the women might come to plait their mats or *sumpit* (pandan
container) or delouse one another.

'The big *djambor* is also called *bale* (courthouse) and this
indicates another function of the building. In the traditional
judicial system which was maintained until the Japanese period, the
lowest judicial body in the hierarchy was at the village level
where councils were held on the *bale*, i.e. the platform of the
*djambor*. After Independence the judicial system was simplified and
the village court was consequently abolished. At present the lowest
court in the hierarchy is at the regency level. Nevertheless,
despite the lack of its legal foundation, minor judicial cases are
occasionally treated by both the village chief and village elders
in the village so that the function of 'the big *djambor*' as a *bale*
still, in fact, survives.

Liren and Kuta Gamber each have two coffee-houses. A coffee-
house in the village is a recent phenomenon but today it has become
an important institution in Karo village life. Every village of
medium size has at least one coffee-house. Like the *djambor* the
coffee-house is exclusively for men. People drink tea or coffee
there but generally lemonade, beer and wine are also available.
Consequently it introduces a discrepancy in consumption between the
two sexual groups. It is men, but not women, who drink tea and coffee and eat biscuits in their everyday life.

In addition, miscellaneous domestic needs like kerosene, small kerosene lamps, salt, dried fish, needles, buttons, medicine, etc. are sold in the coffee-shop.

Indeed, the coffee-shop manifests the changing economic and social pattern in the village life. In the shop, people, like those who live in town, sit on chairs, read the daily newspaper and listen to the transistor radio. A coffee-shop is therefore an important source for information. Travellers usually stop at the shop, drink a cup of coffee and exchange news. Similarly the villagers who visited other places, when returning home, spread news in the shop. At night it is the only place which is well-lit in the village. For that a coffee-shop has at least one kerosene pressure lamp.

There are two separate bathing places, one for men and the other for women. The water is channeled through a bamboo pipe under which people shower. It is sacred because it is believed to be the dwelling place of spirits. A bathing place has therefore an important religious function. In rites of passage, for instance, a newly born child is taken there and various cleansing rites are held.

Near the spring is the sembahen, the village shrine. It is situated in the middle of a small sacred grove. The sembahen
itself is a spot which is about five metres square where we find the traditional sacred plants: kalindjuhang (Cordyline fruticosa Backer), besi-besi (fam. Acanthaceae) and sangka sempilet (Justicia gendarusa). This place is believed to serve as a centre for the guardian spirits of the village. In times of distress, such as epidemics and war, people go in procession to the sembahen and ask for protection. Such a ceremony is led by the bangsa taneh (the ruling lineage) because it is believed that only a member of the bangsa taneh can get in touch with the guardian spirits of the sembahen. A village is thus a ritual unit.

The chief spirits of every sembahen are Pa Megoh and Nandé Megoh who, according to a myth, are husband and wife but also brother and sister. They were twins and because they were born on an inauspicious day their parents cast them away downstream from the bathing place under a pandanus tree. A civet cat took them away to the forest where they grew up as spirits and got married. One day a traveller passed the forest in which they lived and through him they sent a message to their parents telling them about their dwelling place. The parents were astonished to hear this news and went to the forest to visit their children. Then came a voice from a tree saying that they, the twins who were cast away downstream from the bathing place, were now husband and wife, the husband called Pa Megoh and the wife Nandé Megoh. They would become guardian spirits, they said, and would guard the village on the
condition that a special ceremony was held and offerings made upstream from the bathing place. The villagers accordingly held the proposed ceremony by which the sembahen was created upstream from the bathing place with two primary guardian spirits: Pa Megoh and Nandé Megoh.

Another place which is believed to be the wandering place of spirits is the graveyard which is also situated outside the village. A graveyard is always a wilderness. A new grave has a bamboo fence but after a couple of years have elapsed the fence disappears and the grave turns into part of the wilderness. There is no custom of cleaning the cemetery. In fact cleaning the grave is regarded as taboo because it is believed to invite death. 'Let the grave be a wilderness so that people are reluctant to stay there (to die)', said Pa Djiman.

In the Perbégu religion, there is no clear explanation concerning the abode of the dead. It is believed that the spirits of the deceased (bégú) visit the graveyard frequently and for this reason offerings are frequently placed there. The spirits live somewhere else. By examining the mortuary rites we discern that the spirit is believed to join his relatives; a deceased man joins his agnates and a married woman her deceased husband or the deceased agnates of her husband.

In this rite a spirit medium presents offerings to si mada pateken (the founder), the head of the graveyard, which is the
spirit of the first man buried there. The spirit medium says to the head of the graveyard: 'Here I am making offerings to you in order to let you know that your grandchild so-and-so (the name of the deceased) is coming to you. Please send him to his relatives. In case you cannot find his relatives pretty soon, would you please take care of him in the meantime; he can tap palm wine for you.' The rite is called sehken ku kadé-kadéna, sending (the deceased) to his or her relatives.

It is believed that, in general, the way of life of the spirits is the same as that of the living. They live in houses and villages, have joys and sorrows and engage in various occupations for their living. However nobody can explain where they live.

The skull of a distinguished person is kept in a skull-house (geriten). There is one such house in Kuta Gamber in which the skulls of Pa Tingger and his wife are kept. Pa Tingger was the pengulu of Kuta Gamber and was a wealthy man. His son Tingger succeeded him as pengulu and erected a geriten for his parents. The skulls are placed in a wooden box and kept in the attic of the geriten. In the first two years the corpse is buried in a grave and after the skull is dry it is removed to the geriten in a major ceremony.

In recent years the cement tomb has become more popular than the geriten. There is one such tomb in Liren and one in Kuta Gamber, the former the tomb of a pengulu and the latter of a well-
known priest. Like the geriten, a cement tomb is a status symbol. Firstly it reflects the economic status of the children of the deceased because only well-to-do people in the village can afford to build a cement tomb particularly because such a tomb, like the geriten, requires a big mortuary feast. Secondly it is a manifestation of social distinction because to have a geriten or a cement tomb requires the fulfilment of certain conditions. Commoners must be buried in the graveyard outside the village. Only the members of the bangsa taneh, the guru, the spirit medium, the smith and the players of the traditional orchestra have the right to a geriten or cement tomb in the village.

In the past, there was always a pounding house in a village where women pounded paddy. Today the pounding house has almost gone and the rice mill with a huller has taken its place. There is neither a pounding house in Liren nor in Kuta Gamber. They send their paddy to the rice mill near Kuta Gamber which is cooperatively owned by the two villages.

There is no school in Liren or Kuta Gamber. Children of both villages go to school in Lau Perimbon which has the nearest elementary school to Liren and Kuta Gamber. To reach Lau Perimbon takes about 45 minutes on foot from Kuta Gamber and one hour from Liren. The school commencement age is about seven or eight years and almost all children of that age go to school. For further education children are sent to Kuta Buluh, Tiga Binanga and Kabandjahe.
In both villages however there is a P.B.H. (Pemberantasan Buta Huruf, I, anti-illiteracy) school. A hut was cooperatively built for this school in Liren while in Kuta Gamber an empty hut was made available. Joining this school is obligatory and it is opened in the evenings.

Social composition

A Karo village is invariably heterogeneous from the point of view of the agnatic affiliation of its inhabitants. In both Liren and Kuta Gamber villages the five Karo clans - Ginting, Karo-karo, Perangin-angin, Sembiring and Tarigan - are represented and such a composition is typical (see Tables 1 and 8). During my fieldwork I did not come across a village whose constituent family-heads all belonged to the same agnatic group but, if a village be small in size, it may happen that not all of the five clans are represented in it.

This conforms with Karo ideology that an agnatic group cannot alone form a local group. One agnatic group, however large, may not, according to adat, found a village. In the political structure of the village there is always one agnatic group which is politically dominant called the bangsa taneh, 'the people of the land' or anak taneh, 'the children of the land'. They are the descendants of the founder of the village through the patrilineal line and enjoy special political and religious rights in the village.
However the bangsa taneh alone could not found a village. For a village to obtain jural recognition, at least four lineages should be represented: the bangsa taneh, the 'kalimbubu', the 'anakberu' and the 'senina' of the bangsa taneh. The kalimbubu stand as a wife giving group, the anakberu as a wife taking group and the senina, the clansmen but of different subclan.

This ideology is closely related to the old administrative and political system because the pengulu had to be assisted by an anakberu and a senina whilst his kalimbubu had an important role in the religious and ceremonial activities in the village. Thus we may find various agnatic groups in a village who claim to be the descendants of a traditional anakberu, kalimbubu or senina of the bangsa taneh. When I enquired how Derpih became a resident of Kuta Gamber, he said: 'My ancestors and I were born in this village. My greatgrandfather married into this village and his descendants continue to live here. Moreover we are the traditional anakberu of this "village".'

I am frequently told that 'there are no others in the village', and by this it is meant that all the villagers are linked by kinship ties. Indeed, almost all of the inhabitants are related in one way or another to the members of the bangsa taneh who are politically and socially the core of the village community.

Wage labourers are temporary residents in the village. They belong to a number of ethnic categories like the Toba, Pakpak,
Table 1

The social composition of Liren

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>SUBCLAN</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Perangin-angin</td>
<td>a. Pinem</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sebajang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Bangun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2. Ginting | a. Munte | 6    | -      | 14    |
|            | b. Sugihen | -    | 5      |       |
|            | c. Babo    | 8    | 7      |       |
|            | d. Suka    | -    | 2      |       |
|            | **Total**  | **14** | **14** | **28** |

|              | b. Milala | 35   | 30     |       |
|              | c. Keloko | -    | 1      |       |
|              | d. Gurukinajan | - | 1 |       |
|              | **Total** | **35** | **33** | **68** |

| 4. Tarigan | a. Gersang | 7    | 7      | 18    |
|            | b. Sibero  | 8    | 5      |       |
|            | c. Tua     | 3    | 3      |       |
|            | d. Djambor Lateng | - | 2 |       |
|            | **Total**  | **18** | **17** | **35** |

|              | **Total**    | **189** |

(1) membership by birth

(2) 98 male, 91 female
Singkel, Gajo and Javanese. Sometimes they number about seventy or eighty people in the two villages. They come in groups of three to five. There is no inter-mixture between them so that each group belongs to the same ethnic category. Some are newcomers but some have been to the village several times previously.

The presence of the wage labourers in the village is closely related to the agricultural cycle. There is much work to be done after harvest in January because this is the time for planting tobacco and onions, two of the most important cash crops in the area. So from January to March we find many wage-labourers in the village. Additional labour is also required in July and August when the tobacco is processed.

The daily wage of a labourer in 1961 was Rp 50 excluding meals. The landlord should provide food either by serving a labourer a meal at his house, or by giving him one litre (two gantangs) of rice daily, some salt, tobacco and bulung ipah (pandanus for smoking) and lending him a cooking pot. The second arrangement is most commonly adopted. During this period huts around the village, are therefore, occupied by groups of wage labourers. Some of them spend the night in the hut in the field where they work but occasionally a group of workers sleep in an unoccupied djambor in the village.

The wage labourers are treated as strangers by the villagers, and, in fact, there is little assimilation in their social life.
They do not take part in the social activities of the village and are not invited to attend meetings and festivities. The lingua franca is either Karo or Bahasa Indonesia but quite a number of people in the village speak Pakpak and Toba as well. Without exception all the labourers are males, either married or unmarried. None of them are Karo. There is no intermarriage between them and the girls in the village and the prevailing social distance between them and the villagers seems to be the decisive factor here. The villagers look down upon them partly because of their social position as labourers, but principally because of ethnic prejudice.

Historical background

Karo village histories reveal the story of its foundation, a story which each village possesses. This history of Kuta Gamber and Liren usually begins with Radja Enggang, a mythical ancestor whose natal village was Djambu in central Pakpakland. He went to Karo and founded Pinem village. One of his descendants from Pinem founded Mbatjang village and the founding ancestor of Liren came from this village. He lived with his first wife in Liren and placed his second wife in Kuta Gamber. Their genealogical depth from the present lowest generation to the founding ancestor is, following their pedigree, about eight generations. Further details about this myth will be described in Chapter 5.
Written records about their history do not exist and in the people's oral explanation about the past - when speaking about the past, reference is always made to the period prior to the coming of the Dutch - emphasis is laid on inter-village war. Despite the fact that the principal lineages of Liren and Kuta Gamber were agnatically related, the relation between the two ruling groups was marked by serious antagonisms and was manifested in a number of wars. The last war occurred not long before the coming of the Dutch and under the Dutch rule inter-village warfare was strictly prohibited.

The Dutch appointed the pengulu of Liren as subdistrict chief (Kepala Negeri); his office was in Liren. Thereby the bangsa taneh of Liren became politically increasingly important. This appointment was based on a strong historical ground and was indeed in accordance with the traditional rule. According to custom, Liren is the 'mother' village of a number of neighbouring villages such as Kuta Gamber, Kempawa and Kuta Buluh. Liren is senior to Kuta Gamber because, as we have seen, the bangsa taneh of the latter village are believed to be the descendants of a younger son, i.e. the child of the second wife, of the founding ancestor of Liren. Similarly the founding ancestors of Kuta Buluh and Kempawa came from Kuta Gamber and they were therefore juniors. Ideally these villages should have a political association under the leadership of the bangsa taneh in Liren. In fact the leadership of Liren was ineffective but on the
other hand there had been disturbed relations between these villages and their 'mother' village.

Such political relations, that is, that the 'mother' village had no significant political power, seemed to be typical. Political rivalry between the different bangsa taneh and the lack of effective coersive power of the mother village are two important factors in this but, people explain this political situation in a different way. According to one source - which is widely accepted - the political problem was due to the fact that the ruling lineage in Liren is not 'the genuine' bangsa taneh. The real bangsa taneh was no longer in power. The present members of the ruling lineage are the descendants of a traveller who lived with the pengulu of Liren. He was a member of the Sukatendel (subclan) of Perangin-angin (clan) but later changed his subclan identification to Pinem to which his landlord belonged. He happened to be a clever man and was much more intelligent than the ruling pengulu. He was a great help to the pengulu and the latter gave him one of his wives who was barren. After she married the traveller she had a number of children. The traveller had great influence and seized power and henceforth became the bangsa taneh of Liren. So, following this explanation, the bangsa taneh of Kuta Gamber, Kuta Buluh and Kempawa were not loyal to the bangsa taneh of Liren because the blood of the latter is 'not genuine'. 
For strategical reasons the Dutch removed the capital of the sub-district (Drengerian) from Liren to a new place, Taneh Pinem, in 1919. There were still some disturbances caused by some disloyal Atjehnese around Taneh Pinem and for this the government decided to shift the capital to that area so that troops could be stationed there permanently. More than half the population of Liren shifted to the newly founded place. It is estimated that the population of Liren was about 90 families at that time and about 50 shifted to Taneh Pinem. Thereafter Kuta Gamber with a population of about 85 families became bigger than Liren. The political consequence of this is that Kuta Gamber is becoming gradually more important than Liren.

People in Kuta Gamber and Liren were pleased to talk about the revolution because the general feeling is that they did a lot for the struggle for independence. They were proud that most families possessed guns at that time. This was indeed a quick response to the proposal of the government. They purchased the guns through agents and when the situation became critical the government collected their weapons for the army. So it is still fresh in the memory of the people that Pa Linap contributed a Japanese rifle, Pa Rido a British rifle, Pa Sora, a well-to-do man in the village, two guns and so on. There was a rumour in 1950 that the government would pay full compensation for the weapons but a decade has elapsed and nothing has happened.
During 1947 and 1948 Kuta Gamber and Liren were crowded with refugees. In late 1947 the Dutch army seized control over the Karo Highlands and people from that area fled to isolated places. The refugees built huts in small forests around the village. As the situation worsened the villagers themselves moved to huts in the forest.

There was a likelihood that the Dutch troops would launch an attack on these remote villages particularly because Kuta Gamber was the headquarters of a regiment of guerillas. The Dutch had already fired two mortars which exploded about 200 metres from Liren. Selamat Ginting, the then chief of the Third Sector, led his troops from Kuta Gamber. So there are many stories of how the villagers rendered assistance to the refugees and the guerillas and they are very proud of them.

The political party entered the two villages soon after independence and all of them belonged to P.N.I. (the National Party) which has since been the strongest party in Karo. When I was in the field there was a strong feeling in the village that they were neglected by their political leaders in the towns and in this context a local leader told me: 'All of us voted for the P.N.I. in the last election but in the next election we will vote for the Communist Party'.

In 1958 Kuta Gamber and Liren became what is called kampung gabungan (I, joint village) which means that the two villages are
administered by one village headman. This was in accordance with a new regulation that a village headman should have at least 100 families or 500 souls in his village. Smaller villages have a joint village organization and the former village chief in the biggest village is appointed as joint village headman (*kepala kampung gabungan*, I); the village chief of the smaller village becomes the deputy of the village chief. Thus the village headman of Kuta Gamber retains his position as a *kepala kampung* (after Independence the village headman was no longer called *pengulu*) and that of Liren became the deputy of the village headman.

**The land**

All the inhabitants of Liren and Kuta Gamber, without exception, are farmers. In the two villages there are three schoolteachers, four shopkeepers, one tobacco trader and a number of spirit-mediums who each had a cash income but nevertheless, like the rest of the villagers, all of them are also engaged in agricultural activities. Those who are well-off own a number of cattle but again cattle-breeding is not an important source of income. Buying cattle is rather an action to save money. Because of the continuous inflation since the Japanese occupation people are reluctant to keep their savings in the form of cash.

The primary economic resource is the land on which shifting cultivation is still practised. Wet-field cultivation (*sabah*) is
of little economic importance in this area. In Kuta Gamber for instance ten families owned small plots of sabah with a total area of about two ha.

There is a conventional classification of village land into two categories: ibagasen kadjang (inside the kadjang) and iluar kadjang (outside the kadjang). The meaning of kadjang itself is obscure and when reference is made to the term people associate it with the rule concerning domestic animals in the village. According to Pa Ngadjam, an adat elder in Kuta Gamber, the area 'within the kadjang' is the potential wandering place of the domestic animals, particularly pigs. The area encircling the village has a radius of about 500 metres.

The area inside the kadjang consists of coconut, tangerine and banana groves which are individually owned by villagers. They belong to the early settlers of the village, that is the members of the bangsa taneh and their relatives, including their traditional anakberu and kalimbubu. In order to prevent the pigs from destroying the fields the owners of the gardens within the kadjang are obliged to fence their gardens. According to the adat rule a pig is still regarded as a domestic animal inside the kadjang; the implication being that one may not kill a pig there even though it had destroyed a garden. In this case it is not the pig but the owner of the garden who gets the blame because he has not kept his fence in good order. There is however an exception with regard to
unruly pigs. If the fence was, in their judgement, in good order but a pig had entered the garden by digging a hole under the fence then the owner of the animal was fined.

The main agricultural land of the village is the area outside the kadjang. Here a pig is regarded as a wild animal and should a farmer kill a pig in his garden the owner of the animal may not claim any compensation. For example in 1948 a group of hunters in Kuta Gamber killed a pig by mistake outside the kadjang. They shared the meat among themselves but gave the head to the owner.

Thus we find the application of two methods of cultivation side by side: sedentary cultivation inside the kadjang where people grow perennial trees like durian, coconut and tangerine and shifting cultivation outside the kadjang where people grow the staple (paddy) and cash crops.

As has been previously mentioned the inhabitants of a village are a landowning unit but this is particularly true with regard to the farming land outside the kadjang. It is true that the gardens inside the kadjang are also part of the village land and consequently belong to the village but they are now privately owned. Thus strictly speaking the land, in this case, belongs to the village and the garden or the grove to an individual who enjoys an usufructuary right over the land.

In shifting cultivation, ngumbung is the first step in opening a plot of land. Ngumbung is a verb which refers to an action in
Plate 4.

Karo paddy farms, Kuta Gamber. In the foreground are two stacks of newly reaped paddy.
which a man fixes a bamboo pole in the midst of a proposed field. On the top of the pole he hangs a bundle of shrubs and these serve as a sign that he is about to open the land. He then reports his action to his pengulu.

**Ngumbung** involves a series of ritual actions. The man undertakes the ngumbung on an auspicious day and clears the land about one metre square on which he fixes a pole. He grows a number of special plants there. Then he brings a handful of the soil home, wraps it in a piece of cloth and puts it near his pillow. For four nights he watches his dreams through which he, with the help of a priest, will know whether or not the proposed land is suitable.

Having opened the land for cultivation he enjoys an usufructuary right over it. This is best described by Pelzer (1945:18):

> The person who clears the land and plants the crop gets the produce. Nobody has the right to plant a plot that has been cleared by someone else. As soon as the land is abandoned all rights are forfeited, except the right of the community. However, if trees have been planted, the ownership of the trees and their produce remains with the person who planted them...

In general the above description holds true for the Karo. When a farmer clears secondary forest or a wilderness for cultivation it is true that after abandoning the land he enjoys no special residual right over it. However the term 'to abandon' in this context has to be clarified. Only after the stalks of the paddy of a man have disappeared and his hut collapsed can one say that the man has
abandoned his field. Then anyone who is interested in clearing this land can practice the ngumbung without giving any notice to the former occupants.

However there is an exception for those who clear virgin forest for cultivation. They enjoy what is called balik tinembak, that is the right of second cultivation of the same plot of land. Only after he cultivates the land twice does the right over the land revert to the village community. As virgin forest has almost disappeared from the farming land of Liren and Kuta Gamber only a few people enjoyed the right of balik tinembak when I was in the field.

As was mentioned in the preface, the method of production which we find in Kuta Gamber and Liren is atypical because today the mode of production in the greater part of Karoland is sedentary cultivation. There are irrigated rice fields in many areas and the application of fertilizers is increasingly important. With regard to their land problem Kuta Gamber and Liren are in a critical condition and we may assume that the traditional shifting cultivation will disappear in the near future. Due to the extensive use of land for cash-crops the shortage of land is strongly felt. Conflicts over land are rife and the short fallow periods result in the degradation of the land, and, in consequence, poor crops. There were three people in Kuta Gamber who introduced fertilizer to
their fields during my fieldwork and this will obviously accelerate the adoption of sedentary cultivation as a new mode of production.
CHAPTER THREE:

THE DJABU-FAMILY

The smallest social unit among the Karo is the domestic family. It consists primarily of an elementary family, that is a husband, wife and their children, who occupy a separate homestead and form a unit of production and consumption. It is furthermore a kinship unit and is therefore the smallest segment in the segmentary system of the lineage.

In the administrative records this unit is identified as rumah tangga (I), which literally means 'house and ladder' and in everyday usage it is abbreviated to tangga (ladder). Strictly speaking however both terms are misleading because both the house and the ladder cannot be associated with a single domestic family. It will be seen in the next chapter, for instance, that one adat-house is occupied by eight domestic families and again the house has only two ladders.

The Karo term for the domestic family is djabu and this is expressed in many ways. One might say for instance: 'Piga djabu kuta enda?', 'How many djabu are there in this village?'. 'Kami sakti sada djabu,' which means, 'All the members of our djabu are ill.'

This term is basically a territorial concept because the term djabu primarily denotes an apartment in the adat-house serving as
a place for various activities such as eating, chatting, receiving guests and holding family negotiations. The word djabu, therefore, has a dual meaning. For example in the sentence: 'She is sweeping the djabu' the term indicates the part of the house mentioned above.

In the pages that follow I employ the term djabu for the domestic family.

The composition and types of the djabu

The djabu is relatively a small group. Its members, in our sample, range from one to nine people. The sample for this study consists of 134 djabu, that is 88 djabu of the inhabitants of Kuta Gamber and the 40 djabu of the inhabitants of Liren. The sample embraces all the inhabitants of the two villages.

Table 2

Numerical composition of the djabu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of persons in the djabu</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency Kuta Gamber</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liren</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 above shows that 99 djabu (about 76 per cent) of the sample numbering 134 djabu have from three to six members. The mode is five while the arithmetical mean is 4.2 for each djabu.
The **djabu**, in accordance with the small number of its members, has also a simple genealogical composition, as can be seen from Table 3.

**Table 3**

*Genealogical composition of the djabu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of generations in djabu</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Approximate percentage of sample</th>
<th>Main type of genealogical composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>Widows and couples without children. (Childless or married children who have left parental home).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>Parents with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Parents with children plus a grandparent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence offered by Table 3, namely that more than 80 percent of the **djabu** consists of two generations made up essentially of parents and children, is a clear reflection of the fact that the great majority of **djabu** in Karo are elementary families. Indeed, the two cases in the table which consist of three generations do not constitute extended families because both of them are elementary families with the addition of a widowed husband's mother who resides in the **djabu** of her son.
Karo society which is, on the one hand, characterized by a marked patrilineal organization has, on the other hand, the elementary family as its basic social unit. The domestic family made up of more than one family is not a usual type. The extended family comes into existence only temporarily during the time prior to the newly married son setting up his own household. There was no joint family in the sample and is indeed a rare phenomenon. It only emerges sporadically under specific circumstances, that is when the parents have died and a newly married couple join the djabu of the husband's eldest brother temporarily, at the utmost for one year.

The two tables above clearly depict the composition of the djabu and up to a certain point reflect the type of djabu generally found in Karo. The following discussion is intended to furnish a more specific picture of this type of djabu.

In Table 4, beside the elementary families (which form the majority) we also find the elementary family augmented by the children of a previous marriage of the husband. I classify this as a compound family. The six cases constituting this category each had a similar marital condition. In each case the first, and the only wife at that time, died after having one or several children. We find a similar family structure in No.9 in Table 4, that is a married couple plus children by previous marriage. The
Table 4.

Types of djabu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of djabu</th>
<th>Number of djabu</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K.G.</td>
<td>L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Elementary family</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Elementary family plus children by previous marriage (of husband)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Elementary family plus HM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Denuded elementary family (widow plus children)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Extended family</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Composite (polygynous) family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Married couple (no children)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Married couple (children left parental home)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Married couple plus children by previous marriage (of husband)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Married couple plus HM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Widow (single female)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Unmarried woman (single female)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Widower (single male)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:  K.G. = Kuta Gamber  
L = Liren
only difference is that in the latter case the second wife has no children.

This is in accordance with the patrilineal ideology of the Karo, that is that children, after the death of their mother, remain within the father's household. Because of this it is not by chance that of the compound families in the sample there are none made up of elementary families with the addition of the wife's children by previous marriage.

According to Karo adat, a widow wishing to remarry (i.e. not a levirate marriage) must first divorce her deceased husband and, in consequence, also part with her children. This separation is a formidable challenge to the intimate bonds between a mother and her children and has the result that many widows with children do not remarry.

Bound up with this, the Karo have different attitudes to the remarriage of widows and widowers with children. According to them, a widow who loves her children will not remarry (except for levirate marriages) but on the other hand, it is considered best for a widower to remarry immediately so that he will have a wife to care for his children. Notwithstanding this, it does happen that a widow with children will, because she wishes to remarry, divorce her deceased husband - a procedure that requires a specific rite - and part with her children.
Polygyny, although permitted by adat, is rare. In the above sample we find two polygynous families. The first married his second wife by levirate custom. The other married his second wife because of economic considerations. He was among the poor of the village and his second wife, a childless widow, much older than the first wife, had a fair income as a spirit medium.

An important obstacle to polygyny is the negative and, indeed, obstructive attitude of women towards this institution. 'For a woman, being given a co-wife, is like being given poison', said Pa Murdap. Not infrequently the wife will attack the second wife by physical force, especially in the first weeks after the marriage and sometimes this occurs before the woman is married to the husband. Nande Milas related that she began to keep a careful watch on her husband's outings after she heard that he would like to marry a certain woman. When one day outside the village she met the woman walking together with her husband, she at once started beating the woman with a stick. 'My heart boiled and at that moment I would have preferred to die rather than see that woman with my husband', she said emphatically.

Because of the antagonistic character of the relations of the wives of the polygynous family, in Karo, these wives never live under the same roof. Each wife has her own homestead and to a large extent forms a separate economic unit. On the basis of this fact I have called this polygynous family the composite family.
The two extended families in the sample each consisted of parents with the addition of a married child with his or her spouse. In the first case, in accordance with the patrilineal ideology, a newly-married male child and his wife were incorporated into his parents' household. In the other case, contrary to the above principle, the newly married pair stayed in the household of the wife's parents. The first type of residence mentioned above is regarded as an ideal type but nevertheless the second is not considered a violation of the adat.

There is a strong tendency for parents, after all their children have married, to remain living on their own. Such a household, as can be seen in Table 4, consists of a husband and wife and, if one of them dies, its membership consists of only one widow or widower. There is no example in the sample of an old widower who stayed with a child.

Of the twelve old widows in the sample (eleven of them having children) only three stayed with their married sons. All of them did so for the reason that their health did not permit them to live alone. If it had not been for that reason, they would have preferred to live alone like other widows.

In the sample there is only one djabu comprised solely of one widower. The striking contrast between widows and widowers in the sample is primarily due to the fact that, as has been previously said, a widower has, compared with a widow, a far greater chance of
marrying again. Besides this it seems that men live fewer years than women, although the latter work harder than the former.

According to adat a widower cannot form his own djabu because, properly speaking, he cannot occupy his homestead. A widower is only allowed to sleep for up to four nights in his apartment in the adat-house after losing his wife. Only after marrying again is he able to occupy his own homestead once more. The exception we find in this case, said the co-occupants of the house, was because they felt sorry for the old man and, moreover, because of the ties of kinship between them. Usually an old widower lives in the orchard outside the village and has a hut as his permanent dwelling-place. Or else he goes to eat at the house of a married child and sleeps in the djambor (village house).

The djabu as a household

The djabu, as suggested by its original meaning, is a residential unit. The majority of the homesteads in Kuta Gamber and Liren are a part of the adat-house; the rest is either one modern house or part of a modern house.

Their houses, differing from those living in town, have no furniture. The common room, that is the place where they eat, chat and receive guests, is bare; on the floor a mat is spread permanently and from time to time, when considered necessary, it is augmented with other mats to sit on. The mat is the most important household
equipment in this room. There, in the evening, small oil lamps are set, their flames flickering.

On certain occasions three layers of mat are spread: the coarsest mat on the floor, a medium mat in size and texture on top of it, and a fine mat on the very top. This indicates a formal atmosphere and the guest who sits on it is a respected person.

The household equipment which shows the greatest variety is the kitchen equipment consisting of home-made tools and factory products. The former includes rice storage bags, bamboo containers for salt and big bamboo spoons. Earthenware pots for making curry are made in some villages and are for sale in the markets; knives and pails are respectively made by the local smith and tin-worker.

Most other kitchen utensils such as plates, spoons, cups, kettles and cooking-pots are factory products. Sleeping gear in the bedroom consists of a mattress for two people, two pillows, and one or two blankets. Usually the mattress is unfolded on the floor of the bedroom after the floor has been laid with a mat. Only well-to-do people raise their beds by making a big box (peratas) as wide as the mattress and about twenty inches from the floor.

Children up to four and five years sleep with their parents in the bedroom. When the child grows bigger he no longer sleeps with his parents and begins to sleep with his companions of the same age. From the age of eight years, female children sleep with their
fellows in the common room while the male children of such an age group sleep in the rice-barn. From that time a male child always sleeps in the rice-barn and there too he keeps his things, which consist primarily of sleeping material and clothing.

A male child aged nine to ten years, although he already sleeps in the rice-barn, still will often play with his companions inside the house, especially when there is someone of the same age in the same house. Sometimes they engage there in some leisurely activity like playing with a mouse, making cages for birds caught in traps or roasting sweet potatoes to eat. But when the child reaches puberty, in accordance with the change in the social relationship with those of different sex, he also has a different relationship to his own house.

A young man, in general, only goes to his house for meals, i.e. three times daily, breakfast and the midday and evening meals. After he has eaten he immediately leaves the house. For him staying long in his house is not proper for it is considered to have a sexual connotation and is ridiculed. Such a way of life will continue until he marries, after which he has his own household.

Differences of age and sex are the two criteria for division of work in the household. In the division of labour based on age, the principal difference is the heaviness or lightness of the work; the heaviness of the work is accommodated to the physical
ability of the individual. Female children from six to eight years bring from the bathing place kettles containing about one or one and a half litres of water; adult women carry as much as eight litres of water in a pail; old women aged from 50 years upward do not carry water in a pail any longer but once again bring kettles containing about two litres of water. Old women, who live on their own, find it difficult to fetch water for their own needs. Usually one of their descendants, namely a daughter or a female grandchild, helps to bring the necessary water.

In the division of labour based on differences of sex a dichotomy is clearly seen, that is, heavy or light work involving danger is counted as men's work and work which is light but takes up a great deal of time, is women's work. Waging war (in disturbed periods), hunting, looking after the cattle, climbing, cutting down trees and artisan work are men's work. All kitchen tasks, plaiting and looking after the children are women's tasks. Looking after the hens and pigs is also included in the latter's work.

Besides tasks where the dividing line between men's and women's work is clearly seen, we find some types of work which are carried out jointly by both sexes. Cultivation is performed by both men and women. Clearing the dry-rice fields, harvesting and carrying the produce to the village are also performed by both sexes. However another part of the work is divided off. For
example ploughing and using the dibble-stick are men's jobs while the women put the seed into the holes and cover it up.

Interpersonal relations

In this section we are dealing with the interpersonal relations of the members of the djabu, i.e. relations between husband and wife, parents and children and relations among siblings.

Husband and wife.

In a jural sense a Karo wife is 'the property' of her husband. 'She has been bought', say the Karo and one word for a wife is tukor emas, that which is bought with the marriage payment. After the delivery of that payment the marriage is formally contracted and the affiliation of the woman changes from her natal lineage to the lineage of her husband. The same process takes place in the supernatural world; the one who protects the woman is the guardian spirit of her husband and when she dies, her soul is reckoned to belong to her husband's lineage.

The inferior position of the wife is clearly seen in divorce where, according to the adat, the wife has neither right over the children nor over important possessions of the household such as house, cattle, etc. because these are customarily considered as 'the produce' of the marriage payment. At a glance this fact suggests that the relationship between a husband and a wife is
comparable with that between a master and a slave but closer examination reveals that it is not the case.

In Karo ideology both husband and wife possess the same responsibility in managing the household, the one no less than the other. 'They share the same fate'. In a Karo proverb the wife and husband are said 'to eat from the same plate and wash their hands in the same bowl'. This saying reflects the situation in the marriage rite (mukul) where the bridal couple eat from the same plate. Besides being a rite of incorporation it also serves as a symbol of equality in the responsibility and position in managing the household.

The customary prohibition of mentioning each other's name is reflective of their mutual respect behaviour. A husband may not pronounce his wife's name and vice versa. Before having children husband and wife address each other by the use of the pronoun naké. As soon as they have a child teknonyms are employed. If the name of the eldest child, regardless of its sex, is Alus the father is called Pa Alus (pa, from bapa, father) and the mother Nandé Alus (nandé, mother).

Although the great majority of marriages are the result of individual love, after marriage, feelings of affection may not be referred to openly any more, a matter very much in contrast with their relationship at the time of courtship. Between husband and wife such terms of endearment are not openly used. Indeed, if it
is said that a certain man loves his wife this utterance bears the connotation that he hangs on his wife and that his wife holds the authority in the household.

On the other hand, if it is said that a wife loves her husband, the implication is that she is always jealous of him and is worried about his being enticed by another woman. Only jokingly - and this too is rare - will a husband sometimes express a liking for his wife. Pa Djabap, a small merchant inclined to humour, once said to his wife: 'I like you very much. I have been travelling a lot but I never came across rice as good as you cook. You are very good at cooking rice'. According to Pa Djabap his neighbours in the adat-house and his wife as well laughed when they heard this.

'If eggs in a cage touch each other, why not also human beings who have ears and mouths'. This proverb is to point out that every intensive social relationship will, in one form or another, give rise to conflicts. Because of this, advice is always given to newly married couples concerning the sort of attitude to take if a quarrel comes up between husband and wife. Another proverb is frequently quoted in this context: 'If one person comes from the western turé, the other goes from the eastern turé; if one person comes from the eastern turé, the other goes from the western turé.' The turé is the open platform of which two are found in the adat-house, one on the east side, the other on the west side of the house forming the entrance and exit of the house. In this proverb 'person'
represents anger. The essence of the advice is this: if the husband is angry, the wife must be silent or go away for the time being; let no anger be matched with the anger of the husband and do not contradict someone when he is angry. On the other hand the husband too must do this if his wife is angry with him. Anger is said to be a condition of the soul wherein a man cannot control himself: 'his heart is hot'. At that time he should not be contradicted. If you want to contradict him, wait until 'his heart is cool'.

Among important sources of dispute between husband and wife are jealousy, expenditure and being disrespectful towards the relatives of one's spouse.

'You are a married person, don't let your eyes stray', is conventional advice to the bride. A spouse possesses full rights over the sexual services of his or her partner in marriage and transgressions of this right easily give rise to quarrelling. These transgressions are of various qualities, because a glance of the eyes can be interpreted as a manifestation of sexual desire. Because the interpretation of the offence is a subjective one, the new couple easily become involved in unexpected quarrels. When Sura, for instance, was going to town to visit his family his wife addressed a young man she knew while they were waiting for the bus. Sura was not pleased with this action and showed it by not speaking to his wife until they returned to the village. The general opinion would disapprove of his wife's action, but the attitude of
her husband, according to the villagers, was too severe; properly speaking it would have been enough for him to admonish his wife so that the event was not repeated.

Sometimes someone's feeling of jealousy is so subjective that he is counted as one of those 'who love their partner very much'. The wife of Tjari of Liren was included in this category. Once Tjari went to town on business. He made plans to pass one night but this was unexpectedly extended to two nights because his business was not concluded. Then he came back to the village and gave his wife two gold-fish which he had brought, to be cooked, but she threw away the two fish. Her husband could not see any other reason at all for this action except that she was jealous, although he did not know any girl in town.

The wife's jealousy of the husband is more common than the other way round. This is particularly based on the fact that a Karo woman is greatly restricted after marriage but a man, although called parang mbelin (literally 'big man') after getting married, which signifies that he is no longer a youth, in many ways still resembles a young man. He can still dance with a girl while a married woman is not allowed to dance with the young people; she can only dance in ceremonies.

The difference in expenditure of husband and wife in everyday life is very marked in Karo. This reflects the difference in
expenditure of men and women in general, a matter based on the different patterns of consumption of the two sexes. In the coffee shops the men drink tea, coffee, sometimes also wine, smoke cigarettes, eat biscuits or bread, the consumption of all of these being unknown to women. This unequal pattern of expenditure gives rise to conflicts because the money which is spent is considered common property. In the rural areas income is based primarily on the products of agriculture, i.e. the products of the collective efforts of the djabu members.

Generally speaking the one who holds the finance of the household is the husband. He keeps the products of the sale of the cash crops (tobacco and onions) and cattle, whereas the wife keeps only the products of the sale of the hens and pigs she looks after. If at some time the money which the husband holds is greatly depleted or spent altogether and the needs of the wife cannot be filled, a quarrel arises.

The most serious quarrels are when the husband, after using up that money, incurs further debts and these debts are later discovered by his wife. This situation is very liable to occur with a husband who is fond of gambling. Sali for instance lost in gambling Rp.2000 in one week, so that to cover his debts to the amount of Rp.500 he stole his wife's gold necklace and pawned it. His wife supposed the necklace had been stolen by someone and after she found out the true situation she asked for a divorce.
In the family meeting the husband admitted his error and asked pardon and the necklace was then redeemed by his father. The possessions of the wife cannot be disposed of by the husband without her permission.

To regulate the finances of the household new norms have recently begun to develop. Some people consider it wise for the wife to hold the money and for the husband to receive a regular allowance from his wife. In Kuta Gamber and Liren about ten per cent of the djabu use such a system including some men who, according to my informants, are pa diberu (literally, someone whose wife acts for him as a father), that is a person who goes along with what his wife orders.

A proper attitude towards the family of the partner is an important social requirement for married life. Advice to the newly married couple includes, among other things: 'Be more respectful to the family of your partner than to your own family, if they come to visit'. Respect to a guest is shown by a host's talkative behaviour, a clean face and serving the best possible food. If, when visited by one's own family, one is cheerful and pleasantly spoken and when visited by one's spouse's family is silent and looks sullen, that is the stereotype of the criticism levelled at someone who is considered not tactful.

Such a thing, according to villagers, is often found in the first stages of a marriage. When Radu was visited by his second
cousin, for instance, his wife did not evince a 'proper' attitude. She did the cooking slowly and told her husband to buy her some eggs at the coffee-shop. Then she told her husband to boil the eggs. Observing the situation the guest excused himself, saying he had already eaten and had to go immediately because he had some business.

After the guest had gone, Radu took the eggs and threw them through the window, chased his wife out and threatened to divorce her. Hearing Radu snapping violently at his wife, the neighbours all came to his house and his wife went to the house of her mother. Everyone blamed her and the matter was patched up that very day.

According to Pa Tadjak this tendency to discriminate is also found in people who have been married a long while but its expression is more subtle. 'My wife is good and brings me good luck in financial things', he said, 'but she has one weakness; if we have a visitor from her side of the family she catches a fat hen to be killed, if we have a visitor from my side of the family she will catch a thin hen'.

Parents and children

According to the people, the strongest ties of love are those binding parents and children, not husbands and wives. Love between husband and wife, it is said, lasts only a year because after the first child is born the love of the husband and wife turns to their
child. They believe, however, that the mother loves the child much more than the father does.

The relationship of the child with the mother is far more intensive than that with the father. It is she who nurses, suckles and pets the child. The love of a mother for her child is like the holding of sesame seed says a Karo proverb. Sesame seed being very small easily trickles out of the hand and must be held very tightly. Moreover, the term nandé (mother) has become a cry asking help for every person, old and young. This term also contains the concept of a beloved. When a young man says nandé Ginting in his song, it is clear that his beloved, to whom the song is directed, is a member of the Ginting clan.

In the customary division of labour, carrying a child is strictly a woman's task. At the present time this custom is becoming weaker and the husband too is often seen carrying his child to the rice field or even in the village. This practice among the husbands has just sprung up with the present generation. It is now quite common for a husband to bring his child to the coffee-shop while his wife is busy. In other words, nowadays a husband will ngian, this is, watch after his child.

Only when the husband and wife visit another village will the husband be unwilling to carry their child. If earlier on, for the length of the journey, it was the husband who carried the child, on coming into the village the child will be handed over to his wife.
This is so as to take care that he will not be called a man who is at his wife's beck and call.

Consequently many children spend much of their time with their fathers and play with them. But gradually the child comes to feel that his father is a stern figure, the source of rules and discipline, unlike his mother who is gentle. It is true that the mother too gives some orders and sometimes also punishes but every child feels strongly that the highest authority in the household is vested in the father's hands. In lamentations at funeral ceremonies, the father is always described as: one to whom questions go, one from whom advice is sought.

Grown-up children have a rather formal relationship with the parent of different sex, that is, male children are reserved towards their mother and female children towards their father.

There are no stories depicting incestuous relationships between parents and children. It is said, however, that 'in the view of other people' it is not good if any intimacy is seen in their relationship. Male children who have attained puberty do not hold conversations with their mothers unattended by a third person, unless there is a real need. Because of this a widow who only has one child, who happens to be a boy, finds it very awkward indeed.

In Liren we met with such a case, that is, a widow aged about 40 years, having only one son of 21 years. She complained to me about the fact that her child had not yet made up his mind to get
married. She found it an embarrassment which she would not like to continue because she and her son were always having to avoid each other. If her son was at the rice field she would not go there. This awkwardness would only end after he had married, when there would be a third person among them.

More awkward yet than the relationship of a young man with his mother is the relationship of a father with his daughter. In certain situations a young man may still be alone with his mother in the one place, a thing which must not occur with a father and his daughter. A young man can go to eat at the house although his mother may be alone there. If his mother considers it necessary, for instance if she wishes to discuss something, she may wait for her son to finish his meal, but they should sit well apart. A father and his daughter should never be in such a position. One of them must leave the room if there is no third person present. And he will not enter into conversation with his daughter if there is no real need for it even though there is another person present.

The relationship between a father and his grown-up sons is also characterised by some restraint. It is formal and lacks intimacy. They will not bathe together. A son will give way to his father if by chance they meet at the bathing place. It is also considered unfitting for the two of them to be present in a circle which is having a conversation touching upon sex.
According to Karo ideology siblings are bound by a very intimate mutual relationship. The only closer emotional relationship is that between a mother and her child. To express very close friendship with someone, a Karo will say that he considers that person as his full sibling.

An important social distinction between siblings is founded upon differences of age. It is a person's obligation to respect and obey an elder sibling. One of the symbols of respect is the prohibition of the younger to mention the name of an older sibling. *Kaka* is the term of address used for an older sibling; the eldest sibling is called *kaka tua* (*tua*, literally 'old') and the middle elder siblings are called *kaka tengah* (*tengah*, middle). On the other hand a younger sibling is called by his or her name. In accordance with the pattern of this respect behaviour they also use different personal pronouns. The personal pronoun for an older sibling is *kam* and *engko* for a younger. Thus these terms have a strong implication of seniority and juniority. The eldest male child, in accordance with his position as the man who replaces the father, is the most respected in the sibling group. It is often said that he is the *penggurun*, that is the source of advice.

It is emphasized that male sibling relationships should be filled with strong solidarity. They are *sembujak*, meaning that
they have their origin in one stomach (mbujak), and this term itself, said Pa Linggem, suggests the existence of a metaphysical bond between them. Although in everyday conversation the term sembujak applies also to the relation between siblings of the opposite sex in the legal concept this is not so: sembujak in the jural sense is strictly limited to the relationship between male siblings.

Here we find an important principle in the Karo kinship system and one which is indeed a hinge for their social organisation. The concept of sembujak is extended to a larger lineal group including all the male members of the sub-clan. The members of this patrilineal unit are regarded as having their origin in one stomach but, once again, their sisters are not included in it.

It is stressed that the relations between brothers should be characterized by mutual assistance. When economic problems occur within the household the husband looks first and foremost to his brothers for help. 'To whom else should one go for help if not to a brother?' explained Pa Tupa. Usually the expected help is a loan, in the form of rice or cash.

Moreover, when a man quarrels with his wife it is again his brothers to whom he makes his complaints. When Rasi fell out with his wife and decided to divorce her, he went to visit his elder brother in another village two kilometres from his own. His elder brother asked for the details of the quarrel and then set about persuading his brother to abandon his intention. His advice: 'Those
of the same household have to advise each other when there is some error made. To divorce a wife is not an easy matter and it is even more difficult to find a substitute. Just think, you could get someone even worse. Wasn't your wife your own choice?' The next day his elder brother and his wife accompanied Rasi to his own home.

On the other hand, the relationship between brothers contains the seeds of serious antagonism. This is particularly due to their conflicting economic interest because male children, according to the adat, are co-heirs. It is generally acknowledged that the emotional element in the relation between brothers is lacking. On the other hand it is characterized by duties and obligations. In Nande Suruh's words: 'Quarrels and making them up, such is the relationship between sembujak'.

The relationship between female siblings is however of a different character. Their affiliation to the lineage is of a different type from that of their brothers. Unlike her brother who is a permanent member of the lineage, a woman's membership is dependant on her marital status. Marriage for a woman entails a shift in lineage affiliation. She becomes a member by marriage of her husband's lineage and strictly speaking she relinquishes her membership in her natal lineage but retains a residual right over it. Thus apart from the fact that women have no right over inheritance, two female siblings, after their respective marriages take up identifications with different lineages. They have only a moral
tie which is usually marked by a deep emotional content, a tie
which is carried on with their children.

They esteem uterine kinship and in their classificatory
system, those whose mothers are sisters are also 'brothers and
sisters' although they may come from different patrilineal clans.
They too use the kinship terminology as it is found in the sibling
group (see Appendix I) and like the members of the sibling group,
they too may not intermarry.

One of the hinges of Karo social organisation lies in the
relations between siblings of the opposite sex. In the first place
intercourse between them is incestuous and this concept is extended
to distant classificatory brothers and sisters. It is also extended
to the clan level so that a clan numbering tens of thousands of
members constitutes one exogamous category.

It is striking that, in contrast with social reality,
violation of the incest rule between brothers and sisters is
prominent in Karo mythology. As far as I know there are four myths
whose principal theme is the violation of the above mentioned incest
prohibition: one in connection with the magical staff in priesthood
and the other three with fertility cults. All still have important
ritual significance. One of them is connected with the myth about
the creation of the rainbow. The following is a summary of Si Adji
Dunda Katekuten, the myth about the magical staff. 1

1 This myth has also been collected by M. Joustra and published
together with a Dutch translation in Karo-Bataksche Vertellingen,
Batavia, 1904.
It is said that the gurus Pakpak Pertandang (consisting of seven distinguished priests of Pakpak) made a trip from Pulo Tjimtjimen to Tuding si nu Purba. They were gossiping in the village about the king (who ruled over the village) and who had no children. They knew this from their magical knowledge.

A goatherd overheard the conversation and informed the queen who immediately gathered the seven gurus and invited them to eat at her house. She then asked for their help to obtain descendants.

The aid of the gurus brought results, for the king of Tuding si nu Purba had a son and a daughter. According to the gurus Pakpak Pertandang, both of them had to be married off early.

When the two of them were of marriageable age they fell in love with each other. If the girl was pounding rice at the mortar or drawing water at the river, her brother would follow her. If the boy went hunting, his sister too would follow.

Their mother told them that such behaviour was incestuous and in consequence would later bring about a long dry season; the crops would die, the cattle be struck down with thirst and mankind struck down by thirst and hunger.

The children did not heed the advice. A dry season of seven years and seven months came. In consequence there were terrible calamities: cows became deer, buffalo became elephants, pigs became wild pigs and the people were struck down with thirst.

Once they went to hunt a civet cat, using seven dogs and one snake. The civet cat climbed up a tenggolan tree followed by the dogs, the snake and the brother and sister.

At the top of the tree there was a female evil spirit (djin) who threatened to eat them. They prepared themselves to be eaten. The djin coaxed the boy so that he would stay with her and marry her. She said: marry me without any marriage payment; it is sufficient to enjoy things here, food, drink and clothing in abundance.
The dogs, the snake and the sister returned to the village. After four days with the *djin* the food and drink was finished. Because of this the prince wanted to go. The *djin* asked him not to leave her but proposed that he should go to the king of the Pustima (west), called Datuk Rubia Gande, to obtain food. He agreed.

'Hai, I will eat you', said Datuk Rubia Gande. The prince told how he had been commanded by his wife, Tijang Manik, the *djin* who guarded the *tenggolan* tree. The prince was then given food, drink and clothing to take back.

On the way he met a girl who wished to go and meet Datuk Rubia Gande to ask for medicine. Her mother was very sick. The prince offered her medicine. The girl took the medicine home and her mother was immediately cured.

'Find the medicine-man and marry him without a marriage payment', said the mother to her daughter. 'But he was quite naked', said the girl. 'Take clothing, a hat and a betel-holder for him', the mother advised.

The girl went to find the medicine-man and they were married.

*Djin* TijangManik was restless after waiting for four months and her husband had not come back. Through her magic power she sent off a sparrow-hawk. The bird perched on the house of the husband.

The prince brought down the bird with a stone and it changed into a cat. When he fell asleep the cat came and annoyed him. He beat the cat which changed into a dog. Then he became angry with the dog because it kept licking the plate he ate from. He beat the dog which changed into a civet cat.

The civet cat ran off, chased by seven dogs, the snake and the husband and wife. The civet cat went straight to the jungle and climbed up the *tenggolan* tree of the *djin*. All of them finally climbed up the tree and changed into knots in the wood.

After they had been missing from the village for four days the villagers went to look for them. The woman's
parents and the other people heard a voice from the top of the tree: 'It is a waste of time looking for us, we cannot come down; we have become knots in the wood; if you want to take us home call the gurus Pakpak Pertandang first'.

They sent for the gurus Pakpak Pertandang from Pulo Tjimtjimen. One of the gurus said to the parents of the child: 'I said before, marry your child off quickly; now your son-in-law is also your own child'.

The gurus cut down the tree and made a statue from it. They said to the queen that her son would be called Tuan Adji Dunda Katekuten and her daughter Beru Puang Tampe Radja Benawasen. 'Both of them will become the protector of your family', concluded the gurus.

In another version of the story the incestuous relationship is with a classificatory sister (first cousin) and the animal which is hunted is not a civet cat but an ant-eater. At the end of the story the tree is turned into a magical staff from which the brother and sister committing incest, an ant-eater, a snake and seven dogs are carved. Staffs such as this are only possessed by distinguished gurus and no guru in Kuta Gamber or Liren possesses them.

In all these myths the incestuous relations are punished in a magical way. In the above myth the guilty persons changed to lumps of wood and in another they change into a rainbow. This second myth has an important social function particularly because of its popularity with children. The village children jump and dance when they see a rainbow, saying: 'Oh, oh, he married his sister'. (Éléé, éléé empoina turangna).

A girl, as we have seen, becomes a member of her husband's patrilineal group after marriage. By a strong identification with
this group, she too bears the relationships of anakberu and kalimbubu with her own natal lineage. Consequently as an anakberu a woman has, in terms of services and obligations, an asymmetrical relation with her agnates, including her brothers. When a man is carrying out a ritual or ceremony, for instance, his sister and her husband will be busy helping and attending to the various matters which are their duty, especially jobs involving manual labour, such as fetching the betel, catching and killing pigs, looking after the cooking and serving the food.

Moreover there is, according to their belief, an asymmetrical metaphysical relation between brothers and sisters. A good relationship between a woman and her brothers or her kalimbubu in general is considered as bringing happiness to her. If the relationship is a bad one and the brothers are vexed to the depth of their souls then their sister will receive supernatural punishment. It will have various results such as bad luck in economic matters, sickness or not being able to have descendants.

If this has already happened, reparation can only be made by a ritual, in which the hearts and souls of the brothers are cooled. In Karo, as in Indonesia generally, evil is connected with hotness and to rectify an evil situation a ritual is performed to obtain coolness. In the ritual the party that has done wrong gives a drink of cold water to the injured person. But in accordance with
the asymmetrical nature of the relation, a man, in ritual sense can do no wrong to his sister. This matter will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

The estate

The djabu is a property-owning unit. Except for personal effects like clothing and ornaments which are owned by the members individually, all other things, including immaterial property such as the guardian spirits, are owned corporately by the members of the djabu. Products of the labour of the members are djabu property. A son for instance who planted crops of perennial fruit trees, such as tangerines and coconuts cannot say that the crop belongs to him. Under the customary rule he has no special right to the products of his labour since the energy to work itself, it is frequently stressed, is indirectly the product of food served by the djabu.

The djabu, as has been pointed out, is a corporate unit from the point of view of consumption and production. To illustrate that these two economic aspects are inseparable, there is a customary saying that the products of labour of a member of the djabu are 'the steam of the rice' (asap nakan) of that djabu. Riman's case clearly points out this principle.

Riman, an industrious young man and a skilful carpenter together with his father, erected a house that had two sections (seruang) in the adat-house. According to Riman's reckoning, one
section of the house should have been his own possession. He married not long after the house was finished. Eventually a conflict arose with his father because they had different opinions about the ownership of the house. According to Riman one section of the house belonged to him for this reason: he had worked on both sections of the house; besides this he had collected a large part of the materials for the house, in particular the palm fibre (idjuk) for the roof and the wood for the walls. Riman's demand was indeed sensible.

A family meeting was held to reach a final verdict because his father felt that Riman did not have right to it. Riman, according to him, did not enjoy greater right than his other brothers who had not helped in erecting the house. In accordance with the adat, Riman lost his claim. It was recognised that what he was claiming was merely 'the steam of the rice' produced by the djabu.

The principal difference in rights over inheritance is found between children of opposite sex. In accordance with their system of descent that only male children may continue the family line, only sons are co-heirs. Female children have no right over inheritance and a common explanation about this is that they are no longer members of the patrilineage after marriage. This however is not the main principle because a daughter will not become a parcener even though she remains a spinster.
The oldest male child has a greater right than his younger brothers over property such as staffs, knives or heirloom dishes that cannot be divided. In fact these things do not have great economic value but possess a very significant emotional and ritual value. Besides this the guardian spirit of the *djabu* is also handed down to the eldest male child.

That the eldest son is considered his father's successor is even more clearly seen in the rule of succession. The positions of the traditional chieftainship such as village chief (*pengulu*), chief of the sub-district (*radja urung*) and district chief (*sibajak*) were succeeded by the eldest son. It is striking that the order of those who have rights over succession was not based on order of age. If the eldest child, for some reason, could not take it over, the succession fell to the youngest son (*ultimogeniture*). In theory we can extend this rule to other sons so that it then falls to the second eldest son and then to the second youngest son. Thus if we have in succession five male children, the order of their rights to the succession is: the first child (the eldest), the fifth child (the youngest), then the second, then the fourth and finally the third. Under normal circumstances, however, the succession was bequeathed along the line of male primogeniture.

A female child, as has been mentioned earlier, possesses no right to inherit. If, after getting married, she receives something from the *djabu* of her parents, it is considered as a gift (*pemeré*)
which is given to her on the basis of moral considerations. It is not uncommon that in partition, a daughter gets one or two buffalo but nevertheless she cannot say that she has the right over them as an inheritance. She may even get none and, in fact, it depends on the circumstances, namely the number of buffalo involved, the economic condition of her brothers and herself and the nature of her relations with her brothers. If there are only a few buffalo to be inherited it is likely that the daughter will get none of them. But if a brother feels that it is necessary to give her a share he can also render it in a specific way. If there is a pregnant buffalo at that time he may decide that the calf will belong to his sister. But if the brother says nothing in this situation the daughter, or the sister, has no right to claim.

If land is involved in the gift she will enjoy a lifetime usufructuary right over it. It is stressed by the adat that she may not pass the land to her children but as soon as she dies it is returned to her natal lineage.

Speaking about inheritance, people in the village incline to confine it to items which are of great economic importance such as houses, cattle, groves and the like. The assumption that a daughter has no right in partition is based on this idea. Closer examination however reveals that there are specific items which a daughter is entitled to receive in partition. According to the adat all children, male and female alike, have equal rights over
household equipment (barang irumah, literally 'goods inside the house'), particularly pandanus containers (sumpit) and mats. Valuables, however, are excluded from barang irumah.

Partition takes place in each generation after both parents have died and all the male children have married. The basic principle in this rule is that the assets belonging to the djabu should finance two sorts of expense: the cost of burying the parents and of marrying the male children. Marrying off female children does not necessitate expenditure. Indeed the parents receive part of the marriage payment and the bridegroom's family is responsible for the expense of the wedding ceremony. If the property which is left does not cover the cost of the burial of the parents then this cost is the collective responsibility of the male children.

The postponement of partition until both parents are dead and all children married, often gives rise to two kinds of situation. Firstly, that all the children are married but the property is not yet divided up because there is still one parent or both parents living and secondly, both parents are dead but there is a son still unmarried.

What is done in the first situation is that gradual partition is carried out and final partition postponed until the parent dies. In Kuta Gamber and Liren the gradual partition is seen most clearly in the djabu possessing many cattle. Unlike other parts of Karo,
in this area gradual partition of land is not a common pattern mainly because of the practice of shifting cultivation. Generally a newly married man does not receive land from his parents but directly opens up a new plot of land.

Nisam's case was a typical example of the gradual partition of cattle. Nisam, an old widow, aged more than 80 years, had three sons, all married. Besides this there were five male grandchildren, also married. The number of buffalo she still had was 32. Her children would borrow one buffalo every time they had financial difficulties, especially when marrying off a son or erecting a new house. Her eldest son had borrowed three, the middle son three, the youngest two, so eight in all. Of these eight, five were used to marry off children, two to cover the cost of erecting houses and one to cover the cost of illness. In partition later, all these loans would be taken into account. The witness for this partial partition were Nisam's anakberu, that is two sons-in-law who were always present on any occasion when a buffalo was taken.

One of the desires of Karo parents is that all their children, or at least all the male children, should be married off while they are still alive. 'One of my debts is already paid', says the Karo everytime a son marries. If all sons are married while he is still alive, then all his debts are paid. If some of the children are married and some not when both parents die, the responsibility for marrying off the rest of them is laid upon the already married,
usually the eldest son. His unmarried young brother will put up at his house. The expenses of his marriage are taken from the inheritance for the parents. As noted above, soon after the sons get married partition is carried out. The division of this inheritance marks the end of the djabu-of-origin set up by their parents and from it emerge several new djabu set up by the children.

The developmental cycle of the djabu

Variations in both the numerical and genealogical compositions of the djabu are primarily due to the differences in the phases of development of the djabu concerned. A djabu has a beginning and an end, and each particular djabu is in a certain stage of development. A djabu is formed by marriage and the simplest structure is when its members are simply the husband and the wife. To simplify illustration the example of the djabu of Nongkap is given here.

Before Nongkap married he was a member of his natal djabu or, in other words, the djabu of his father. It should be pointed out that a youth, even though a full orphan, cannot possibly set up his own djabu. According to the adat the place for a young man is in the djambor (village house), not inside the house. Indeed they are forbidden to sleep in the adat-house except for a special reason, such as illness. Another obstacle is the division of labour between the sex groups. Bringing water, cooking, sweeping the house, are work for women. It is not possible for a young man to carry out
this work without arousing criticisms from the members of the society.

From this point an unmarried woman has a greater possibility of setting up her own djabu than a young man. One such case was found in the sample. At Liren there was one djabu whose only member was a girl who occupied the house (one section in the adat-house) of her parents after they died. She had no brothers but had two married sisters who lived in the same village. That a girl constitutes a djabu is, according to the villagers, not normal. So the girl in our sample should properly have stayed at one of her sisters' djabu until she married. In general the djabu is set up after marriage.

When Nongkap married, he and his wife were incorporated for a year within his father's djabu. Nongkap did not as yet have his own djabu. After the first harvest Nongkap and his wife shifted to another house where they were economically independent, free from the obligations of Nongkap's parents. The process of freeing oneself economically is called djajo which means to separate and become independant. 'They light their own hearth' and this marks the formation of a new djabu.

There are two possibilities for the composition of the newly-formed djabu. If after a year of marriage Nongkap has no child, when the djabu was formed its members would be the husband and wife. If during this time, as often happens, a child had been born to them
there would be three members at the time of the formation of the new djabu.

Supposing that in his marriage Nongkap had three children: the eldest a girl and the other two, boys. Thus the maximal number of his djabu would be five. This number gradually decreases as the children marry. When the eldest child marries she cuts loose from Nongkap's djabu and with her husband goes to live in the djabu of the latter's father. The membership of Nongkap's djabu is now four.

When Nongkap's second child marries, he and his wife join the djabu of Nongkap so that it becomes an extended family consisting of five people.

After harvest the newly married couple cut free and set up their own djabu. There is again a decrease in the membership of Nongkap's djabu. It becomes three and once more an elementary family. The same process takes place on the marriage of the youngest son: an extended family is formed temporarily and once again the two separate off after staying there for a year.

Once more the djabu of Nongkap consists of two people. After this the djabu will decrease in size once more, that is, when one of them dies. If Nongkap dies before his wife, she continues on in the djabu alone. This is the minimal number of the djabu. After she dies, the djabu is, in practice, abolished since it has no more members.
Supposing Nongkap's wife dies before her husband, the *djabu*, in theory, cannot be maintained. As previously said, there is a customary rule that a widower cannot occupy his place in the adat-house and secondly, looking after a household is woman's work. Thus Nongkap eats at the house of his eldest son and sleeps in the *djambor*.

After the three children of Nongkap marry and each of them build their own *djabu* and Nongkap himself and his wife die, then the *djabu* of Nongkap is abolished. Now the time has come for the two sons to divide up the inheritance. This action marks the economic dissolution of the *djabu*-of-origin and from it new *djabu* have arisen, that is the *djabu* of the two sons. As the descent system strictly follows the patrilineal line, the *djabu* of Nongkap's daughter is not considered as originating from that of her father.
CHAPTER FOUR:

THE ADAT HOUSE

One important characteristic of Karo social organization is the traditional house. Its name, rumah-adat or customary house, clearly signifies that it has a distinctive cultural value. 'There are so many adat rules governing erecting and occupying the house', says Pa Sali, a well-known priest, 'that is why it is called adat-house'. A number of complex rituals and ceremonies are performed at successive stages during the building of a house. Choosing its site, selecting and felling the trees, erecting the piles, establishing the hearth, all are accompanied by a variety of rituals and symbolic actions. Moreover, the adat regulating the social life in an adat-house is of great sociological interest. The house is occupied by four to twelve domestic families, and the inhabitants are involved in an intricate network of social relations. They are members of a discrete spatial entity in the village, and constitute in different circumstances, a ritual and a political corporation.

The majority of the people, 87 (about 64.8 per cent) out of 134 domestic families, of Kuta Gamber and Liren villages live in adat-houses. This ratio reflects the general pattern of residence in the Karo Highlands. In contrast, there are no adat-houses in the Lowlands where Karo live either in huts or modern houses. This may be ascribed
to new cultural values resulting from the impact of Malay influence along the coast and particularly to changes in economic and political life since coming under the rule of the Malay Sultans. Considering Karo as a whole about 20 per cent of the total population still reside in traditional houses. The percentage was considerably higher in the past and has been falling steadily since the Dutch annexation in 1906.

The adat-house is architecturally a compact unit. Unlike a Dayak long-house, which in Geddes (1957:29) words is 'a series of houses separately built but joined together', once an adat-house has been built its internal and external structure remains unaltered until it is no longer used or is replaced by a new one several decades later. It is a strong and permanent building which lasts from fifty to seventy years.

A Karo house is a rectangular or square structure supported by strong wooden piles, about one and a half meters high, with low wooden walls slanting outwards, and topped by a gently curving saddle roof. The extremities of the roof gables at either end are adorned with buffalo horns. In Karo architecture the roof is especially important, for the style of a house is described according to the shape of its roof. This is exceptionally high compared with the low and the slanting walls. One house I measured had the proportion of pile to wall to roof of 1:1:9 respectively, the pile and wall being each one and a half meters and the roof 14½ meters.
A house with the simplest hip and saddle roof is called rumah beru-beru. Literally, beru meaning 'female' and beru-beru referring to femininity, which following Neumann (1951:48): 'of the feminine gender, of animals and plants'. But in various contexts the term beru-beru denotes a mean, average or a normal characteristic which is obviously an expression of the subordinate female value in the society's value system. A beru-beru tangerine tree (rimo beru-beru) for instance is a small but fully grown tree about to bear fruit.

Thus rumah beru-beru is an average or standard traditional house. It has been further developed by the Karo than by other Batak. In a type called rumah tersek the lower and sloping part of the roof is doubled so as to produce a double-storeyed effect with the saddle roof above the lower part of the roof. This type is becoming increasingly popular because it makes possible a substantial improvement in the ventilation system, the house becoming less smoky. A four-gabled house is called rumah si empat ajo, a house with four 'faces' (gables). It is formed by crossing two saddle roofs at right angles. For purely decorative purposes a big pole bearing a miniature adat-house (andjong-andjong) is at times erected on the middle of the ridge-pole; such a house is therefore called rumah andjong-andjong.

The walls and the gables are also objects of artistic and symbolic expression. Each corner is adorned by what Karo call 'a lion's head' (takal singa), a wooden carving which looks more like a human head than a lion's. Since there are no lions in
Plate 5.

Two of the ten adat-houses in Kuta Gamber. Note the different roof styles. The one in the foreground is the standard type, called rumah beru-beru. The other is named rumah si empat ajo, lit. the house with four faces (gables). In the background is a modern house.
Indonesia and the term *singa* itself is Sanskrit in origin, some scientists believe that this motive in Batak decorative art must be derived from India. Lizard-like figures (*pengeret-ret*), made from plaited cords of sugar palm fibre, decorate the walls. These cords serve also as binders to fasten the planks and the laths, the materials of which the walls are made. Such decoration, says Neumann (1951:45), represents *beraspati*, the grey lizard believed to be the incarnation of holy spirits and the guardian spirit of the house. The triangular gable of the house, made from plaited bamboo and fringed by wooden laths is decorated by geometrical designs. The figure on top of the house resembling a buffalo head, apart from its decorative function, also has an important ritual meaning. After the completion of the structure and before the inauguration ceremony is held an outstanding priest (*guru mbelin*) performs a ritual called *meré tandok* ('feeding the horns') in which the priest is supposed to feed the figure with *dalang-dalang*, a ritual food made specifically to placate dangerous spirits. This consists of raw offal, especially pieces of heart, liver, lung and the blood of a red rooster, mixed together with salt and chilli. The symbolic meaning of this figure and the ritual attached to it are no longer understood by Karo but, as in many other Indonesian societies, for example the Minangkabau in Mid-Sumatra, the Dayak in Borneo and the Toradja in Celebes, the buffalo has an important economic, ceremonial and religious function.
An adat-house is divided into several sections or apartments (sentjepik), the number depending on its size. There are three types of houses, the small, the medium and the large; these consist of four, eight and twelve sections respectively. The majority of Karo traditional houses belong to the second eight-section type, which are generally regarded by Karo as the most representative type. Rumah si waluh djabu is a phrase which denotes the adat-house; literally it means the house of eight sections. For this reason and also for the sake of simplicity, I will refer mainly to this type in this report.

Each section, consisting of a kitchen, a living room and an enclosed sleeping place, is, by Karo standards, a suitable dwelling place for one domestic family. Some families occupy two adjacent sections (seruang) and for this reason the number of families residing in an eight section adat-house range from four to eight. However, the majority of families occupy only one section. Out of 97 djabu (domestic family) who live in adat-houses in Kuta Gamber and Liren, 90 (92.8 per cent) occupy one section and the remaining 7 (7.2 per cent) each occupy two adjacent sections.

Non Karo visitors to an adat-house are often surprised to discover that its roomy interior is not separated by compartments or walls. Heine Geldern (1935:321) remarking upon this ascribed anomaly wrote:
Though the houses of the Toba and Karo are exceedingly attractive because of their phantastic roofs, beautiful proportions, and their lavish and tasteful ornamentation, no attempt whatever is made to dispose of their inward space. There are not even fixed walls separating the lodgings of the different families.

A sociologist, of course, scrutinizes such a phenomenon from a different angle. For him this very fact makes the Karo adat-house unique in its spatial arrangement, substantially dissimilar from Minangkabau and Dayak traditional houses. It is also a determining factor in some basic and distinctive features of Karo social relations. Let me begin by discussing the socially relevant aspects of the structure of the adat-house.

Each adat-house has two open bamboo platforms (turé), one at the eastern, the other at the western end of the house (see Figure 1). Each turé is regarded as a part of the four adjacent sections in the house and corporately owned by its inhabitants. It serves as a verandah, a meeting place for youngsters and also as a lavatory in certain circumstances. To get into the house from ground level one has to climb a ladder which leans against the turé. From here the house may be entered through a slanting door. In the late afternoon and evening it becomes a rendezvous for adolescents. This is the place where an adolescent boy may meet his girl friend; it would be contrary to adat to visit her inside the house. Small children use the turé as a lavatory as do women at night. Pigs roam freely under the house and serve as scavengers. Nowadays, however, the villagers are obliged to keep them in pens.
Figure 1: Plan of a Karo adat-house

im = ingan medem (sleeping place)  
d = dapor (kitchen)  
P = pintun (door)  
pp = pintun perik (window)  
1 = benakaju (the base of the tree)  
2 = udjungkaju (the top of the tree)
A beam about ten metres long connects the eastern and western turé, dividing the house into two separate sections and serving as a corridor for its inhabitants. It has the shape of a long trough, the bottom of which is about twenty centimetres below floor level. It is called dalan lau (literally, the passage of water); it is owned by all the members of the house.

Each pair of adjacent sections shares a kitchen (dapor) which is in no sense a separate apartment. The hearth is sunk about twenty centimetres lower than the main floor. In the centre of each kitchen five stones are erected so as to form two fireplaces (A & B in Figure 2), each being the fireplace of one section. The middle-stone, as the Karo call it, and the hanging racks above the kitchen (para), where various kitchen utensils and cooking ingredients are kept, are commonly shared by these two adjacent sections.

Figure 2.  The arrangement of the hearth.
The *djabu* is the living room of the family where they have their meals, entertain guests and chat with neighbours. It is a place where family meetings, rituals and ceremonies are held, where children and girls sleep and where women give birth to their children. When a member of the family dies the corpse is laid down on the *djabu* where it is surrounded by wailing relatives.

The sleeping place (*ingan medem*) is the only part of the section which resembles a room; it is separated laterally from the other sleeping places by nothing more substantial than a number of mats hung over a bamboo and from the *djabu* by a curtain. The sleeping quarters were usually furnished with mats; nowadays, however, all but a small minority can afford mattresses, over which the home made mats are spread as a sheet. A well-to-do villager occasionally owns a bed called *peratas* made by a local carpenter; it is in fact a large rectangular wooden box about thirty centimetres high and it also serves as a storing place for miscellaneous things like pillows, small mats, pandanus baskets, traditional clothes and knives.

Since in Karo symbolism the floor is associated with dirt, inferiority and submission while, on the contrary, the head represents purity, supremacy and authority, it is regarded as improper, when lying down, for one man's feet to point to his neighbour's head. This results in a rule concerning the position of the body when lying down which is summarised in a phrase 'head meets head, foot meets foot' (*takal djumpa takal, nahē djumpa nahē*). In order to achieve this
position, those who sleep in the sleeping places in Section No. 1 and 8 (see Figure 1) must orientate their heads eastwards while those who sleep in Section No. 4 and 5 orientate their heads westwards; this arrangement applies also to the other parts of the house.

Above the sleeping place there is a two storey horizontal rack; the lower is used to store precious belongings such as traditional clothes, body decorations, jewellery and other paraphernalia; the upper rack has an important religious function because it is a place where offerings are placed for the guardian spirits, the spirits of the deceased lineage members and their wives. However, only the spirits of those who died unexpectedly or in an unnatural way, such as drowning or suicide, belong to this category. They are called si materé sada wari (who dies in one day). They are the most important guardian spirits in Karo religious life; they are believed to reside in the house whilst spirits of relatives who died in a natural way reside elsewhere.

Each section has its own name, based on the arrangement of the beams which symbolize the political organization of the adat-house. Figure 1 shows how the horizontal beams are arranged; the point of the arrow indicates the base of each beam. The base of a beam is meant to signify the lower part of the tree trunk from which the timber was hewn. The base of the beams placed at the eastern and western side of the house is orientated northwards while the base of the beams placed at the northern and southern sides face eastwards.
By such an arrangement, the base ends of the horizontal beams are considered to point to corner A and the upper ends of the beams point to corner B. On the basis of this symbolic arrangement Section 1 is designated benakaju (lit. 'base of the tree'), Section 2 udjungkaju ('top of the tree'), Section 3 lépar benakaju ('apartment opposite to the base of the tree'), Section 4 lépar udjung kaju ('apartment opposite to the top of the tree'), Section 5 sedapuren benakaju ('sharing a kitchen with the base of the tree'), Section 6 sedapuren udjungkaju ('sharing a kitchen with the top of the tree'), Section 7 sedapuren lépar benakaju ('sharing a kitchen with the apartment opposite to the base of the tree'), Section 8 sedapuren lépar udjungkaju ('sharing a kitchen with the apartment opposite to the top of the tree'). Thus the point of reference is always the two end sections, 'the base of the tree' and 'the top of the tree'.

These complex spatial arrangements represent the political organization of the house because the section called 'the base of the tree' is the place of the chief of the house (pengulu rumah) and next to him, occupying the section called 'the top of the tree', is his deputy.

The orientation of the house, which is always east and west, has undoubtedly an important symbolic meaning. No priest in Kuta Gamber and Liren was able to explain its symbolic significance. However the Karo phrases matawari pultak (the rising sun) and matawari sundut (the setting sun) which refer to east and west respectively seem to be a useful guide here. The eastern section of the house, represented by the section called
'the top of the tree', faces the rising sun and the western section of the house, represented by the section called 'the base of the tree', faces the setting sun. It is probable that this represents two symbolic situations, i.e. coolness and heat which is a widespread concept in Indonesia. In his book *The Achehnese*, Hurgronje (1906:305) gives a very lucid description concerning this ideology.

...in the native languages of the E. Archipelago all happiness, peace, rest and well-being are united under the concept of "coolness", while the words "hot" and "heat" typify all the powers of evil. Thus when a person has either just endured the attack of a "hot" influence, or has luckily contrived to escape it, the adat prescribes the method of "cooling" in order to confirm him in the well-being which he has recovered or escaped losing. The same methods are also adopted for charming away evil things and baneful influences, the removal of which is regarded as an imperative necessity. For instance, the completion of a house, and various domestic festivities, are made the occasion for a process of "cooling"; so also with a ship when newly built or after the holding of a kanduri on board; and before the padi is planted out the ground must be purified from "hot" or dangerous influences.

Among the Karo this dichotomy of 'hot' and 'cool' each representing good and evil is remarkably well-developed. 'A hot heart', 'a hot liver', and 'a hot mind' are expressions denoting anger, illness and troubled mind caused partly by sickness but mainly by a disturbing supernatural power. Therefore the cooling process plays a very important role in Karo ritual. For example, drinking cold water in a ritual, smearing the chest with cold water, smearing the forehead and cheeks with 'neutralizing rice-flour' (*tepong tawar*) and using what they call 'cold herbs' (*si-malem-malem*) for various occasions.
With regard to the orientation of the house, this symbolism confirms the superiority of the head of the house who also symbolically occupies 'the base of the tree'; he is thus regarded as belonging to those who are able to confront 'heat'.

The architecture of the adat-house, its size and the absence of walled section give the impression to some observers of it being a sort of lineage house. Wagner (1959:62), for instance, describes a Batak traditional house as similar to those of the Toradja in Celebes and Minangkabau in Mid-Sumatra, as a dwelling place of 'large genealogical groups, or clans'. This gives an incorrect picture of the social arrangement of the Batak traditional house which is, in fact, basically different from a Minangkabauan rumah gadang (big house). In Minangkabau, says Cole (1945:252):

The smallest unit is the rumah or house, the members of which trace their origin back to a single woman called nini - oldest woman, ibu - mother, or inuk - headwoman. Thus the family is made up of an original headwoman, her sons, her daughters, and their children and so to succeeding generations.

In short, a Minangkabau house 'sometimes lodges seventy to eighty persons descended from the same ancestral mother' (Loeb, 1935:99).

A Karo adat-house on the contrary is a dwelling place of several domestic families who are not necessarily related consanguineally to each other. It is true that a Karo adat-house is generally inhabited by those who are in one way or another related but, interestingly enough, affinal and cognatic ties are more important than agnatic ties.
here. Ideally an adat-house consists of the three categories of kin: agnates, the wife taking people (anakberu) and wife giving people (kalimbubu). This is from the point of view of the head of the house (pengulu rumah) who is, ideally, a member of the principal lineage which means that he is one of the descendants of the founder of the village. For that reason that section is also called djabu radja (the section of the king).

Since the ability of my informant to elucidate the kinship relations of the inhabitants of the adat-house was restricted to four sections only the following ideal scheme of social relations (Table 5) is based mainly on Tamboen's (1952:90) more explicit account.

Table 5. The ideal social arrangement of the adat-house.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Occupied by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bangsa taneh (member of the principal lineage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>anakberu of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>son of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kalimbubu of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>anakberu menteri (the anakberu of anakberu) of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>son of 4 (also kalimbubu of 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>son of 2 (also anakberu of 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>priest, non kin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: The successive number of the sections is based on Figure 1.
The type of anakberu, kalimbubu and anakberu menteri, as described in Table 5, is not elaborated by Tamboen. The kalimbubu of a man, for example, might be his mother's brother, his mother's brother's son, his wife's father, his wife's brother or any other person who belongs to the wife giver category. Figure 3 represents the simplest kinship ties between the inhabitants of the seven sections, based on the above mentioned ideal social composition.

Figure 3. The ideal kinship ties between the inhabitants of the adat-house.

The figures in Figure 3 correspond with the section number in Figure 1, No.1 in Figure 3 occupying Section 1 in Figure 1 and so on. It is also parallel to the above mentioned ideal social arrangement in that the man No.1, who is the focal point in that disposition, is also a member of the principal lineage. His anakberu, as indicated in Figure 3 is his sister's husband and his wife's brother represents the kalimbubu. His HZH represents the anakberu menteri (the anakberu of anakberu) because he (No.5) is the anakberu of No.2 who is again
the anakberu of No. 1. This social composition is a clear manifestation of the dominance of affinal over agnatic ties; of the six relatives of ego with whom he shares an adat-house, only one is his agnate while the other five are his affines, of whom two are kalimbubu, two anakberu and one anakberu menteri. The eighth member as already mentioned is a priest, who is a non kin.

Available data about the social arrangement of the adat-house does not, however, conform to the ideal type given by Tamboen. So far I have not come across one house with such an arrangement. Nevertheless, Tamboen's account is important since neither the ideal type nor the actual arrangement, as will be shown later, stress the patrilineal ideology in regard to spatial arrangement. An adat-house is generally occupied by people belonging to a variety of lineal groups who are linked to each other by various sorts of kinship ties.

Let us take as an example the social arrangement of a house in Kuta Gamber which was built about forty years ago by four people, each of whom owned two adjacent sections. The members were divided into two lineage groups. Two people (A & B in Figure 4), who occupy the benakaju and udjungkaju respectively, are first cousins and members of the principal lineage; the other two (C & D) are half-brothers and the anakberu of A & B which results from the fact that C married a second cousin of A & B. Figure 4 illustrates their kinship and affinal relations.
Figure 4. The actual kinship relations between the inhabitants of an adat-house and their spatial distribution in the house.

This arrangement supports Tamboen's account to the extent that affinal relations play an important role and the benakaju should be occupied by a member of the principal lineage. But on
the other hand it does not correspond with his rigid social divisions. The udjungkaju in the above example, for instance, instead of being occupied by an anakberu, is occupied by an agnate of the occupants of the benakaju section.

Now that the four founders of the house have died the social composition of the house has changed radically. One section is occupied by the widow of the founder; two sections by their sons; two sections by their grandsons; one section is rented by a clansman; one section by the anakberu (ZD) of the inheritor; one section by an affine (WZH) of the inheritor (Figure 5). In short, the kinship and affinal relations of the present occupants is rather complicated. However, both the previous and the present social composition of this adat-house indicate that here the anakberu - kalimbubu relation is, at any rate, no less important than the agnatic tie. This phenomenon holds true to most adat-houses in Kuta Gamber and Liren.

By virtue of the architectural characteristics of their dwelling place the inhabitants of the adat-house form a community of their own. It is an open group because families are entitled to leave and join at will. However, an adat-house community is not a corporate group in terms of collective ownership of land or property but nevertheless, from the felling of the first tree until the house is abandoned, the occupants remain a ritual and ceremonial corporation. Let me discuss briefly a number of these rites.
Figure 5: The new composition of the adat-house and their distribution in the house.

benakaju

E    A's clansman
     G    H

I    J    F    B's W

ud jungka ju

▲ ● = died
The site of the house is chosen by divination. It is important to note that the divination is carried out neither by a priest nor by a lineage elder but by a female kalimbubu (WM or MBW) of the head of the house (pengulu rumah) who will later occupy the benakaju section. For this she takes a handful of rice from a container to obtain a portent of whether or not the proposed place is supernaturally favourable. An even number of grains is a good omen but if the number taken is odd, which is a bad sign in Karo augury, a new site, a few metres from the former place, is tried and the same divination is repeated until a favourable site is discovered. The pile of the benakaju section is then erected on the very spot where the divination takes place.

When a house is built, says Pa Rutji, materials are gathered from many places. One should not belittle the likelihood that some of this material may have come from places occupied by evil spirits. Consequently it is accompanied by harmful supernatural powers against whom some routine precautions are made. The inauguration of the house has therefore a remarkable ritual significance besides being a great ceremonial occasion.

The inauguration ceremony and rites led by a priest commonly takes place on nggara sepuluh, the tenth day of the Karo lunar calendar, which, according to their traditional divination, possesses the most suitable mystical characteristics for such an occasion. It is said to be the day of challenge on which those who are in a
Plate 6.

A modern house, Liren
waiting position loose the fight. They are pernicious spirits who are in a waiting position in the house and the inherent power of the day is believed to be a substantial help for the guru in chasing them away. Meanwhile the traditional orchestra plays the well-known ritual song *gendang lima puluh kurang dua* (literally, the tune of fifty minus two) which contains forty eight melodies. This is again an attempt to persuade the evil spirits to leave the house. They are invited to dance and a spirit can hardly resist this strong temptation. After dancing they leave the village.

The occupants enter the house in a ritual procession, accompanied by their agnates, kalimbubu and anakberu. Dressed in ceremonial attire they all enter the house solemnly via the western ladder, turé and door. As the head of the house, the occupants of the benakaju are at the front of the procession, followed by the occupants of the udjungka; the occupants of each section enter the house in a fixed sequence which corresponds to the section numbers in Figure 1. In the meantime the guru awaits their arrival on the turé, close to the ladder, with his ritual device, the 'neutralizing rice-flour' (*tepong tawar*). This is made of rice-flour, mixed with water and put in a white porcelain cup. With a stick he puts some *tepong tawar* on the forehead and cheeks of everyone who enters the house to 'cool' him or her from any 'hot' affect of the newly built house. This part of the ceremony and rite is the highlight of the expression of the political, ritual and ceremonial corporation of the inhabitants of the adat-house.
Other minor rites are conducted when a new family moves to the house and when a member dies; however there is no joint rite for a baby born within the house. The new members perform a small ceremony by serving food to all members of the house. It is called 'uniting the soul' (persadan tendi) by which, according to Karo belief, a new member is spiritually integrated. When a member dies there is a farewell rite for his house-mates. Each scrapes his or her nails and the surface of the tongue; the scrapings are put on a betel-leaf which is placed beside the corpse in the coffin. The house-mates, according to adat, must provide a carrying pole and a binding rope for the coffin. In return each family in the house receives a slice of meat and they are entitled to dance.

The pengulu rumah symbolizes the political integration of the adat-house. He is the man who knows the adat of the house. In fact, however, his power is restricted and he is not entitled to interfere in the internal problems of the sections. As a rule he never makes a decision without consulting other members of the house. If a man, for instance, wants to move to an adat-house after finding an empty section there he first must seek the agreement of the pengulu rumah, who makes a decision only after consulting all other members of the house.

Social life in the adat-house is characterized by intensive daily contact and a lack of privacy. Members of the house occasionally meet at the door, on the turé or at the ladder and see
each other, almost every day, within the house. Vegetables, chillies, onions and other every day cooking ingredients are important items of exchange between women in the house. Besides being an important aspect of their economic relations such exchanges are also a symbol of their social solidarity. A part of the meat obtained from hunting and trapping should be distributed to members of each section, and similarly home made cakes and bananas grown in one's own garden. A professional sugar maker should also follow this custom. Brown sugar is made from tapped palm sap and the product of the first day is distributed to fellow members of an adat-house. However, purchased food is excluded from this custom.

Moreover, this form of dwelling is conducive to mutual help, particularly in times of distress. The value of such interdependence was repeatedly stressed by my informants. A gravely ill member of the house never feels isolated and is always surrounded by neighbours who consider themselves responsible for giving help whenever the need arises. They are a great help in collecting herbs, fetching a medicine man from a neighbouring village and in conveying an invitation to a close relative. When a man dies, the inhabitants become a ceremonial corporation because the whole house is used to entertain visitors, as though the whole house belonged to the dead man. All the occupants customarily participate in the death ceremony, their sections being fully occupied by guests or used for the dancing floor. For two or three days they do not cook for themselves in the
usual way but have their meals at the mortuary ceremonies. When the ceremonies are over the house-mates are expected to console the family of the deceased person. During the first two or three months after bereavement, Karo, and women especially, occasionally cry and it is usually the house-mates who hasten to console her.

To summarize, the material presented in this chapter demonstrates that the analysis of the adat-house is essential for the study of Karo social organization. We have seen that the Karo perform their most elaborate rituals and give expression to their symbolic system and art at all stages of the building of the adat-house; that the kinship relations of families occupying an adat-house to a large extent throws light on an understanding of kinship relations in the village; and that the multiplicity of clans and lineages represented in a Karo village and the significance of affinal relations in Karo society are clearly expressed in the social organisation of the adat-house.
CHAPTER FIVE:

THE SEGMENTARY SYSTEM

Patrilineal kinship is the key to Karo as well as Batak social organization generally. Together with Alas, Gajo and Nias, Batakland constitutes a distinct geographical unit in North Sumatra inhabited by highland people who have strong patrilineal characteristics. It is basically for this reason that the distinguished scholar van Vollenhoven (1931) grouped these people together in a single law area, one of the nineteen law areas into which he divided Indonesia.

According to a Toba Batak myth (see Ypes, 1932:24-6; Vergouwen, 1933:6-9), which is supplemented by an elaborate genealogical chart of descent groups of Toba and some other societies among the Batak, all Batak are descendants of an apical divine ancestor. In this myth a high god called Muladjadi na Bolon sent away his daughter Si Boru Deak Parudjar who, after a violent and victorious battle with a huge serpent Naga Padoha and after chaining this disturbing creature under the world, created the world out of a lump of earth she had brought from heaven. Thereafter Muladjadi na Bolon sent a man called Radja Odap-odap who became the husband of Boru Deak Parudjar. Their union resulted in the founding of the first Batak village Siandjur Mula-mula, situated on a slope of the sacred mountain
Pusuk Buhit at the western side of Lake Toba. Two twins, a son Radja Ihatmanisa and a daughter Boru Ihatmanisa, were born of this union; they married and from this twin sibling marriage was born a son, Si Radja Batak, the progenitor of all Batak. One of the many great grandsons of Si Radja Batak, Haro, is regarded by the Toba as the founding ancestor of the Batak Karo.

This myth of origin is unknown to most Karo; the few who have heard it suppose it to be an invention of the Toba to assert their cultural and political superiority among the Batak generally. Instead, Tamboen (1952:64) in a simplified chart designates Batak as the personal name of the Batak apical ancestor whose sons were Toba, Angkola, Mandailing, Karo and Pakpak.¹ These five sons then became the ancestors of each component part of Batak society. Thus according to Tamboen the Karo did not originate from Tobaland. This theory again is not widely known among Karo and it is therefore probably Tamboen's own invention. The Karo do not possess any myth of the origin of their own society.

The clan

There are five dispersed patri-clans (merga) among the Karo and the whole population, so to speak, is divided into these five unilineal units. Every Karo is a member of one particular clan and

¹ The Simelungun are not included by Tamboen, probably through an oversight.
no person can be a member of more than one clan concurrently. The clan is the most enduring unit in the society. They are fully aware that the five clans are the stronghold of their social structure. This consciousness is clearly manifested in their identification of Karo society with merga si lima, a phrase meaning the five clans. This designation is used on many occasions especially in adat negotiations, and, interestingly enough, the bookshop established in Kabandjahe bears the name Merga Si Lima; similarly, it was chosen as the name of a Karo association founded by urban Karo at Padang Bulan, a suburb of Medan.

The Karo have no clear idea how these five clans came into being. They possess no story or myth which accounts for merga si lima. Neumann (1926: 2) recounts a story in which the five clans - Ginting, Karo-karo, Perangin-angin, Sembiring and Tarigan - are each named after their founding ancestors who bore the same names. They are said to have been full siblings, the sons of Nini Karo (Grandparent Karo), though their birth order is not mentioned. But further investigation, says Neumann, suggests that this was a newly invented story. Tamboen (1952:64) describes the same story of origin but in order to provide an explanation of the term merga he states that the father of the five apical clan ancestors was Me(he)rga (expensive, outstanding) who was the only son of Karo, one of the five sons of Batak mentioned by Tamboen. In practice these stories have negligible sociological significance as they are
hardly known to or believed by the villagers. However, it is interesting to note that the Karo term *merga*, the Toba *marga* and the Pakpak *mego*, all of which refer to patrilineal groups, are derived from the Sanskrit term *mrga*, meaning track, way or custom.

The clan name or a derivative term is not normally used in everyday speech but serves as a form of dramatic or poetic address. For instance, *mama biring* (mama = MB) and *nandé biring* (nandé = mother) refer to both male and female members of the Sembiring clan; these terms are employed particularly in romantic songs or when making love. However, members of the Perangin-angin clan are referred to in a specific way since the poetic expression for its male members is *mama tambarmalem* and for its female members *nandé ribu*. *Tambarmalem* (literally, a cooling medicine) is undoubtedly associated with the clan name in which the root *angin* (wind) is repeated but there is no explanation whatever for the word *ribu*. Moreover elder female and married members of the clan are referred to, by their grandchildren, by their abbreviated clan names like *karo* for Karo-karo, *iting* for Ginting, *tigan* for Tarigan, *biring* for Sembiring, while for members of Perangin-angin the term *ribu* is again employed. Thus, addressing an old woman as *tigan* implies that she belongs to the Tarigan clan and stands in the relationship of a grandmother or more correctly, two generations higher than the speaker. She may in fact be the speaker's real or classificatory maternal or paternal grandmother but there is also the possibility
that the categorization is highly putative because of the broad classificatory extension of kinship terms to the entire clan.

A Karo clan is not a corporate body. Its dispersed members throughout Karoland own no property in common, have no clan chief, possess no common emblem or ritual centre and on no occasion assemble as a group. Moreover, there is no assumption that such an institution ever existed in the past. The total number of members of each clan is not known but if we estimate the total number of Karo at about 300,000, the total membership of each clan probably ranges from 40,000 to 70,000.

Members of the same clan regard each other as senina which means brother. It is important to stress that clan members of opposite sex are not linked by a senina relationship. In every day speech senina also means sibling of the same sex and this is extended to both a classificatory brother and sister so that a man and his brother and a woman and her sister, either actual or classificatory, are in a mutual senina relationship. In fact Karo no longer understand the etymology of the term and this is clearly reflected in Tamboen's (1952:79) misconception. He argues that senina derives from sada-nini-na or se-nini-na (literally, one grandparent), the descendants of the same paternal grandfather. However comparative linguistics reveal that the root of the term is ina which means mother so that senina means of one mother or children of one mother. Earlier ethnologists, especially Wilken (1912:190-1), interpret this
fact as a clue to Batak social evolution and insist that the kinship
term *senina* is a survival of a past matrilineal social organisation.

One specific feature of the Karo clan system is the absence of
a history of common origin. Even a strictly exogamous clan such as
Tarigan possesses no myth or history of origin and consequently has
no founding ancestor. As a member of a clan a person knows that in
addition to his or her personal name, he or she has a clan name,
transmitted in an unbroken line through aganatic descent. Getting
to know one's clan name is an essential part of a child's learning
to speak because in Karo socialization the first two questions
which should be answered by a child are firstly, what is its
personal name and secondly its clan name. As a boy grows he
learns that it is inappropriate to play with children of the
opposite sex who belong to his own clan because they are brother
and sister. When there is a rainbow, children jump and skip about
mocking the rainbow exclaiming: *'Elé! Elé! Empoina turangna'*, Elé!
Elé! He marries his sister. This derives from the mythological
ascription of the origin of the rainbow to an incestuous brother and
sister relationship which incurred a supernatural curse.

According to the Karo conception the rainbow consists of two
colours, blue and yellow. The blue originated from the body of a
cursed man and the yellow from the body of his sister. The rainbow
thus symbolises the act of sexual union because it is observed that
the blue is invariably above the yellow. This is based on the following
myth:

One day, a young man was sitting on a pantar, a small elevated platform used for scaring away birds and monkeys. His mother came to bring him food but he refused to eat it, for he wished his sister, Tolemena, to come and offer him the food. His mother, intending to fulfil his request, returned home and told her daughter Tolemena to take the food to her brother. Tolemena brought the food and called to her brother to come down from the pantar. This he declined to do and instead persuaded her to mount the pantar with the food. She felt embarrassed at this idea and initially refused. Her brother exhorted her repeatedly and Tolemena eventually began to ascend the ladder. However, after ascending the first rung she stopped and again asked her brother to come and fetch the food. He again refused and once again urged her to climb the ladder. It took her a long time to climb up in this way. When almost within reach of the platform, instead of taking the food, her brother grasped her hand firmly and jerked her up. After a while their mother came and was surprised to find her daughter absent from the foot of the tower. When she realized that her daughter was on the pantar with her brother she was shocked. 'Get down Tolemena', she cried, 'are you not ashamed of your conduct? And look. What is this?' She pointed to drops of blood under the pantar. 'That is lau perburihen (water for washing the hands while having a meal) mother', replied Tolemena. Meanwhile, unnoticed by them, someone passed the field at that moment and spread the shameful news in the village. The villagers rushed to the place and tried to knock down the pantar. They were determined to punish both Tolemena and her brother. But suddenly both of them ascended to the sky and by a supernatural punishment were transformed into what is now known as the rainbow, the yellow band from Tolemena's body and the blue above it from her brother's.

Thus every adult Karo knows his or her clan name and the range of marriage prohibitions but on the other hand there is no concept of how the clan came into being. Furthermore the historical and etymological background of the clan names themselves are not
known. Literally the term Ginting and Tarigan are meaningless; Karo-karo is a repetition of Karo which can mean 'those who resemble Karo'; Perangin-angin a repetition of angin (wind) preceded by a prefix per; Joustra (1907:11) translates Perangin-angin as windhoekers, those who stay in the windy section. The only clan name which has a clear meaning is Sembiring (mbiring, black) which means 'they who are black'.

Neumann (1926; 1927) has made a noteworthy attempt to elucidate the unknown past of the Karo by some conjectures and hypotheses. There is the likelihood, he argues, of Karo Sekali, which is now a sub-clan of Karo-karo clan, being the originator of those Karo whose ancestors were the pioneer settlers of Karo Highland. This assumption is based on the fact that the phrase Karo Sekali (sekali, once) means 'non-recurring Karo', which grammatically can imply 'the original Karo'. This again has a clearer meaning in its contradistinction to Karo-karo (the recurring Karo), connoting 'resembling the Karo'; this also contains an implication of 'those who have become Karo'. Following this hypothesis, Karo Sekali, whose village of origin is a ward in Seberaja village, is the forerunner of Karo society. Thereafter other people migrated to that area and they became Karo and formed the Karo-karo clan. From legends and stories he collected, Neumann reached the conclusion that the next to arrive after the original Karo was the Ginting clan.
Although his terminological analysis is interesting and not unlikely to contain some truth, it is difficult to accept the hypothesis that from the outset Karo society was constituted by one exogamous lineal group. It contradicts the basic fact that, in order to maintain the physical continuity of the society, members of an exogamous unit must take their wives from other lineal groups outside their own and give away the female members of the group whom they cannot marry. Furthermore, the Karo-karo clan, including the Karo Sekali sub-clan, has always been a strict exogamous unit.

I do not propose to discuss at length Neumann's hypothesis in this thesis. However another theory has to be mentioned here. Based on Neumann's study of the historical origin of the subclans, Ypes (1932:64) deduces an interesting hypothesis in which he states that presumably there were five small clans in Karo society from the dawn of their history. Those who migrated to Karo from neighbouring societies like Pakpak, Toba and Simelungun, sooner or later, formed new sub-clans of their own which were affiliated to one of the five existing Karo clans.

This means that exogamy within the Karo clan is not the outcome of a fact or belief that they are of common patrilineal descent. Here the principle of agnatic kin exogamy interacts with another principle: exogamy is the expression of classificatory brotherhood regardless of the dissimilarity of agnatic descent of the constituent clan sections. Exogamy here functions as an effective
mechanism to promote social cohesion, to make clansmen consider each other as 'brothers' and 'sisters' and to maintain their common agnatic identification; it makes them distinct from other social groups in their society. This makes the peculiar characteristics of the Karo segmentary system, particularly at the clan level, discernible. It explains why members of the same exogamous clan but different sub-clans claim that they are 'brothers' and 'sisters', despite diverse origin and descent. Purba, Sitepu, Barus and Lingga, for instance, are four of the nineteen sub-clans which constitute the exogamous Karo-karo clan. According to their myths of origin (sub-clans, unlike clans, do have accounts of origin), the ancestor of the Purba sub-clan derived from Purba village in Simelungun; the ancestor of the Sitepu sub-clan came from Sihotang in Toba; the ancestor of the Lingga sub-clan from Linggaradja in Pakpak and the Barus sub-clan trace their founding ancestor to Barus, a place on the south coast of Batakland.

A clan is ideally an exogamous unit. However, only three of the five clans are strictly exogamous units; whereas in the other two clans - Perangin-angin and Sembiring - marriage is permitted between certain sub-clans within the same clan.

A member of Sebajang sub-clan belonging to the Perangin-angin clan may intermarry with members of other subclans within his clan, with the exception of Pinem. This is due to the belief that these two sub-clans are linked by common descent since Sebajang and Pinem
sub-clans are supposed to have been founded by two mythical forebears, Radja Lambing and Radja Enggang, who were siblings. The story of the breakdown of the exogamy rule in this instance goes back to an occurrence in Perbesi, the mother village of the Sebajang sub-clan. After driving away members of the Pintjawan sub-clan who also belong to the Perangin-angin clan, the Sebajang took their place as the principal lineage in Perbesi village.

One day, according to legend, the village chief invited a silversmith to make padong-padong, heavy silver ear-rings, for his beautiful daughter. When the smith had all but completed working the ear-rings on his anvil, they suddenly sprang up into the sky and disappeared. The chief was filled with despair fearing he might not retrieve the lost ear-rings. He therefore issued a proclamation that whoever found and returned them could marry his daughter without paying any bride-price. The ear-rings happened to fall into the lap of the son of the village chief of Kuta Buluh, about ten miles distant. He then married the beautiful daughter of the Sebajang chief even though they were of the same clan, Perangin-angin.

Since then, the story concludes, members of the Sebajang sub-clan may intermarry with almost all the sub-clans belonging to their own clan. Nevertheless whenever Karo refer to this divergence from the ideal marriage rule they speak with regret of the myth of the missing ear-rings.

There is no story that explains why in the Sembiring clan the Milala sub-clan is allowed to intermarry with a large number of sub-clans within their own clan. However, some informants tried to speculate that the breach of clan exogamy might be associated with a
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former custom, which they consider curious, called pekualuh, in
which the ashes of a cremated dead kinsman were 'drowned'
ceremonially in Lau Biang, the biggest river in Karoland.
ceremony was last conducted in 1902.

The

As a result of this, it is

said that members of other clans were reluctant to marry them and
hence their custom of endogamy.
Pekualuh was the biggest Karo mortuary feast.

2

in an interval of sada reme,

It was conducted

literally one smallpox, i.e. the

period between two smallpox epidemics was reckoned to be about
twelve years.
period.

The feast was held for kinsmen who died during that

It was a corporate action organized on a large scale basis,

participated in by many agnatically related families.

The

organization was based both on descent and locality so that all
'Sembiring who drown' living in the same village shared the same
pekualuh feast.

It was not uncommon for the pekualuh to be

conducted concurrently in a number of villages.
The chief ritual objects for the pekualuh were small boats
and wooden puppets made from kembiri-wood (aleurites moluccana).
Each puppet represented one deceased kinsman, its sex being
distinguished by the headdress ordinarily worn by men and women.

2
In the past, remg (literally, smallpox), due to a cyclic
frequency of epidemics, was a recognized time interval. The
age of a person was generally reckoned in terms of reme, i.e.
the number of smallpox epidemics he or she had survived. Thus
when asking a person his age, the question is usually put:
'How many remg are you?'


Prior to the 'drowning' ritual the boats and the puppets were taken to a field in a solemn procession: the orchestra played and shotguns were fired. There the relatives lamented the dead represented by the puppets. In the afternoon the boats and the puppets were taken to the village. The 'drowning' ritual took place on the sixth day after the building of the boats, the day which is regarded as the first. The boats containing the puppets, the ashes of the dead (the Karo practiced cremation in the past) and some food were launched, their bows and sterns 'guarded' by the puppets with 'shotguns'. Not long after they were launched the crowd threw sticks and stones at the boats until they sank and disappeared.

The high cost of the pekualuh was proverbial and aroused much criticism by some Karo. A proverb referring to this still survives: Pekualuh Seberaja sirang turé, literally '(after) Pekualuh (in) Seberaja (they) separate on the platform'. It is said to originate from the fact that a man in Seberaja village, a place well-known for its lavish pekualuh, spent everything he had on one such feast until neither a handful of rice nor a pinch of salt remained. When his guests returned home he too left his house with them so that they separated on the turé. He then worked as a coolie carrying merchandise to and from the east coast. It is said that one of the reasons why people were reluctant to marry a Sembiring of a sub-clan that observed the pekualuh was this economic consideration. An affine, particularly a 'wife taking man' (anakberu), was under an
obligation to contribute a substantial proportion of the costs of the feast.

The second criticism, still occasionally heard today, was against the hypochondriachal behaviour of this Sembiring group manifested in the pekualuh institution. They placed a high value on the ability to lament and to mourn in the traditional singing and weeping style and this was particularly expected of their wives. A wife endowed with skill in uttering particularly moving lamentations acquired some considerable fame. It is said that Sembiring girls belonging to this group used to practise mourning and lamenting in the accepted style for several weeks before the pekualuh took place. It is interesting to note that one of the melodic themes of this lamentation still survives and bears the name Tangis-tangis Seberaja, the Seberaja lamentation.

That there was a strong tendency to look down upon this pekualuh institution was reflected in what was said to be the historical background which underlies it. The pekualuh was said to result from a punishment inflicted on this group of Sembiring by the Batak king. According to a legend:

A Sembiring wishing to sell a buffalo to the king of Atjeh for a high price, tried to trick him by covering the buffalo with a white cloth which he then plastered with lime. When he arrived with the strange-looking animal the king abandoned the idea of purchasing it as he was afraid of supernatural harm which might be brought by such an extraordinary creature. He then acted as a broker in selling the buffalo to the King of Rome (Radja Rum). A few months later, as the false
cover of the animal wore off, the subterfuge was discovered. The King of Rome blamed the King of Atjeh. The latter was furious with the Sembiring and in order to appease the King of Atjeh the Batak King punished the Sembiring by forcing his kinsmen to drown the bones and the ashes of their deceased agnates so that they could no longer remain in Batak soil.

Indeed much has been discussed about the distinctive characteristics of the Sembiring clan (see Joustra, 1902, 1903, 1918; Ronkel, 1918; Tideman, 1936) and the general hypothesis is that this clan, or at any rate part of it, was founded by immigrants from South India. According to Ronkel the custom of pekualuh originated from South Dekan where it is observed as the tabut feast, a mourning feast held in commemoration of the two martyrs Husan and Husain. Moreover the clan name itself and several names of its constituent sub-clans suggest a similar conclusion. As already stated Sembiring (or Simbiring) means 'the black' and this very likely referred to the physical appearance of their ancestors who were darker than the indigenous inhabitants at that time. Many of the subclan names such as Meliala, Pandia, Tjolia, Pelawi and Berahmana strongly suggest an association with the Dravidian dynastic names Malayalam, Pandya, S'oliyan, Pahlava and the Indian caste name Brahmana.

However, the fact that there are some exceptions to the rule of clan exogamy does not prevent the Karo from visualizing the clan as an exogamous entity. In general terms a Karo considers both the
Perangin-angin and Sembiring clans to be exogamous though in certain circumstances endogamy within the two clans is permitted. This situation is best exemplified by the fact that members of the same clan regard each other as senina (brother) and this includes those who are potential affines. For instance, in the Perangin-angin clan, if a man from the Sebajang sub-clan comes into contact with a man of the Sukatendel sub-clan, after eliciting each other's agnatic and maternal agnatic merga, they regard themselves as senina because they belong to the same clan. In cases where members of the two sub-clans are related by affinal relations, the new affinal or cognatic tie takes precedence over the pre-existing senina agnatic tie. The latter is not entirely submerged or effaced however but continues to be operative in certain situations. Thus at a ceremony of the Pinem sub-clan of Perangin-angin, a Sebajang man and his Kuta Buluh brother-in-law attend as members of the same clan demonstrating the operation of the senina tie in this situation. But as far as Karo are concerned this superimposition of affinal upon agnatic ties is regarded as an exception, for above all there is the concept of merga si lima and the strong ideology of clan exogamy which continuously find expression in Karo institutions.

The sub-clan

Each of the five clans is divided, as we have already seen, into sub-clans. Members of a sub-clan constitute the largest patrilineal
group that is believed to descend from a common ancestor. Since
the assumption of common descent is not the principal criterion of
Karo clanship, a clan is thus an aggregate of subclans who bear a
common clan name, and whose members are linked by a senina relation.
A subclan is consequently a section of a clan in the sense that it
is a constituent part of it though not in the sense that it has
emerged through the process of clan bifurcation.

Sub-clans have individual names and each has a history of
origin and common taboos. Both the clan and subclan are called merga
and a Karo may use his clan or subclan name interchangeably after his
personal name. For an outsider this frequently causes confusion but
for a Karo the distinction between the clan and the sub-clan is
always clear. If a man says that his merga is Perangin-angin every
Karo knows that merga in this context refers to the clan because they
all know the names of the five clans. To establish thereafter a
man's subsequent kinship affiliation, one may ask 'which Perangin-
angin?' (Perangin-angin apai?). On the other hand a man might say
initially that his merga is Mano for instance, by which he is
referring to his sub-clan. Frequently an inquirer does not know to
which clan a particular sub-clan belongs and in some cases he may
not have heard this sub-clan name before. He then asks to which
merga (clan) the Mano sub-clan belongs.

Most sub-clan names are believed to derive from either the name
of their founding ancestors or the name of the mother village founded
by the apical progenitor. Sometimes however it is a mixture of both so that a sub-clan name refers both to the name of the 'mother' village and to the founding ancestor. For example the term Gurukinajan, a sub-clan name of the Sembiring clan, is said to originate from Najan who was a well-known priest (guru) and was therefore referred to as Guru Najan. The village he founded (Gurukinajan) was named after him and similarly the sub-clan composed of his male descendants. In some cases, such as the Ulundjandi and the Sebajang, sub-clan names are associated with historical events experienced by their forefathers. Ulundjandi means 'the source of agreement'; this refers to a peace agreement which concluded an ancient war. The term Sebajang is associated with an imprisoned (terbajang) ancestor. However, there are sub-clan names whose significance is now incomprehensible to the people because their historical background has been forgotten; moreover there are cases where the names themselves no longer have any literal meaning.

The fact that there are a number of Karo sub-clan names, that resemble clan or sub-clan names of neighbouring peoples, deserves special attention. Karo sub-clan names like Pinem, Seragih, Munte, Manik, Maha, Sibero, Purba, Sinulingga and some others are also names of patrilineal groups outside Karoland. For example, Pinem is found among the Alas, Seragih and Munte among the Simelungun and the Toba, Manik and Maha among the Pakpak and Sibero among the Pakpak (Tjebero) and the Gajo (Tjebero) (Table 6). Though in some instances
the historical connection is scarcely known the similarity is nevertheless attributed to common descent. This is confirmed by the fact that in many cases agnatic relations are still traceable in their legends and myths. Here we see another dimension of the agnatic principle, the linking of certain lineal groups belonging to different ethnic groups. It may be argued that in view of their geographical distribution and their identification with different ethnic groups, such an affiliation is of minor sociological significance particularly when compared with clan affiliation within the *merga si lima*. On the contrary, it is an effective channel for bridging people belonging to different societies. By means of this system, where circumstances require, a Simelungun, Toba, Alas or Gajo may identify himself as a Karo and this also holds true for a Karo who wishes to identify himself as a member of one of those peoples. For instance, a member of Pinem in Alas may claim to be a member of the Pinem sub-clan in Karo and consequently a member of the Perangin-angin clan. According to a Pinem myth, both the Pinem in Karo and Alas originated from a common ancestor, Radja Enggang who came from Djambu village in Pakpakland and is therefore believed to be a member of the Djambu sub-clan in Pakpak. Among the Pakpak members of the Djambu, Solin and Padang sub-clans are considered to be agnates and they may therefore identify themselves as members of Pinem sub-clan and Perangin-angin clan in general.
Table 6: List of related sub-clan names among a number of societies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>KARO</th>
<th>TOBA</th>
<th>SIMELUNGUN</th>
<th>PAKPAK</th>
<th>GAJO</th>
<th>ALAS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Djawak</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>Girsang</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Keloko</td>
<td>Sihaloho</td>
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<td>Sihaloho</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Maha</td>
<td>Maha</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Manik</td>
<td>Manik</td>
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<td>6.</td>
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<td>Melala</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Munte</td>
<td>Munte</td>
<td>Damunte</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Munte</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Pinem</td>
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<td>Pinem</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Purba</td>
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<td>Purba</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Seragih</td>
<td>Saragih</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Sibero</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>Tjebero</td>
<td>Tjibero</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Sinulingga</td>
<td>Lingga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Lingga</td>
<td>Lingga</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Sinupajung</td>
<td>Sipajung</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Tambak</td>
<td>Tambak</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Tambun</td>
<td>Tambunan</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Tumangger</td>
<td>Tumanggor</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
People of the same sub-clan are sembujak, of one womb'. Though actual genealogical ties are generally not known, those who are sembujak share a belief of common descent through patrilineal links. Some have elaborate myths concerning their legendary ancestors. In the majority of cases, however, there is no myth but there is a 'mother' village which serves as an important symbol of sub-clan unity. This is the place founded by the unknown ancestor whose blood is believed to flow in the arteries of every member of the sub-clan. Sub-clan members are obliged to observe common prohibitions (pantangen) with regard to certain vegetables and animals. These include certain mushrooms, some bananas, dog, deer, white buffalo, turtle dove and some others. However, the Karo do not regard these as sacred objects; it is said that by this custom they recognize the assistance given by these quasi-totemic objects to the sub-clan ancestors. It is believed that failure to observe the taboo causes a skin disease which primarily affects the lips and the mouth.

The possession of specific nicknames is an important characteristic of Karo sub-clans which does not exist at the clan level. The nicknames originated from the personal names of some mentally retarded members of the sub-clan, jocularly extended to all juvenile members of the sub-clan until, in the course of time, they became common nicknames of all the babies and children of the same sub-clan. Once the extension has become widespread it becomes institutionalized and the original jocular connotation is forgotten. The nicknames have
become attached to particular lineal groups such as Balandua and Djengok respectively for male and female child members of the Sebajang sub-clan and similarly Batu for a male and Pagit for a female child belonging to the Sibero sub-clan. Karo children have therefore two names, a personal name, chosen by the mother's brother for a male and by the father's sister for a female child, and a nickname which he or she shares with other members of the sub-clan. The two names are used interchangeably and both correspond to the rule of Karo teknonomy, because either the name or the nickname of the eldest child can be employed as the basis of the teknonym. Thus Amat, a member of the Sebajang sub-clan, whose son Sali is also called Balandua, is referred to as either Pa Sali or Pa Balandua. The former is the more specific and gradually replaces the latter which is commonly used only in a child's earliest years.

The five clans are composed of 83 sub-clans, each of which contains 13-18 sub-clans with an arithmetical mean of 16.6. The clan and the sub-clan names are shown in Table 7. The brackets in the list signify groups of collateral sub-clans, i.e. a cluster of sub-clans who are believed to be descended from a common forebear. This occasions a distinctive structural pattern from which an intermediary stage in the segmentary system emerges, i.e. between the clan and the sub-clan level. The collateral sub-clans are composed of a number of sub-clans whose members are linked by a sembujak relation which is identical to the agnatic relation of people belonging to the same sub-clan.
The general explanation of how these collateral sub-clans became related has been that their founding ancestors were siblings. The process of bifurcation by which a sub-clan is supposed to have originated from another sub-clan operates only in one case, that of the Muham collateral group of the Sembiring clan (Figure 6). The founding ancestors of the three successive subclans Muham, Pandia and Tjolia are assumed to have been brothers whilst the founding ancestor of Gurukinajan, who was a priest and a wanderer, was originally a member of the Tjolia sub-clan; again the Berahmana sub-clan was founded by a member of Gurukinajan sub-clan who, according to their myth, left his village of birth in search of a lost herd of buffalo. There was a prolonged drought during which everything became dry and the thirsty herd left the area. The owner discovered his buffalo in a remote place and experienced much difficulty in recovering them, so he tarried at that place and built a hut there. Later it became a village which is now the mother village of a new subclan, Berahmana.

Figure 6: The segmentation of the Muham collateral sub-clans.
Table 7: List of Karo clans and sub-clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GINTING</th>
<th>KARO-KARO</th>
<th>PERANGIN-ANGIN</th>
<th>SEMBIRING</th>
<th>TARIGAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Babo</td>
<td>2. Bukit</td>
<td>2. Sebajang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sinusinga</td>
<td>15. Sinulingga</td>
<td>15. Sukatendel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17. Sitepu</td>
<td>17. Ulundjandi</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18. Surbakti</td>
<td>18. Uwir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Those who eat dog meat

15. Keloko
16. Kembaren
17. Sinulaki
18. Sinupajung

A. Those who do not eat dog meat

1. Muham
2. Pandia
3. Tjolia
4. Gurukinajan
5. Berahmana
6. Bunuhadji
7. Busuk
8. Depari
9. Pelawi
10. Keling
11. Milala
12. Pandebajang
13. Sinukapur
14. Tekang
15. Keloko
16. Kembaren
17. Sinulaki
18. Sinupajung
The biggest cluster of sub-clans is found in the Ginting clan which comprises nine sub-clans. As a distinct agnatic unit among the Ginting they identify themselves by the phrase siwah sada ginting, meaning 'nine (sub-clans) in one ginting'. This cluster has an elaborate and popular myth which makes it the most renowned sub-clan cluster among the Karo. The myth is still generally known both by members of the cluster and other Karo, and is preserved in the traditional pustaka (book of bark) called Pustaka Ginting, written in Batak script. This has been transliterated by Neumann and supplemented by a Dutch translation (1930). A summary of the myth runs as follows:

A Ginting man in Pakpak country moved from Kalasen to Tindjo where he became the village chief. His wife gave birth to a son on an inauspicious day, for the guru said that his birth was nunda, meaning that it would cause the death of his father. To avert this the son would have to be killed. The chief's younger brother frustrated this intention by carrying away the baby to a field. There he was fed on the sap of a mbetung tree and later on the milk of a white buffalo which was always kept tethered close by under a banana tree. The baby was named Mantangken (to abstain from) which denotes that he and his descendants should abstain from eating white buffalo and the galoh si tabar (pisang kapok, I) variety of banana. They had furthermore to avoid using the mbetung tree for firewood.

The child and his paternal uncle went to Karoland and founded a village, Lajo Lingga. One day when Mantangken was already a young man he went to the forest to snare game and to his astonishment caught a beautiful fairy who happened to fall from heaven. He married her and the place where they met has been called Deleng Sibolangit (deleng, mountain; sibolangit, which smells like heaven).
Mantangken's eldest son, Tindang, was a wanderer and founded the village of Gurubenua. Tindang's wife gave birth to an unusual child who resembled a gourd (gundur) covered by a membrane. The baby was kept in a jar (gutji). Altogether ten children were born of this union and they all resembled gourds and were kept in jars.

Fortunately a band of seven Pakpak priests of great distinction (guru Pakpak pitu sendalanen) happened to visit Gurubenua and took their meal at the house of Tindang, the village chief. Tindang consulted the priests about the peculiarity of his children. 'Give us a white cloth and seven layers of mats', said the priests. Then came Tindang's anakberu and kalimbubu (not specified) and put the babies on the cloth. The priests in turn uttered their spells during which their heads were covered by the white cloth. The membranes split one by one and the ten children, one girl and nine boys, were 'hatched' (naper). The girl was called Bembem, the boys Babo, Gurupatih, Suka, Beras, Djadibata, Sugihen, Garamata, Bukit and Adjartambun.

When Bembem married the distribution of her bride-price caused bitter conflict among her brothers. Djadibata intended to take the whole bride-price for himself without giving any portion to his eight brothers. They quarrelled. 'Do not quarrel my beloved brothers', said Bembem, 'hear me, for all of you will win, all of you will gain'. She conducted a ceremony on a hill at which many people gathered, including her nine brothers. While an orchestra played, Bembem danced in full ceremonial attire in the midst of all the people there. While dancing she said: 'My brothers, this place will be the gathering place of people from the east and west; if you trade here all of you will enjoy the market tolls'. She then stamped her feet and vanished. At that place a market, Tiga Bembem (tiga, market), was founded. Her distressed brothers scattered; Suka went to Suka village, Bukit went and founded Radja Merahe village, Gurupatih went and founded Sarimunte village, Garamata founded Tobaland, Sugihen founded Sugihen village, Djadibata to Djuhar village in which he founded a ward (kesain), Beras went to Djuhar and Adjartambun back to Lajo Lingga, the ancestral village.
Some principles of the Karo social system that I have already discussed are vividly reflected in the above Pustaka Ginting myth. Agnatic kin relations, despite their strong jural basis, are implicitly antagonistic; this is strongly emphasized in the myth. The first irreconcilable conflict, between the father and his son, was supernaturalistic and inherent in the son's birth. It is interesting that this intergenerational conflict between parents and children, particularly between parents and children of the same sex but mainly between father and son, is deeply rooted in Karo folklore and religion. There are several stories about a son who is nunda, who is killed or thrown away because his birth threatens death to his father. In some stories both situations arise, i.e. the father dies a few days after the birth of his son and the nunda child is cast away. In present day Karo religion the belief concerning nunda still persists but in a much weaker form. The term nunda and its meaning is still widely known and in the Book of Divination such a birth is looked upon as harmful. But today should nunda occur in childbirth the performance of a small rite is thought sufficient to eliminate the potential harm.

Antagonism between male siblings characterizes some other relations among agnatic kin. This is represented by two instances in the Pustaka Ginting myth. The first is the protection accorded by a younger brother to his elder brother's son who should have been killed to ensure his father's survival. This is confirmed by
the fact that the younger brother eventually left his elder brother and carried the child away never to return. The antagonism is even more explicit in the second instance in which a serious dispute over the bride-price of the sister results in her own death and in the dispersion of her nine brothers. Apparently this is an affirmation of the well known fact which characterizes a patriarchal society: there is 'hardness', to quote Evans-Pritchard (1951:176), in the agnatic relations resulting from the conflicting legal interests of its members.

Table 7 shows that there are no collateral sub-clans in the Tarigan and Karo-karo clans. Each sub-clan belonging in these two clans traces its origin to a distinct ancestor. The Sembiring clan, however, is distinctive among the five clans because the classification of its subclans, according to observance or non-observance of the dog taboo, suggests that it is composed of two clusters of sub-clans. Of its eighteen sub-clans, fourteen are known as si la man biang, 'those who do not eat dog meat', while the other seven, on the contrary, are identified as si man biang, 'those who eat dog meat'. Moreover this point of difference corresponds with another distinctive institution, the previously mentioned death ritual, the pekualuh. The pekualuh custom was confined to the cluster of Sembiring subclans whose members are prohibited from eating dog meat, while the other cluster of sub-clans, like the rest of Karo people, do not observe the
pekualuh. The first mentioned Sembiring group is therefore also called Sembiring si ngombak, the Sembiring who drown.

The historical background which underlies the division of the Sembiring clan into two distinctive groups is not known. The most feasible explanation about this seems to be the hypothesis that the grouping might be due to their different origin: the sub-clans who abstain from eating dog meat were founded by Indian immigrants while the other group of sub-clans of Sembiring were founded by 'real' Batak. But this is not to say that the agnatic principle coincides with the bipartition of Sembiring. The peculiarity of this categorization is in the fact that the observance of a common taboo and specific festivities by a cluster of sub-clans cannot be considered as an expression of the patrilineal ideology. Curiously enough, the patrilineal ideology which finds its fullest expression in the rule of exogamy, contravenes in certain respects the grouping system of Sembiring subclans. For instance, members of the Berahmana and Milala sub-clans may intermarry although both sub-clans belong to 'those who do not eat dog meat' or Sembiring 'who drown' whilst members of both sub-clans may not intermarry with members of sub-clans belonging to 'those who eat dog meat'. The marriage rule of the Sembiring clan may thus be summarized as follows: Of the fourteen sub-clans constituting the group 'who do not eat dog meat' thirteen sub-clans may intermarry with the remaining one sub-clan, Milala. But all the fourteen sub-clans may not intermarry with the
four sub-clans belonging to the other groups of sub-clans 'who eat dog meat'. These four subclans may neither intermarry within their group 'who eat dog meat' nor with the other group 'who do not eat dog meat'. In other words, taking for granted that the above-mentioned hypothesis is correct, one might say that there is a breach in the rule of exogamy in the clan section founded by the Indian immigrants while the clan section founded by the Bataks has remained exclusively exogamous.

Like the sub-clan, a cluster of collateral sub-clans is not a corporate unit. In no economic, religious or political activity do they act as an organized group. Therefore if the sub-clan or the collateral sub-clan are treated as a totality the sembujak (one womb) bond becomes a very loose concept. It neither entails legal nor social consequences. In general, for the sembujak tie to become effective among the dispersed members of the group the addition of another element, the geographical factor, is essential.

The lineage

The segmentation of the sub-clans creates lineages, i.e. groups of agnates each of which is descended from a known ancestor and whose kinship relations can be stated in genealogical terms. A lineage is therefore a genealogical segment of the sub-clan. Due to the segmentive process, a lineage may be viewed as a branch of the sub-clan, but whatever the historical explanation of such segmentation, each lineage is generally an autonomous group and enjoys
equal rights with other lineages. Karo lineages are not ranked in any hierarchical order. The founding ancestor of the lineage is as a rule the founder of a village (kuta) or a ward of a village (kesain). Logically, the generational depth of the lineage corresponds to the relative 'age' of the village or ward in question. However, as far as 'old' villages and lineages are concerned, there tends to be a discrepancy between the historical length of time since the village or the ward was founded and its age measured by the number of generations according to the genealogies of the lineages concerned. Thus the genealogical depth of a lineage ranges from six to eight generations, whereas villages tend to be older. This may be accounted for by the fact that the depth of the unrecorded genealogies preserved primarily by the older members of a lineage, tends to be simplified or abbreviated in the course of time. As a result of this the agnatic group concerned retains a relatively constant generational depth, anterior generations being successively telescoped into successive generations.

Unlike the clan and the sub-clan, the lineage is an unnamed patrilineal unit. But since the history of the lineage and the political status of its members are linked to a particular locality, i.e. a village or a ward, the name of the village or ward concerned serves in various contexts to represent the name of the lineage. Thus Kuta Gamber, besides being the name of a village, also denotes the name of a lineage composed of the male descendants
and unmarried female descendants of the village founder. A man might say that he is a member of Perangin-angin (clan) Pinem (sub-clan) and if asked what lineage, he might say that he is a member of Pinem (sub-clan) Kuta Gamber (lineage). It is important to note that in this respect the name Kuta Gamber refers not to the village but to a particular agnatic group of the same name regardless of where its members reside. Saying that a man belongs to Kuta Gamber lineage does not imply that he resides in Kuta Gamber village. A member of the Kuta Gamber lineage may be born in a village other than Kuta Gamber but always retains Kuta Gamber as the name of his lineage. On the other hand the inhabitants of Kuta Gamber village are not necessarily all members of Kuta Gamber lineage. A part of the population has lived generation after generation in Kuta Gamber but cannot claim membership of Pinem Kuta Gamber. Thus Dolu, a member of Pinem Liren, who was born and still lives in Kuta Gamber will say that he is anak (inhabitant of) Kuta Gamber, but never Pinem Kuta Gamber.

The same principle applies to the kesain, the village ward. As has been pointed out in Chapter 2 there are two types of Karo villages: firstly mononuclear or homogeneous villages which are not subdivided into wards and secondly multinuclear or heterogeneous villages which are subdivided into two or more politically autonomous wards. The actual range of constituent kesain in multinuclear villages is from two to twelve. Thus if a man
identifies himself as a member of Pinem (sub-clan) Ulundjandi (lineage), then his point of reference is the Ulundjandi ward founded by his lineage ancestor in Kidupen village.

The fact that lineages are associated with distinctive localities strongly suggests that a lineage is a localized group. This erroneous notion, which is often found in Batak ethnographic literature, leads to a grave misunderstanding concerning both residential patterns and social organization generally. Some descriptions go so far as to state that both the Batak sub-clan and clan are localized groups. Thus, in the well-known standard book of ter Haar, *Adat-law in Indonesia* (1947:65), the rule of residence among the Batak is described as follows: 'Patrilocal clans - The independent communities of the Batak are typical of the fourth type of social organisation, that of the localized, exogamous, patrilocal clan or sub-clan inhabiting its own territory. Batak communities are organized in a series consisting of the family-group village, the sub-clan regional community, and the clan territory'. Interestingly enough, ter Haar himself seems to be fully aware that this oversimplifies the actual situation. Nevertheless he does not add clarity with the following contradictory remark (1947:65): 'However, there are almost always some residents in the community who belong to other clans'.

Unfortunately, Tugby (1958:211-3), who quoted ter Haar extensively including the above remarks concerning Batak residential
pattern, fails to analyse this problem although he was apparently in a position to do so. In fact Tugby's analysis concerning the rule of residence of the Upper Mandailing is in a sense a recapitulation of ter Haar's conception. His comment about ter Haar's postulate is that 'This is an authoritative and scholarly statement at the level of ideal structure of the nature of Upper Mandailing society as it was conceived in 1939'. Later on, however, Tugby (p.214) states that:

Localization of clans exists in terms of the substantive distribution of persons who are identified and identify themselves by a particularly inherited clan name. Thus, there are more persons of marga Lubis in the south-eastern part of the area than in the northwestern part, while the reverse is true of persons identified as Nasution, a finding in accordance with the position shown in the marga map of Ypes (1932). Persons identified by other clan names are found scattered through the area. In any village there may be persons bearing any of the four or five clan names.

He concludes the paragraph by saying: '...there is some support in the substantive distribution of clan identifications for the notion of clan territories, and for the mixture of clans in any territory...' However, one crucial question is not answered in Tugby's analysis: does the notion of substantive distribution of clan identifications bear an implication that the clan in question constitutes the majority of the population in its own territory? Since a village or a territory are commonly heterogenous from the point of view of the clan affiliation of its inhabitants there is the possibility that a particular clan is numerically more powerful than the other clans in
that specific locality but nevertheless does not form the majority of the population. In fact this is the case among the Karo and it will be discussed later in this chapter. It is therefore hard to say that ter Haar's postulate holds true for the analysis of what Tugby regards as 'the ideal structure'.

In my view the shortcomings of both ter Haar's and Tugby's analysis are due to some analytical confusion. To analyse the geographical distribution of Batak lineal groups in association with particular localities one should begin with the concept of the patri-clan, patri-subclan and patrilineage territory. In the light of these concepts and my own material, which I believe will reflect the general situation in other Batak societies, I shall now discuss the structure and distribution of local groups.

Karo lineage localization is a political rather than a demographic concept. Since a village or ward is established by a founding ancestor that particular village or ward is said to belong to the lineage which is descended from him. Members of the founding lineage in that village or ward are called bangsa taneh (the people of the land). They are the ruling or the principal lineage; they enjoy a special political status in that locality.

A group which has the status of bangsa taneh or anak taneh is therefore invariably confined to a small territory. It does not form a class or a sub-stratum in the pyramid of Karo social stratification since the term is confined at the utmost to one
village community and never embraces a wider social unit in Karo society. Thus a person who is a member of the bangsa tanah in a village founded by his lineage apical ancestor cannot be a member of the bangsa tanah in another village. Theoretically the total number of bangsa tanah groups therefore corresponds to the total number of mono-nuclear villages and village wards.

Theoretically, the majority of Karo are members of a bangsa tanah. Only a small minority of the population are 'commoners' belonging to no bangsa tanah either because their ancestors did not found wards or villages or because they cannot trace their origin to a ruling lineage of which they are descendants; in other cases they are descendants of a non-Karo immigrant.

Of the eighty-three Karo subclans, two, the Busuk of Sembiring clan and the Keliat of Perangin-angin clan, possess no mother village. None of their ancestors founded a ward or a village and consequently there is no place where they can be regarded as bangsa tanah. Members of the Busuk sub-clan believe that they are descendants of four brave warriors who were full siblings and whom they refer to as nini si empat (the four ancestors). These mythical ancestors were very powerful physically. As an example of this it is recounted that a stone thrown by any one of them could cause a cluster of coconuts to fall from the highest tree. They were also good marksmen with a blowpipe. But curiously enough they were not interested in founding a village of their own.
According to Pa Radu, a member of the Busuk sub-clan, this was mainly due to the fact that their ancestors were honoured and respected wherever they went. Nevertheless both he and a few other members of this sub-clan whom I came across regret this negligence of their ancestors who, in their view, should have founded at least one village. There is no known reason why the second sub-clan, the Keliat, have no ward or village. Pa Tara, a member of Keliat sub-clan expressed much the same regret as Pa Radu of Busuk.

People who were unable to trace their lineage of origin are usually those whose apical ancestor, due to some serious conflict, left his village of origin, determined to sever his social relations with his lineage of orientation. In some instances he was a segregated member who, due to repeatedly intolerable misbehaviour, was excommunicated by his kinsmen. In other instances the ancestor was a traveller who finally settled down in a distant place where, due to geographical, economic or security factors in the past, relations with his lineage were discontinued.

In the village community the political superiority of the bangsa taneh was manifested in their legal right to hold the village or the ward chieftainship. The village headman, the pengulu, had to be a member of the bangsa taneh, who succeeded to his office by the rule of male primogeniture. He was the head of the village administration and tribunal and was responsible for
maintaining the social and the moral order of his community. He enjoyed some economic privileges such as unpaid labour to prepare his field and the right to a part of the foreleg of any wild animal caught in his area. In addition he enjoyed some ceremonial privileges such as the exclusive right to dance at a certain stage of village ceremonies and to receive special meat and food at such ceremonies. It was only after he had commenced the cultivation of his own field that other people under his jurisdiction might sow paddy in theirs.

However this traditional political institution has been officially abolished by the Indonesian central government. The pengulu, now called kepala kampung, the village headman, is elected by popular suffrage. Nevertheless the old political values still survive and find expression in various ways. In the social life of the village the bangsa taneh is still regarded as a politically superior group and in adat matters the voice of its elder members carries considerable weight. Their religious status remains unaltered because only an elder member (or his wife) of the bangsa taneh can communicate with the guardian spirits of the village. Moreover, despite the present absence of any legal foundation for its political authority the bangsa taneh in most cases continues to hold the office of kepala kampung. In Kuta Gamber and Liren, for instance, the village chiefs have always been members of the bangsa taneh.
It is, however, important to note that the pengulu, i.e. the chief of a ward or a village, in whom the political authority of the bangsa taneh is vested, was not the head of the lineage. As has been mentioned his jurisdiction was restricted to a definite locality consisting of a ward and its land (taneh kesain) or a non-segmented village and the village land (taneh kuta), inhabited as a rule by people belonging to various lineages, sub-clans and clans. A substantial portion of the population might be members of the headman's own lineage but they rarely, if ever, constituted the majority of villagers. As marriage in Karo is not strictly virilocal and residential mobility occasionally takes place, members of the lineage have generally been widely distributed in the villages surrounding a mother village.

From the point of view of spatial distribution and consequently political incorporation, the members of the bangsa taneh may thus be divided into two categories: those who live in their 'own' village or ward and those who, for some reason, settle down in a place other than their 'own'. Thus the bangsa taneh has a local core but a number of members dispersed elsewhere. To illustrate this I shall confine the following discussion to the agnatic groups in Kuta Gamber village.

All the five clans are represented in Kuta Gamber. Again each is represented by a number of its constituent sub-clans: the Sembiring, Ginting, Perangin-angin, Tarigan and Karo-karo are
represented by six, four, three, three and five sub-clan successively.
Thus twenty-one out of the eighty-three Karo sub-clans are
represented in Kuta Gamber.

The numerical power of the clans ranges from 16 to 112 souls
with an arithmetical mean of 74.4. The biggest clan in Kuta Gamber
is Perangin-angin to which the principal lineage Pinem Kuta Gamber
belongs. In a broad sense Perangin-angin can therefore be
identified as a ruling or a principal clan. Strictly speaking, the
Perangin-angin cannot be said to constitute the principal clan
however because the notion of a principal lineage does not extend to
the clan or sub-clan level, for, as we have already shown, Karo
clans and sub-clans are not in any way stratified. The following
table (No. 8) indicates the numerical composition of the agnatic
clans in Kuta Gamber, where agnatic affiliation is determined
exclusively by patrilineal descent (see also Table 1).

One interesting point about the social composition in Table 8,
which I consider to be representative of most Karo villages, is that
it categorically contravenes ter Haar's afore-mentioned postulate.
There is thus no ground to argue, as did ter Haar, that the most
important characteristic of Batak social organization is 'that of
the localized, exogamous, patriloclal clan or sub-clan inhabiting its
own territory'.

With regard to Tugby's argument that 'there is some support in
the substantive distribution of clan identifications for the notion
Table 8:

The social composition of Kuta Gamber

<table>
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<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>SUB-CLAN</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female (1)</th>
<th>total</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>a. Pinem</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sebajang</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Bangun</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>112</strong></td>
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<td>a. Munte</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>b. Sugihen</td>
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<td>c. Adjartambun</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Tumangger</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td><strong>44</strong></td>
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<td>b. Milala</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Sinulaki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Keloko</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Berahmana</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. Depari</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tarigan</td>
<td>a. Gersang</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sibero</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Tua</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Karo-karo</td>
<td>a. Katjiribu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sinulingga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Surbakti</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Kaban</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Purba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) membership by birth

(2) 187 male, 185 female
of clan territories', my data at first suggests partial agreement. However, as Table 8 indicates, the principal clan does not constitute the majority of the population. Furthermore, Tugby's conception of this problem is erroneous because it is not the numerical power of a lineal group which is the determining factor in the Batak notion of a lineal group territory. Its underlying principle is the political concept that each village was founded by the ancestor of one (or more than one in the case of a kesain type village) particular lineal group. In order to maintain their political, economic and other interests, it is necessary that a sufficient number of agnates of the founding group should reside in that area. But since affinal kinsmen are indispensable for the social and political composition of the rumah adat and the village community it becomes obvious that the village as a political unit is necessarily heterogeneous from the point of view of its lineal group composition. In Batak political life affinal relationships are no less important than agnatic relations.

As we have seen the principal lineage of Kuta Gamber belongs to the Pinem sub-clan. This sub-clan includes other members who are bangsa taneh in thirteen villages and five wards (kesain), distributed in three adjacent sub-districts (ketjamatan), Ketjamatan Taneh Pinem, Ketjamatan Djuhar and Ketjamatan Tiga Lingga. One of the wards is a section of Kidupen and is one of the seven wards constituting that village and the other four wards are part of Djuhar village, which is
the biggest village in Karoland, inhabited by about 4,000 people and subdivided into twelve wards (Table 9).

The genesis of Perangin-angin Pinem Kuta Gamber as the principal lineage of Kuta Gamber is both explained and validated by the myth of Radja Enggang to which I have already referred in Chapter 2. According to this myth members of Pinem sub-clan are descendants of a mythical ancestor, Radja Enggang, who was born at Djambu village in Pakpakland. He was a renowned traveller who, among other exploits, founded a village in Karoland called Pinem whence the sub-clan name subsequently derived. Thence he travelled to Alas in Southern Atjeh, where he finally died. Lineage elders in Kuta Gamber claim that his descendants in Alas and Keluat constitute distinct lineal groups and that both these agnatic groups are also known as Pinem, that is Pinem Alas and Pinem Keluat. These latter groups refer to the Pinem of Karoland as the Pinem Karo.

As a rule members of the Pinem sub-clan in Karo trace their origin to Pinem, their mother village. However their knowledge of their dispersion from the mother village is highly fragmentary. There is no sub-clan elder who is able to recount how the thirteen villages and five wards of Pinem came into being. Nor can they give the historical background which underlies the sub-clan segmentation.

The only attempted explanation was a story which I frequently heard from the lineage elders in Kuta Gamber concerning an ancestor
Table 9:

The distribution of Perangin-angin Pinem bangsa taneh in three ketjamatan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ketjamatan</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Ward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Taneh Pinem</td>
<td>1. Pinem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Kuta Gamber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Liren</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Kempawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Kuta Buluh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Butar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Balandua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Pamah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. Lau Gunung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. Taneh Pinem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. Sembetek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Tiga Lingga</td>
<td>12. Rantebesi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Djuhar</td>
<td>13. Djandi</td>
<td>1. Ulundjandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in Kidupen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Djambor Gerga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Djambor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pengambaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Dalu-dalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Ulundjandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2-5 in Djuhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>village)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from Pinem village who founded a village called Mbatjang, about four miles north of Kuta Gamber. The village has long been abandoned but the villagers know the site well because there are still a few remaining coconut palms. It is said that the reason for the desertion of the village was a serious quarrel between two siblings over a pig. Both felt a strong desire to eat pork and decided to slaughter their mother's pig. As they did not have sufficient salt the elder brother went to purchase some at the coast. The younger brother, hungry and unable to resist the temptation of his strong desire, killed the pig before his brother returned. The latter, when he got back, was furious and decided to leave the village. He went away and founded a village, Balandua, about four miles from Mbatjang. In due course, his younger brother, Radja Katana, also left and founded Liren village.

One day, the story continues, Radja Katana went hunting near Lau Rimbon river and heard a strange voice which aroused his suspicion. He approached the place with his dogs and to his astonishment saw four men suddenly run away leaving behind a girl whom they had stolen from her natal village, Gurubenua, about twenty miles away. She was a member of Tarigan (clan) Sibero (sub-clan) Gurubenua (lineage) and a member of the principal lineage in that village. The plunderers had bound her hands tightly with a long length of rattan. Radja Katana took her to his home and she became his second wife. His first wife, a member of Karo-karo (clan) Sitepu
(sub-clan) Kutambaru (lineage), totally disagreed with this and expressed her antagonism by prohibiting the second wife from staying in the same village. The second wife then lived in a hut in her field near Liren. The first wife protested again that this was too close to her own dwelling place. She could not bear to hear the cock of the second wife crowing. This resulted in the removal of the second wife to a new place which later became Kuta Gamber village. She bore two sons. The elder son was named Gombang (literally, abuse) which was a hint at the maltreatment by her husband's first wife. Gombang became the founding ancestor of the principal lineage in Kuta Gamber. His younger brother, Sukuten, founded a new village, Kuta Buluh, about five miles away from Kuta Gamber, where his descendants constitute the principal lineage.

Taking Gombang as the apical ancestor of the bangsa taneh in Kuta Gamber its genealogical depth is six or seven generations. It is six generations from Gombang to the youngest married male descendants in the genealogy, their unmarried children adding one more generation.

Having given a short description of the history of Pinem Kuta Gamber let us now proceed to the spatial distribution of its members. The living members of the bangsa taneh consist of four generations with a total of 130 souls, 72 males and 58 females. Out of this total, 64 members (49.2 per cent) live in Kuta Gamber while
the remainder (66 members or 50.8 per cent) live in various other places. Thus slightly more than one half of the bangsa-taneh reside outside their mother village. Of the total population of Kuta Gamber, the bangsa taneh constitutes only 17.2 per cent (64 out of 372).

Members of the bangsa taneh who live outside Kuta Gamber are residents of 16 different villages and towns with a wide range of distances (from 1-130 kilometres) from Kuta Gamber (Table 10). However, there seems to be a strong tendency to stay fairly close to the mother village. The spatial distribution reveals an approximate inverse proportion between the number of Kuta Gamber bangsa taneh residents in these villages and towns and their distance from Kuta Gamber. Most of them (37 out of 66) live in villages which are not more than eight kilometres from Kuta Gamber. (This is not a topographical distance but based on the approximate length of the path connecting the villages). This means that they can reach Kuta Gamber within two hours by foot. Such a distance is generally regarded as 'not far away' the criterion being that one can make a visit and return within a day. Thus a member of the lineage within that range can attend a ceremony in Kuta Gamber and return to his village before nightfall.

In contrast, lineage members who live in town are 'far away' and their visits to the mother village, say the villagers, require at least two days' travel. They have to walk four hours
Table 10:

The distribution of the dispersed members of Pinem Kuta Gamber

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of place</th>
<th>Distance from K.G. in km.</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female (1)</th>
<th>male &amp; female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Liren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kempawa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuta Buluh Butar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Lau Petundal</td>
<td></td>
<td>8-12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau Peranggunen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuta Bangun Lau Gunung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taneh Pinem</td>
<td></td>
<td>12-20</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Tiga Lingga</td>
<td></td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kede Berek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Kabandjahe (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>100-130</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berastagi (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Simpang Selajang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medan (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubuk Pakam (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) membership by birth

(2) town
before reaching the main road in Tiga Binanga and from there a few hours travel by bus, i.e. about one and a half hours to Kabandjahe and five hours to Medan. Nevertheless the villagers' calculation is not an exaggeration, since it is not uncommon to spend many hours waiting before one is able to catch a bus.

The fact that there is almost an equal proportion of males and females among both the core of the lineage who reside in Kuta Gamber and its dispersed members obviously suggests that patrilocality is not a characteristic of Karo social organization. However, the decisive evidence has to be sought in the residential pattern of the married members. This again seems to correspond to the general pattern of distribution of the lineage members. The bangsa taneh in Kuta Gamber is composed of fifty-three married members, twenty-six male and twenty-seven female. Thirteen (50 per cent) of the male married members reside in Kuta Gamber and the other thirteen (50 per cent) live outside it; of the married female members, eleven (40.7 per cent) live in Kuta Gamber and sixteen (59.3 per cent) live elsewhere. This ratio is broadly representative of other Karo villages I visited.

One crucial fact in the analysis of clan affiliation is the jural status of the female members of the agnatic groups. It is important to realize that, in a strict jural and political sense, married female members are no longer members of their natal lineages. As the Karo put it, 'she has been sold by her lineage and purchased
Plates 7a & b: Mother and third daughter

In Karo society, which is characterized by male dominance, male infants are more highly valued than female infants.

Photograph 7a illustrates the reaction of a Karo mother to the birth of a third daughter (7b). The birth is a traumatic experience to the mother and she has reacted to it by losing consciousness. She is receiving magical treatment, designed to restore her consciousness. (In contrast mothers are elated at the birth of a male child). Liren.
by her husband's lineage'. The shift in her jural and political status takes place as soon as the marriage has been completed. She is then said to belong to 'other people', i.e. the husband's kinsmen or lineage. Nevertheless she retains a residual right of membership in her natal lineage. In case of divorce she returns in a jural, if not always in a physical sense, to her agnatic group and her full membership again becomes operative. A married woman therefore never refers to her natal lineage as 'her' lineage but as her kalimbubu (the wife-giving agnatic group) because of her strong identification with her husband's lineage. This of course creates a difficult analytical problem because it directly contravenes the conventional notion of agnatic affiliation that membership is achieved exclusively by birth. In other words there are thus theoretically two kinds of recruitment, firstly by birth and secondly by marriage. The latter is confined exclusively to its female members.

In the Karo jural conception therefore the notion of bangsa taneh and lineage is highly male-oriented. A married female member relinquishes her membership in her natal lineage and stands in relation of anakberu, the wife taking group, to it. Thus with regard to Pinem Kuta Gamber, for instance, a Karo will say that the bangsa taneh consists of 26 djabu, each constituted by a married male member and his family and 27 djabu (of) anakberu, which refers to the domestic groups of the married female members. After marriage a woman's natal
clan name remains unchanged but is now a kalimbubu referent, which in turn becomes the bere-beré name of her children. This will be fully discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

One basic principle of Karo political structure is that the localized bangsa taneh is, so to speak, the core of two social groups, firstly the village community and secondly the lineage as an agnatic unit. With regard to the village community, its localized bangsa taneh is the ruling group whose political leadership was jurally recognized (until the Revolution) and still persists despite the lack of its legal foundation under the present political system. Nevertheless it is erroneous to assume that there is a class system or a well developed social stratification which characterizes intravillage social relations. In fact one could say that egalitarianism is very well marked in everyday social values. It should be realized that what is meant by a ruling lineage is merely a reference group. Those who are referred to as commoners may, in one context be bangsa taneh and in another context, not. This is because a man who resides outside his (lineage) 'mother' village is a commoner in his place of residence but on the other hand he remains one of the bangsa taneh with reference to his 'mother' village.

Secondly, there is no differentiation between the bangsa taneh and commoners with regard to economic rights and prerogatives. According to Karo adat, all jural members of the village possess equal rights in the enjoyment of its economic resources, the land, the
water and forests. The only exception is the already mentioned prerogative of the pengulu to receive part of the front leg of any wild animal caught in his area. Moreover, Karo adat does not recognize ownership of land because it is clearly stated that men possess only a usufructuaryright over it but never a right of disposal which is an essential element in the notion of ownership. Thus neither the bangsa taneh nor commoners own the village land but both share equal usufructuary rights in it.

While the bangsa taneh provided a chief in order to establish and to maintain the political integrity of the village community it is itself, in fact, an agnatic group without centralized authority. The pengulu was the head of the village but his authority did not extend to his own lineage as a political unit. Political authority within the lineage is diffuse and matters of common concern are generally discussed in an open council. There each member has the right to express his thoughts and feelings but the voice of the lineage elders is considered to be more weighty than that of others.

The internal structure of the lineage is characterized by segmentation, generation by generation, starting from the sons of the founding ancestor and ending with individual members of the djabu. In its much simplified form, it is conventionally stated that the segmentation of the lineage is analogous to the fingers of the human hand. 'They are fingers of a single hand in which a finger is closer to certain others but not so close to the rest of them even
though one finger can touch all the other fingers'. Every Karo knows his genealogical position in the lineage. He knows that in genealogical terms he is closer to one agnate rather than to another, though in many circumstances it is regarded as improper to reveal this in public.

Of greatest importance, next to the family, is the **sada bapa** (literally, one father) segment, consisting of the **djabus** of married male siblings. During the early phases in the growth of a **sada bapa** segment, it frequently happens that the parents of the sibling group are still alive and this determines not only the social composition of the segment but also its political and economic features. At this stage we find the strongest political and economic bonds among its constituent **djabus**. During his lifetime the father is recognized as the leader of the segment and is usually consulted in jural and political matters. As he grows older, however, his power is gradually relegated to his elder son but in matters which are of crucial importance to the lineage segment, the father's decision is final. Despite the fact that each constituting **djabu** is economically independant, the sibling group, as described in Chapter 3, maintains a common economic interest in the patrimonial estate until the parents die because final partition may only take place after the death of both parents.

Partition marks the next stage of the development of this segment but it does not, however, involve complete severence of ties.
between members of the male sibling group. They persist in becoming ceremonial and ritual corporations and, moreover, belief in the spirits of the dead parents, as well as other guardian spirits of the family of origin, serve as an important unifying force. Furthermore, they have a common 'immediate anakberu' and 'immediate kalimbubu', the former referring to their sisters and the sister's husbands and the latter to the mother's natal lineage. In Karo social life these anakberu and kalimbubu have remarkable economic, political and religious functions and these will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Next to the sadabapa segment is the sada nini (literally, one grandfather) segment, the unity of which is based on the possession of a common paternal grandfather. It is frequently referred to as sembujak bapa: their 'fathers are brothers'. Its political leader is not well-defined and power within this segment is diffused. Moreover, common property is lacking but the significance of this group is that it occasionally emerges as a group in action, such as in adat negotiations and religious feasts. This is the largest intermediary lineage segment in which day-to-day co-operation and economic assistance are still strongly observed. It is also the largest segment whose members have 'immediate anakberu', i.e. the father's sisters and their husbands, in common.

In theory, we may distinguish a number of larger intermediary segments, namely the sada empong (literally, one great-grandfather) and
sembujak empong (literally, great-grandfathers are brothers) segments, the former being composed of the descendants of a common great-grandfather and the latter of a common great-great-grandfather, but these groups have negligible sociological significance.

The smallest and most discrete segment of the lineage is the djabu or the domestic family. The djabu, as has been discussed at length in Chapter 3, is a residential unit and generally composed of an elementary family; it is a unit of production and consumption and the only allodial group in the society. One fundamental characteristic of Karo social organization is that the djabu is functionally the most important kin group in the segmentary system. It is a markedly patrilineal system with an extremely wide range of agnatic affiliation but one in which the djabu, i.e. the smallest lineage segment, serves as its basic social unit.
CHAPTER SIX:

ANAKBERU AND KALIMBUBU RELATIONS: I

There are two basic principles which underlie Karo kinship structure and social organization: the agnatic and the affinal principles. In fact, this holds true for the Batak people in general. If patrilinearity characterizes the societies in the previously mentioned second law area of van Vollenhoven, constituted by Batak, Nias, Alas and Gajo, the strong emphasis laid on the affinal principle distinguishes the Batak from the Nias, Alas and Gajo.

Unlike the agnatic principle in which common identification and the value of reciprocity are stressed, the fundamental concept in their affinal relations is that they are asymmetrical. Those who by patrilineal descent belong to the same agnatic group stand in a mutual *sembujak* or *senina* relation and refer to each other as *sembujak* or *senina*. What a Karo needs to know when meeting an agnate is his position in terms of generation level and, if they happen to belong to the same generation, his age. The key to correct reciprocal behaviour between agnates depends on this knowledge. An older member of the agnatic group in terms of generation or age should be treated with deference and this is expressed in various forms of institutionalized social behaviour. But those who are linked by a
marriage bond, due to the asymmetrical nature of their relations, stand in two different positions. To an 'affine', more important than the criteria of generation and age, is the knowledge of whether one stands as an anakberu or kalimbubu. This is the guiding principle of their reciprocal actions, duties, obligations and expectations towards each other.

The notion of anakberu and kalimbubu

Every marriage results in the emergence of a dyadic anakberu and kalimbubu relation; anakberu signifies the relationship of the wife's agnatic kin to that of the husband and kalimbubu signifies the relationship of the husband's agnatic kin to that of the wife. In ethnographic literature the Karo anakberu, which is identical to the Toba and Mandailing anakboru or boru, is known as a bride-taking, wife-taking or woman-taking group and the kalimbubu, which is again identical to the Toba hula-hula and the Mandailing mora, is identified as a bride-giving, wife-giving or woman-giving group.

The anakberu and kalimbubu relationship operates both at the inter-group and the inter-personal level. Each term has consequently a dual meaning and it is the context which determines whether the term anakberu or kalimbubu refers to a group or an individual. In daily intercourse, both concepts are applied interchangeably. One might explain for instance that the patrilineage Sibero Gurubenua is the kalimbubu of the patrilineage Pinem Kuta Gamber and that Solu (a
man) is the kalimbubu of Risam. Neumann in his dictionary Karo-Bataks-
Nederlands Woordenboek (1951) defined anakberu and kalimbubu in terms
of relations between individuals/rather than between groups: anakberu
(p.48) is 'son-in-law or brother-in-law, namely he who has married
our daughter or sister; thus a girl from our clan', and kalimbubu
(p.134) is 'father-in-law, brother of the girl or he who gives the
girl in marriage...In a wider sense: all, who according to our
kinship tie stand in the same relation as the father-in-law'.

In my view the notion of anakberu and kalimbubu should be
conceptualized as an expression of inter-group relations of agnates
rather than individuals. Whenever reference is made to individuals
it should be borne in mind that what is meant by anakberu or kalimbubu
is merely an individual who at a certain time represents the group.
So when Neumann states that a man stands as an anakberu to his
father-in-law or to the son of his father-in-law, he is in fact
referring to a group of agnates who are his kalimbubu. This is
repeated in his definition of kalimbubu which he defines, in a wider
sense, as all who stand in the same relation as the father-in-law.

The notion of anakberu and kalimbubu are therefore inter-
dependent because there is no anakberu without kalimbubu and no
kalimbubu without anakberu. It should be stressed that a man is
anakberu only in reference to his kalimbubu and vice versa. It is
thus obvious that these terms do not imply that there is a discrete
social group in Karo which can be labelled either as anakberu or
kalimbubu. If a man is anakberu in relation to his kalimbubu, the same person is kalimbubu in relation to his anakberu. To take an example, a man stands as an anakberu to his wife's brother and the latter's agnates while he stands as kalimbubu to his sister's husband and his agnates.

It is striking that etymologically both the terms kalimbubu and anakberu do not seem to be associated with marriage or affinal relations. Kalimbubu originally meant 'the crown of the head. (Kamu'u among the Nias and ambubu among the Angkola Mandailing mean 'skull'). The term is obviously symbolic of the kalimbubu's superior position in the anakberu-kalimbubu relationship in the social system and this will be discussed later in this chapter. In the ethnographic literature the term anakberu is generally explained as 'the children of women' (anak, child; beru, woman) and I will review this literal analysis in the final section of this chapter.

Tugby (1958) in reference to the Upper Mandailing Batak, discusses 'wife-giving' (mora) and 'wife-taking' (bajo-bajo) relations at considerable length and seems to be fully aware of the inadequacy of the two phrases to express the intricacy of this relationship. Therefore, in addition to these conventional phrases he introduces the phrases 'mother-giving-group' and 'mother-receiving-group' which signify particularly the kinship tie between a man and his mother's agnates. He found that by applying these new terms as an analytical concept many phenomena concerning the mora—bajo-bajo
relations were brought into relief. However I doubt if these innovations throw any new light on the analysis of the 'wife-giving - wife-taking' institution.

It should be pointed out clearly that what is of primary importance in analysing this complicated phenomenon is for the investigator to realize the dynamics of the process of identification of members of agnatic groups. As the 'wife-receiving group' is implicitly a 'wife-receiving agnatic group' the group as a totality is represented by those who 'receive' the wives and consequently the group is identified accordingly. Theoretically each member of the agnatic group becomes a 'wife-receiver', including the son and the father of the man who is the actual wife-receiver. As soon as those who are agnatically related become identified as a 'wife-taking group' the generational boundaries, as well as other criteria which distinguish one member from another in their other social relations, fall away. They are all wife-takers. Thus it is a tautology to distinguish a 'wife-receiver group' from a 'mother-receiver group' because the second is automatically included in the first and vice versa. The only difference is in the point of reference. The designation 'group' in either of Tugby's cases is incorrect because the two groups coincide, absolutely in ideal cross-cousin marriage and otherwise putatively. If this crucial point is overlooked or misinterpreted there is a danger that other equally erroneous classifications will emerge such as: 'daughter-in-law receiver group' -
'daughter-in-law giving group', 'grandmother receiver group' - 'grandmother giving group' and the like because these notions are all implicit in Mandailing mora - bajo-bajo, Toba hula-hula - boru and Karo kalimbubu - anakberu relations. The essential analytical distinction is between the wife-taking and the wife-giving groups of agnates. The anakberu - kalimbubu relationship that results from every marriage is transmitted to the next and subsequent generation and is extended to all members of the two agnatic groups.

Before proceeding with this discussion I consider it to be of great importance to review the existing terminology. In my view the phrases 'wife receiving group' (or 'wife taking group') and 'wife giving group' do not only inadequately express the actual meaning of the terms kalimbubu and anakberu but they also easily lead to a serious misunderstanding. For this it is necessary to digress into a short discussion of the terms 'wife' and 'group' used in this phraseology. The word 'wife' denotes the marital status of a woman: she is a married woman. When a Batak woman becomes a wife, her husband's agnatic group is a 'wife receiving group' if reference is made to the wife's agnatic kin. On the other hand, from the point of view of her agnates, this group gives away a sister or a daughter but not a wife. It is thus not correct to say that they act as a 'wife giving group'. There are also writers who employ the words 'girl', 'lady' and 'bride' but I propose the word 'woman' to replace the term 'wife'.
In this phraseology the word 'group' has two shortcomings. Firstly, unlike an agnatic unit, the anakberu or kalimbubu is in itself not a discrete unit which possesses the characteristics of a social group. It is only in its relation to a particular person or particular agnates that a group becomes anakberu or kalimbubu. Secondly, the term anakberu or kalimbubu may refer to two or more distinctive agnatic groups at the same time. In the case of Riman and his two sons, for example, Riman's wife and his sons' wives all belong, before marriage, to different agnatic groups so that their kalimbubu, resulting from their marriage, are composed of their three natal agnatic groups respectively. I therefore propose the term 'category' in place of 'group' so that anakberu and kalimbubu may be defined as 'woman taking category' and 'woman giving category' respectively. Only in a specified sense, i.e. when reference is made to the relations of particular persons in particular association, can the word 'group' be employed.

The classification of anakberu and kalimbubu

As the anakberu-kalimbubu ties refer to the relations of agnatic groups, the nature of these relations reflects the structure of agnatic groups. From the largest agnatic group to the smallest there is a process of continuous segmentation, stopping only at the level of living individuals. The institutionalized anakberu-kalimbubu relationship is extended to the lineage level. An anakberu-kalimbubu
relationship is recognized at each level of segmentation so that theoretically each patrilineal segment within the lineage, from the largest to the smallest, possesses, so to speak, its collective kalimbubu and anakberu. In practice, however, there are exceptions because, unlike the segmentary process of the lineage which is continuously extended through descent, relations of marriage alliance may be renewed by the institution of maternal cross-cousin marriage. Similar to the notion of a common apical ancestor of the lineage, there is also a common apical anakberu (the anakberu tua) and kalimbubu (kalimbubu tua) for all members of the lineage.

For the sake of simplicity of presentation I begin this analysis at the individual level rather than at the group level. Again, instead of beginning with a married man, which is indeed justifiable, I find it more useful for my analysis to begin with a child. To some extent it will thus be more or less like a developmental cycle in terms of an individual's changing field of 'affinal' relations.

As an example, let us take a man whom we will call Sudip and who belongs to Pinem Kuta Gamber lineage; his mother belongs to Sembiring Keloko sub-clan. When Sudip was born, besides sharing his father's agnatic affiliation, he also had the same kalimbubu and anakberu. Thus while Sudip's father, through his marriage, had an anakberu-kalimbubu relation with his wife's agnates, Sudip's relation with his mother's agnates, whilst still anakberu-kalimbubu, is by birth and not affinity: his mother's agnates, i.e. male members of
Sembiring Keloko, are his kalimbubu but, on the other hand, he is anakberu to them. Such a kalimbubu is called kalimbubu si mupus, a kalimbubu who gives birth.

In fact this institutionalized relation of Sudip has commenced before he was born, as the Karo put it 'before he sees the daylight, before his head becomes hard and his navel cord falls off'. His kinship relationships commence from the time he is recognized as a 'human being' (djelma), i.e. since he was a foetus one month old. At that time the 'flesh' was in the 'stomach' (beltek) of the child's mother, accompanied by a soul (tendi) who is automatically affiliated to the lineage of its father and through the existing affinal alliance with the latter's kalimbubu.

The soul has a merga, a clan name and a beré-beré, indicative of his kalimbubu. Once achieved, both are perpetual indicators; they will be used 'forever'. They are used during a man's lifetime and are extended to his life in the afterworld after his death.

Sudip is merga Perangin-angin Pinem and beré-beré Sembiring Keloko because his mother was born into this sub-clan. Should he die 'before seeing the daylight' due to abortion or the death of his mother during her pregnancy, his kinship status will not have been affected. As he died before birth he can choose his own name and through the village spirit medium proclaim it to his relatives. Such a soul-spirit usually chooses an unusual name, such as Radja Kumilap (King of Lightning) which is in accord with his status as a
guardian spirit for his family and lineage. With his kalimbubu the soul-spirit has a perpetual ritual relationship. There are rites in which the food served for its soul should be offered exclusively by its kalimbubu, in practice, by one of their wives.

In social and cultural life the beré-beré is manifestly no less important than the merga. Both are of equal importance in determining an individual's kinship behaviour. From the point of view of the Karo social system they are complementary because the whole complex of their kinship relations can be reduced to two kinship ties: agnatic and anakberu-kalimbubu relations. This may be best illustrated by the following example. If Sudip comes across a man whose merga is Pinem or one of the other sub-clans belonging to Perangin-angin clan, they regard each other as agnates. If he meets a man whose merga is Keloko or some other sub-clan belonging to Sembiring, this man is Sudip's kalimbubu because he is his mother's agnate. If Sudip meets a man whose beré-beré is Pinem or some other sub-clan belonging to Perangin-angin, he is Sudip's anakberu because his mother is Sudip's agnate. Thus by employing the merga and beré-beré names Sudip meets his agnate in the first instance, in the second, his kalimbubu and in the third, his anakberu.

There is one further possibility: Sudip may meet a man belonging to a clan other than his own but who has the same beré-beré, that is, their mothers belong to the same agnatic group. Among the Karo the agnatic principle, as expressed in kinship terminology and behaviour
is extended in such cases as though they are part of an 'agnatic category'. The analogy is derived from the 'children of two sisters' (señina sepemerén) principle or uterine siblingship.

Sudip’s marriage may alter his relations with his kalimbubu. This is a crucial matter because at this stage he is confronted with two alternatives. Firstly he may continue or, more correctly, he may strengthen the existing kalimbubu relation with the Keloko sub-clan by marrying a matrilateral cross-cousin (MBD), either actual or classificatory. By so doing he will not add a new kalimbubu so that the Keloko sub-clan, besides being his kalimbubu by birth, will also be his kalimbubu by marriage (kalimbubu iperdemui). Secondly, he may, as most commonly happens, marry a woman who does not belong to his mother's lineage, sub-clan or clan. If, for instance, Sudip marries a girl from Ginting Munte sub-clan this results in his acquiring a new kalimbubu, by marriage. Sudip, then, so to speak, has two kalimbubu, Keloko and Munte, the former by birth and the latter by marriage.

The emergence of this new kalimbubu by marriage introduces an important sociological problem. In such circumstances, it is a well-known fact among the Karo that the harmonious relations between a man and his natal kalimbubu are seriously disrupted by his 'new' affinal kalimbubu. There is an unavoidable conflict of interests between the two kalimbubu, the 'old' and the 'new'. As will be discussed later in this chapter, anakberu are institutionally
obligated to an asymmetrical lifelong relationship of service and allegiance to their kalimbubu. An anakberu's obligatory relationship is transmitted to his offspring and extended to his living agnates. I frequently heard people saying that after marriage a man's allegiance to his former kalimbubu declined and his ties with his second kalimbubu became dominant. It is the kalimbubu by marriage who eventually win in this conflict. This can only be prevented by resorting to cross-cousin marriage which maintains the interest in the 'old' kalimbubu, the mother's brother.

That there is a shift in the emphasis on the notion of kalimbubu since the time of Sudip's marriage is clearly seen in the change in the point of reference. While it was the mother's lineage, the Keloko, that was referred to as Sudip's kalimbubu prior to his marriage, its position has now been taken by his wife's lineage. If the question is asked: 'Who is Sudip's kalimbubu?' then the term kalimbubu is explicitly intended to refer to Munte, his wife's natal sub-clan. Indeed it should be stressed that although the notion of kalimbubu and anakberu are complicated and perplexing in different circumstances, they are, nevertheless, always rooted in specific marriage relations. The kalimbubu by birth, for instance, which refers to the mother's lineage is, in a more specific sense, called kalimbubu bapa, father's kalimbubu because it derives from the latter's marriage and this is, in turn, transmitted to his son by birth. It is thus a common practice to refer to particular lineages
as one's father's father's kalimbubu (kalimbubu nini), one's brother's kalimbubu and so on.

In the religious field the shift of the kalimbubu is explicitly manifested in the institution of divination. As will be discussed later in greater detail the asymmetrical relations between anakberu and kalimbubu embrace almost every aspect of their social behaviour and are deeply rooted in religious beliefs and practices. It is believed that a harmonious relation with the kalimbubu brings happiness and prosperity and on the other hand if the kalimbubu feels injured this can result in harmful mystical consequences for the anakberu. This explains why in Karo ritual the maintenance of orderly relations between anakberu and kalimbubu is of paramount importance; it is indeed an indispensable constituent in the structure of Karo divination. There is a well-known phrase menek-menek kalimbubu, meaning the frustration of kalimbubu which is now and then diagnosed either by a male priest or a female spirit medium who 'discovers' it in augural objects such as eggs, chickens and the blossoms of areca (bunga majang). Such frustration is believed to be the cause of an existing misfortune or one which is about to befall the person pointed to in the divination. Healing a disturbed relationship between kalimbubu and anakberu has both a curative and a preventive potency. However, as the priest never specifies which kalimbubu is intended in the divination, further clarification becomes necessary and this is achieved through a process of centrifugal
elimination. Possible misconduct of a man towards his wife's agnatic kin, particularly her parents and her brothers, is the starting point in such an enquiry, so that in the majority of cases it is the wife's agnatic kin who represent the kalimbubu in divination where a married man is concerned. In this respect the kalimbubu by birth is treated as of secondary ranking because it is only taken into consideration after it has been shown that menek-menek kalimbubu does not exist among members of the wife's agnatic group.

The birth of Sudip's first child strengthens his institutional tie with his kalimbubu by marriage. In theory, once a marriage is consummated, an enduring anakberu-kalimbubu relation is established but in practice it is only after the birth of a child from that union that the affinal tie becomes a relatively permanent one. Since such a relation is originated and sustained by a marriage tie between two individuals, it will obviously be dissolved should the marriage union be broken. Thus for a childless couple the anakberu-kalimbubu relation which is created by their marriage inevitably ends with the dissolution of the conjugal tie.

Let us assume that a son, Teras, is born to Sudip from this marriage to a woman of Munte. Teras then brings a new dimension to the structure of his father's affinal tie. The Munte lineage who are Sudip's kalimbubu by marriage now become Teras' kalimbubu by birth. As they are also Teras' beré-beré, his mother's lineage may now be regarded as his father's kalimbubu by marriage and simultaneously his
own kalimbubu by birth. Unlike the potentially fragile ties which link the agnates on either side of the childless couple, here the birth of the child Teras has cemented the anakberu-kalimbubu connection. Although the relative stability of a marriage has an effect upon the intensity of anakberu-kalimbubu relations, divorce in this case does not destroy the anakberu-kalimbubu affinal alignment. If, for instance, Sudip divorces his wife his anakberu-kalimbubu relationship by marriage is jurally annulled. On the other hand, according to Karo adat, his child's anakberu-kalimbubu relations, which originated and are transmitted from his father, are not affected by his parents' divorce. Thus, jurally, an individual's tie with the kalimbubu by birth, as with affiliation to the natal lineage, is a permanent one.

So far we have been dealing with anakberu-kalimbubu relations within the scope of two generations, i.e. the inter-group alliance created by the marriage of an individual and by his father. Furthermore, anakberu-kalimbubu relations are extended to the kalimbubu of a brother, a father's brother and other close agnates. Indeed the Karo include all these persons in the category of their affinal relations. Moreover, if this concept is extended to the lineage level, the total number of marriage alliances of a lineage with all other lineages becomes obviously both very large and complicated. For instance, a man may refer to other lineages as his FFFB's kalimbubu, his third paternal cousin's kalimbubu and so on.
Despite that fact that they are all grouped together as his kalimbubu at ceremonial occasions, in his social and religious life, his kalimbubu are distinguished by degrees of importance and in many cases the range of kalimbubu recognized is limited. From the point of view of an individual there are only two immediate kalimbubu, i.e. the kalimbubu by marriage and the kalimbubu by birth. Thus the close kalimbubu of a man are the lineage members of both his father-in-law and his mother's brother and these are the two kalimbubu groups which matter most to him.

As the marriage of each male member of the lineage adds kalimbubu, either from the point of view of the individual, his segment or his whole lineage, the marriage of its female members, on the other hand, adds anakberu. Thus, a man by his marriage, inevitably acquires a kalimbubu and the marriage of his sister brings him anakberu.

Now a groom acquires his anakberu, not from his own marriage in which he himself is the anakberu, but from the marriage of his sister or other female member of his lineage. In the Karo view, the agnatic principle links the male members of the lineage and the anakberu-kalimbubu principle binds the male and female members. The male members, so to speak, depend exclusively on their sisters for acquiring anakberu. Again, as with kalimbubu, there are different types or degrees of anakberu. There are anakberu by marriage (anakberu iperdemu) and anakberu by birth (anakberu ipupus). Other
categories of classificatory anakberu are extensions of these at each generation level. Most important, however, is the anakberu created by the marriage of one's own sister, by the father's sister and, in later stages in life, by the marriage of one's daughter. The spouses in these three cases are the immediate anakberu.

From the point of view of the lineage as a totality, there are two recognized kalimbubu, i.e. the kalimbubu tua (the senior kalimbubu) and the kalimbubu si empat (the four kalimbubu); the former is also termed the kalimbubu tanah, i.e. the kalimbubu of the land or the kalimbubu si madjekken lulang which means the kalimbubu who planted the lulang, a plant which serves as a hedge around the village. Parallel to this there is also the anakberu tua (the senior anakberu) and the anakberu si empat (the four anakberu). Both the senior kalimbubu and the senior anakberu are, in fact, transmitted from the founding ancestor of the lineage, i.e. the agnates of his sister's husband and of his wife respectively. The senior kalimbubu of the principal lineage in Kuta Gamber is Djambor Lateng lineage of Tarigan clan and the senior anakberu is Rumah Padang lineage of Ginting clan. Both lineages are represented in Kuta Gamber.

The notion of the four anakberu and the four kalimbubu derives from the fact that members of the lineage have taken their wives from various patrilineal groups whilst its female members are taken away by members of other patrilineal groups. Members of one lineage
have taken their wives from four of the five clans with whom marriage is permissible; the four clans are then the kalimbubu of the lineage, called kalimbubu si empat. It is by the application of this principle that the same four clans are also regarded as the anakberu of the lineage as a totality. So in many formal and ceremonial occasions the four clans stand both as anakberu and kalimbubu to the host lineage (see Tables 11 and 12).

The kalimbubu of kalimbubu is also classified as kalimbubu and is termed the puang kalimbubu. The anakberu of anakberu is anakberu menteri. A man has two immediate puang kalimbubu, one being the natal lineage of his mother's mother and the other the natal lineage of his wife's mother. The kinship terms soler and kempu refer to the first type of puang kalimbubu, i.e. his mother's mother's agnatic group. Thus a man, whose mother's mother's natal subclan is Gersang, can explain it in two ways. He may explain it by saying: 'I am the kempu of Gersang' or 'My soler is Gersang'. Today, this type of anakberu menteri and puang kalimbubu relation has only a ceremonial function. That its social significance has been decreasing is very obvious from the fact that both terms kempu and soler are becoming obsolete. Only a few people, generally those who are more than fifty, understand the meaning of these terms. It is said that in the past soler was one of the four enquiries made in the ertutur (identification ceremony): firstly the merga (beru for women), secondly the beré-beré, thirdly the binuang which refers to one's father's
Table 11:

The kalimbubu of Kuta Gamber principal lineage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>SUBCLAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ginting</td>
<td>a. Munte 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Tumangger 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Djadibata 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Babo 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Suka 1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tarigan</td>
<td>a. Gersang 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sibero 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sembiring</td>
<td>a. Milala 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Keloko 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Sinulaki 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Busuk 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. G. Kinajan 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sinulingga 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Udjing 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minangkabau</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non Karo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The total number of married male members, both living and dead, is forty four and these contracted fifty one marriages. Table 11 shows the natal clan and sub-clan affiliation of their wives.
Table 12:
The anakberu of Kuta Gamber principal lineage (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>SUBCLAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ginting</td>
<td>a. Tumangger</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Munte</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Suka</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Sugihen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tarigan</td>
<td>a. Sibero</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Gersang</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sinulingga</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Kaban</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Katjaribu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sembiring</td>
<td>a. Milala</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Busuk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) There are thirty four married female members, both living and dead, in the genealogy of the principal lineage. Table 12 indicates the patrilineal affiliation of their husbands.
mother's agnatic group and fourthly the soler (Figure 7). Today in ertutur the binuang and the soler are no longer asked and relations are sought by merely enquiring one's merga and beré-beré. Nevertheless the mother's mother's agnates are still invited to attend ceremonies.

Similarly one's relation with one's puang kalimbubu by marriage has primarily a ceremonial function. However the social significance of this puang kalimbubu is more pronounced than the former particularly because its position is still well preserved in the marriage payment institution. This, on the other hand, results in the continuity of its ritual function. The bride's mother's agnatic group receives part of the marriage payment called beré-beré (this term has two meanings: a kinship term signifying the mother's agnatic group and a specific portion of marriage payment) and in return they are obliged to take part in the pregnancy rite.

In general the proliferation of kalimbubu ends with the above-mentioned puang kalimbubu and the anakberu with the anakberu menteri. There is however one exception. A man is related to one specific kalimbubu beyond the puang kalimbubu, that is his wife's mother's mother's agnatic group who are the kalimbubu by birth of the above mentioned puang kalimbubu (see Figure 9). This kalimbubu receives a portion of the marriage payment called perkempun and they are therefore referred to as 'the kalimbubu who receive the perkempun' (kalimbubu si ngaloken perkempun). As a rule the portion called beré-beré is twice as big as perkempun. In 1962 the amount of the
Figure 7: Clan affiliation

Karo-karo = Sembiring

Ginting

merga Tarigan = beru Tarigan
beré-beré Sembiring = beré-beré Sembiring
binuang Karo-karo = binuang Karo-karo
kempu/soler Ginting = kempu/soler Ginting

Note: Ginting, Karo-karo, Sembiring and Tarigan are clan names
marriage payment was commonly Rp.2000, the beré-beré Rp.600 and the perkempun Rp.300. The kalimbubu who receive perkempun are also obliged to participate in the pregnancy rite and this will be described in fuller detail in the next chapter.
CHAPTER SEVEN:
ANAKBERU AND KALIMBUBU RELATIONS: II

The relationship between anakberu and kalimbubu, as has been pointed out, is asymmetrical. These relations are founded in the principle that the former must treat the latter with deference and render continuous service. The assistance given by anakberu covers a broad field of Karo social life, particularly in the economic and political fields. Economic assistance is given in a number of ways. At some stages of the agricultural cycle, for instance, there are activities like sowing, reaping and threshing where the help of relatives is expected. Here the assistance of close agnates and anakberu is of the greatest importance. Agnates and anakberu are the two categories of relatives to whom one goes in time of need.

The institutionalized asymmetrical relations between the anakberu and kalimbubu are deeply embedded in the socialization of Karo children. For a child his mama, the mother's brother, represents the kalimbubu and early in his life he learns that this is the person whom he must treat like a 'visible god'. The opening phrase of a Karo lullaby says: 'grow up my child and obey your mama, or literally: 'do not be lazy in fulfilling the order of your mama' (ola kisat suruh mamana). Thus a child of ten, or even younger, becomes aware that his mama has greater authority.
than his own father; the principal difference is that the latter exercises his authority much more intensively. Furthermore, unlike his father, his *mama* is endowed with supernatural power. A child does not joke with his *mama* and there is a supernatural punishment if he mentions his *mama*’s name: maize will grow through his nostrils. Indeed, it is not proper to mention the name of anyone of a senior generation but the above punishment is confined to *mama*.

The duties and obligations of *anakberu* may be perceived in a variety of ways and this is perhaps best reflected by the diversity of explanations given by my informants with regard to the primary function of *anakberu*. A typical answer to this question is that 'you cannot do anything without *anakberu*’ and here the ceremonial aspect of the relation is emphasized, for it strongly implies that 'you cannot hold a feast without *anakberu*'. Another general answer is 'without *anakberu* you have no mediator' and here emphasis is laid on its political and jural aspects.

Anakberu's service in everyday affairs.

The economic, political and ceremonial functions of the *anakberu* will be analysed in the following pages and to begin with we will illustrate how the service of the *anakberu* is integrated with the daily life of the people. It concerns Pa Runtus' family whom I know very well because my wife and I
shared a house with them during our stay in Kuta Gamber.

Pa Runtus has six children of whom the two eldest, a daughter and a son respectively, are married. All of them live in Kuta Gamber. His third child, a son, Ngapin, is a high school student in Kabandjahe. The family ambition is for Ngapin to get the academic 'title' of either Mr (meester) or Drs (doktorandus) both of which are equivalent to an M.A. degree. They are very concerned about his study because Ngapin's success in education will undoubtedly raise the status of the family. In the village the awareness of the importance of education in social development is remarkable and this has resulted in a notable change in the direction of social ambition. Material and political success were the two predominant criteria of social differentiation in the past but now education is rapidly outstripping them.

Ngapin's parents send him money each month through a co-villager who goes to town. Sometimes it is sent to Tigabinanga to be given to Nande Nungkun, a close relative, who is a trader and resides in Kabandjahe. News from Ngapin to his parents and vice versa is exchanged mainly by sending letters through messengers. Generally they see each other once a term, that is during the vacation in which all students return home. On the evening of his arrival there is a big meal joined by his sister's and brother's families. A chicken is killed for the occasion. A joint meal
again takes place on the last evening before he leaves and this is followed by the last meal the next morning. In each case the slaughter of a chicken marks the occasion and this is important. Among the Karo this adds to the importance of an occasion and endows it with a formal significance. Other food, like fish for instance, although considered very tasty, does not make the occasion formal.

Ngapin always leaves the village in the morning which is believed to be the most appropriate time for departure. Karo say that the rising sun symbolizes 'rising' fortune and happiness. Some final enquiries are made before he leaves: Is the usual amount of money sufficient? Does he require any new books or clothing? Is he content with his accommodation? As a rule his brother gives him a gift of Rp.50, his brother-in-law another Rp.50 and his father gives him Rp.300 for his board and lodging.

Although the joint meal is a simple family occasion, there is certain behaviour which characterizes the anakberu-kalimbubu relations. Despite the fact that it takes place at the house of Ngapin's father, it is the anakberu, i.e. his sister and brother-in-law (Tambat) who prepare the meal. His sister sits near the fire to cook rice and prepare the ingredients for the curry and her husband sits beside her plucking and cleaning the chicken until it is ready to be cooked. He then sees whether there is anything else he can do to assist his wife like picking some
unripe tangerines for vinegar or fetching down a big cooking pot from the para, the hanging rack. In the meantime, Tambat's brothers-in-law and father-in-law are at their ease in the coffee-shop. When the food is cooked the anakberu goes to the shop to inform his kalimbubu that everything is ready.

The status of everyone at the ceremonial meal is reflected in the seating arrangements. Firstly there is a distinction according to sex: the females sit nearest to the kitchen. The father, who is the head of the family, sits in the most honoured place, the bataruang, close to the sleeping area. The eldest son sits closest to his father. The male anakberu sits near the door which is, like the kitchen, the least honoured place in the house. He serves the dishes and the sequence for this is also based on status. The father-in-law is served first and then the eldest brother-in-law. He serves himself last. Putting the food into the dish follows the same pattern: first the head of the family serves himself and finally his anakberu.

Throughout this occasion the anakberu is in an awkward position: he is like a stranger. His relations with his father-in-law and brother-in-law are reserved and they do not talk much with each other. In a semi-formal meeting like that he behaves as though he is the servant of the family. If his father-in-law needs something from the shop, such as matches or pandanus leaves (bulung ipah) for smoking, he does not ask his son but his son-in-law to
go. The same thing happens when his brother-in-law requires something. Moreover the anakberu, as a rule, is not given the money required for the purchase. 'No, no, I have some', is a typical anakberu expression when refusing money for a purchase he is requested to make.

With the kalimbubu of opposite sex his relationship is even more rigid, especially with his mother-in-law (mami) and turangku, the wife of his brother-in-law. They may not speak to each other nor sit close to each other and they must avoid looking at each other's faces. They may not stay in the same house without the attendance of a third person. It is said that in the past it was taboo to sit on the same floor board with one's mami or turangku. When the anakberu is in the kitchen assisting his wife, his mother-in-law and the wife of his brother-in-law withdraw. Only when he goes to sit near the door and they are sure that he has nothing more to do in the kitchen do they return there. Like their husbands they are in the relation of kalimbubu to the anakberu. In fact due to the nature of their relations, very few orders derive from these female kalimbubu. Nevertheless they sometimes issue orders through a third person. The mother-in-law sometimes goes to her daughter and says to her, in the presence of her son-in-law: 'We are very short of areca, do you think kéla (son-in-law) can fetch some?' The anakberu then says spontaneously to his wife: 'Please say to mami that I certainly can'. I am told that if a mami
issues an order there is 'no night' and 'no rain'. He must go although it is dark or raining or both. People frequently told me that the prime social function of the institution of avoidance was to make people respect each other and especially to ensure that anakberu respect their kalimbubu. In Pa Sari's opinion, should the custom of avoidance lapse a man will not respect his mother-in-law as he does now. A man would say for instance: 'I will do it tomorrow mami' or perhaps: 'I will do it when I have time'.

Among the immediate kalimbubu it is only with the wife's sister that an anakberu by marriage has an easy relation. He may talk and joke freely with her. In fact she is his potential wife just as a husband's brother is a potential husband of his wife, the former resulting from the sororate and the latter from the levirate.

In contrast to the rigid relations with the brother-in-law and father-in-law, his relation with his junior kalimbubu is smooth, free and intimate. There is a sharp distinction between the relation of a child and its mother's brother and father's sister's husband. As stated earlier, the mother's brother, who is a typical representative of the kalimbubu is an authoritarian figure with whom one's relation should be formal. On the other hand the father's sister's husband represents the anakberu, from whom one expects service and allegiance. It is
true that the FZH is senior in terms of generation but his seniority is, nevertheless, subordinate to his position as anakberu. The bengkila (FZH) is a person to whom one goes for help. He is characterized as a pleasant person, easy going, full of jokes and helpful. Unlike the father he is never angry. On the other hand he likes to flatter his wife's brother's child, his little kalimbubu. If he is angry he only comments: 'If you are naughty I will not cook food for you. I will refuse to arrange your wedding'. Hearing this a child may laugh and answer that he will never get married.

This jocular relation is even more pronounced with the WBD. More often than not the joke is about marriage. He is very kind to her and repeatedly tells her that he would like her to marry his son. There are four questions which a child is repeatedly asked: firstly what is his or her name, secondly what is her merga or her beru, thirdly what is his or her beré-beré and finally who is his or her impal (cross-cousin) whom he or she is going to marry. This last question is invariably a source of amusement. In order to create a jocular atmosphere a child is usually teased in this way:

'Sari, who is your impal?'

'Nangun'.

'Would you like to marry him?'

'Yes'.
'Does he want to marry you?'
'Yes'.
'No, he won't marry you. He wants to marry Sikap, not you'.

The child gets irritated and sometimes cries when the last remark is repeated. Then people laugh and comment: 'Look, she is so keen; she loves her impal very much'. A bengkila will never initiate such a teasing conversation with his niece. He treats her as a prospective daughter-in-law. He would rather direct such comment as above to his own son. He may say to him for instance: 'Sit nicely and eat plenty, otherwise your impal will not marry you'.

Returning to Pa Runtus' family, there are occasions when Ngapin should be visited in town. When news reaches the family that he is ill the first question asked is: how seriously ill is he? On hearing such news an anakberu is expected to visit the parents-in-law to show his concern and say to his father-in-law: 'I hear silih (brother-in-law) is not well. Don't you think I'd better go to town to see him? Who knows, he may be seriously ill'.

In such circumstances the son-in-law usually goes unless they are quite sure that his illness is very light or there is subsequent news that he has recovered.

Moving to another house may also be the reason for a visit. In his second term, when Ngapin was about to take his final examination, he moved to the house of a friend with whom he used to
study. In fact he moved after consulting his parents. A few days later his anakberu, in this case his brother-in-law, went to town to see the host of his kalimbubu. I was told that such a visit is essential for various reasons. Firstly, in order to let the landlord know that he has relatives and that he has an anakberu who is concerned with his problems. He is thus known to be a person of specific origin and thus a person of good social background. The logic is that such a knowledge has an important social function: the student should be well treated and may be trusted. More important, the landlord knows to whom he may refer in case of trouble. The anakberu is the guarantor. This is one of the most important political functions of the immediate anakberu with which I will again deal later on.

Erkata nakan: an expression of kinship ideology.

It is thus regarded as 'natural' to seek the assistance of anakberu in times of need, and the above illustration indicates that it is also normal for an anakberu to offer such help. On the other hand the assistance of senina is also valued highly. Senina sympathy, solidarity and mutual help are some of the basic values of Karo patrilineal ideology, but the assistance given by the anakberu is, in practice, markedly more important. Yet there are in existence a number of institutions in which the priority of senina over other relatives is clearly manifested. One of these
is found in the customary rule of *erkata nakan* (requesting food).

If a stranger spends the night in a village in which he has no relatives, there is a custom about where he should have his meals. As a rule a stranger sleeps in the *djambor* and all he needs do is to send a message to an unknown family that he would like to have his meal there. He first enquires whether the village chief (*pengulu*) is in the village because travellers have the prerogative to take their meal at the *pengulu's*. Under the old political system which still partly survives, the *pengulu* is under an obligation to afford physical protection to those who are in the territory under his jurisdiction, i.e. in his village and the land of the village (*taneh kuta*). It is part of the *pengulu's* obligation to feed strangers. However it is only those who have neither relatives nor acquaintances who exercise such a right. If the *pengulu* is away the stranger seeks, by the existing mechanism of categorization of relatives, the assistance of a person to whom he is related. He enquires whether he has a fellow clansman among the inhabitants of the village; if so, he has his meals there. If he happens to have no clansman in the village, his next enquiry will be whether there is someone who stands as *anakberu* to him. If his *merga* is Ginting he then enquires whether there is someone whose *bere-*-*bere* is Ginting, i.e. whose mother belongs to Ginting clan by birth. If he has no *anakberu* in the village his next enquiry will be whether he has a
kalimbubu there. If his own beré-beré is Tarigan the point of reference will be those who belong to Tarigan clan. As there are only five clans among the Karo, and a village is generally heterogeneous from the point of view of clan affiliation of its inhabitants, a man will always succeed in finding someone who belongs to one of the above categories: firstly a senina, secondly an anakberu and thirdly a kalimbubu.

The assistance of anakberu and other relatives in time of crisis

In various circumstances, then, assistance may be expected from any category of relatives. Furthermore it is important to realise that people recognize various kinds of duties, some of which involve all relatives or, in Karo terms, the three categories of relatives, some of which involve only the agnates and the anakberu, and others, the anakberu alone. In order to see how these complicated kinship situations operate I shall now examine a number of aspects of social life where the obligations of relatives are manifested.

There are some critical moments in human life, one of which is 'unhappy' sickness. (Childbirth is regarded as a sickness but a 'happy' sickness). If a person is seriously ill or suffers from a prolonged illness the family will need help in various ways. This involves, among other things, collecting herbs from the fields and sometimes from a distant forest, inviting the medicine man from
a neighbouring village or consulting the spirit medium. If his life is thought to be in danger, a message must quickly be sent to close relatives. In such a situation, there are many people whose assistance may be expected and requested. Besides relatives, co-residents of the adat-house and co-villagers are a great help. Sometimes his condition is such that the family decide to take the patient to the hospital in town, usually to Kabandjahe which presents an immediate problem of transport. Three sets of four people are required to carry the litter. Nevertheless, there is generally no problem in finding such a number of people, for carrying a patient is, according to adat, the responsibility of his co-villagers.

However, there is a norm that the group must be organized by the anakberu of the patient. As the villagers put it, there must be a nucleus. Thus an anakberu should go to the young people in the village telling them that their help is required. Whenever a patient is carried to town, there is always a long procession of 30-35 people so that it looks like a small ceremony. What makes it an elaborate occasion is the fact that many people join the procession for moral reasons, because accompanying a patient is highly valued as an expression of sympathy. On the other hand, the family of the patient has an obligation to feed those who join the procession. By the time they reach the main road it is usually high noon; they have their lunch there and most of the
carriers return to the village.

With that the duty of the co-villagers ends: they are not responsible for conveying or accompanying the patient to hospital. This is the duty of close relatives, particularly the anakberu and senina. One day's sabat, i.e. a man's absence from his own work, is the maximum one may expect from a co-villager who must be reimbursed for any expenses he incurs. The head of the family takes care of the patient and the relatives return to the village. If the patient recovers speedily and the head of the family is able to pay the medical costs himself, then his senina and anakberu will not be involved again. They only accompany him to the hospital, spend one night there and return the next morning, revisit the patient once or twice and accompany him when he returns to the village.

The involvement of the relatives depends on many conditions such as the nature of the disease, the economic condition of the head of the family and the status of the patient. A grave situation occurs in cases where the disease is serious or chronic and where the patient's economic situation is made difficult, either because the head of the family cannot afford the costs or because the victim is himself the head of the family. In such circumstances the intricate social norms concerning the duties and responsibilities of each category of kin are set in motion. This is well illustrated by the following case:
Pa Tolong of Kuta Gamber, aged 37, is the head of a family composed of his wife and three children whose ages range from 9-15 years; he himself has tuberculosis. In order to be polite, the villagers call it 'chest disease' or cough disease' (besides coughing, the principal known symptom is 'vomiting blood') and whisperingly it is called tébéşé (from T.B.C.) which is also termed 'the disease of the rich', because it is a disease which consumes much money and only the rich can afford to pay such costs. Pa Tolong has suffered from this illness since 1958 when he was treated in hospital in Kabandjahe for about three months. He was told he had recovered and returned to Kuta Gamber but he had to see his doctor periodically in Kabandjahe and to go to Medan for periodic X-ray examinations. This treatment cost him much money and he had little earning power as he was advised not to do any hard work. At the end of 1959 he was reluctant to see his doctor and abandoned the idea of having a further check-up because of his financial difficulties. He had been about to build a house in 1958 and had purchased a sufficient quantity of timber and corrugated iron for that purpose when he had had his first attack of this so-called 'disease of the rich'. He had had to sell all the materials to pay the medical costs and was left without anything else that could be sold. He told his wife that he would never again go to town for treatment.
His wife disclosed this negative attitude to her husband's eldest brother who conferred with Simak, the son of another brother and his anakberu Ndati who is both his son-in-law and his sister's son. A family meeting was held at the house of the eldest brother in which nine families were represented: four senina (1-4) and five anakberu (5-9) of the patient (Figure 8). The former consists of two brothers (1 and 3) and two brothers' sons (2 and 4); the latter consists of a sister's husband (6), his son (7) and two brothers (8 and 9) and a son of his classificatory sister who is also the son-in-law of the patient's brother. A decision was reached that the nine families should each contribute Rp.150 so that Rp.1,350 was handed to the patient for the cost of his treatment.

When Pa Tolong returned from town he had Rp.300 left. The amount was not sufficient for the cost of another consultation which was strongly advised by his doctor who urged him to have a further X-ray in Medan within a few weeks. Ndati (No.5) took the initiative of collecting more money for the next consultation for which another Rp.1,000 was necessary. For this a family meeting was held in his house. Seven of the nine families, which constituted the former meeting, were represented in this meeting, whilst the two brothers of Pa Tolong's brother-in-law (8 and 9) were excluded because they did not stand as immediate anakberu. This time the senina each contributed Rp.100 whilst the three immediate anakberu contributed Rp.100 (7), Rp.200 (5) and Rp.300 (6)
Figure 8: The kinship relation between the patient and the nine families.

X = the patient

● ▲ = died

respectively. Thus the senina contributed Rp.400 and the anakberu Rp.600.

In November 1961 Pa Tolong's condition deteriorated suddenly so that he needed urgent treatment in hospital. There was widespread news in the village that he had 'vomited blood' again and that his sickness had taken a turn for the worse. In his despair he
attempted to commit suicide by throwing himself into a deep and stony ravine near the village. His wife suspected the attempt and ran to the ravine near which she found her husband. He was rolling a cigarette which was intended to be his last. This or chewing betel is a common practice among Karo when about to commit suicide.

Pa Tolong's condition was critical both physically and economically. Moreover the interests of the co-members of the adat-house in which he lived had to be taken into consideration. As far as the villagers know there are two communicable diseases, tuberculosis and leprosy. A person who suffers from either of these is a potential source of infection, firstly to his family and secondly to co-members of the adat-house. The adat provides a preventive measure for this by prescribing that a member who suffers from a communicable disease must leave the house. Thus Pa Tolong had another serious problem insofar as the co-members of his adat-house had the right to ask him to leave his apartment. If circumstances prevented him from going to town for further treatment he would nevertheless have to build a hut away from the village in his field. There was already a rumour that his senina and anakberu were considering building such a hut for him. Their plan was set aside however because the kalimbubu volunteered to collect some money to help Pa Tolong solve his financial problem. It was initiated by Pa Tagar, the patient's kalimbubu by birth, i.e.
his MFBSS (second cousin). For this, Pa Tagar and his wife invited people to a meeting held at the patient's house. About twenty people came and the three categories of relatives, the senina, anakberu and kalimbubu were represented. It was a successful meeting because it resulted in the collection of Rp.2,225 which was sufficient for Pa Tolong's further treatment. Five people representing the senina, five representing the kalimbubu and eight representing the anakberu, each contributed Rp.100; of the five people representing the anakberu menteri three contributed Rp.100 each whilst the other two contributed Rp.50 each; Rp.25 came from Nande Tampil, an old widow and a co-member of the adat-house. Further details about the relation of the patient to the contributors is shown in Table 13.

Preparations for the patient's departure from the village were well in hand. However, after spending two weeks in Seribudolok Pa Tolong did not feel any better; the former idea of building a hut for him was then renewed. A small lalang (I) hut was eventually erected for him in Kutabuluh near the main road by the cooperative labour of six immediate relatives of the patient, three senina, two anakberu and one anakberu menteri. He occupied the hut a few weeks before I left the field and I was told whisperingly that Pa Tolong was likely to spend the rest of his life there.

It is evident from the above case that, in terms of economic support, immediate anakberu and senina are the most important
### Table 13: The relationship of the patient to the contributors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship category</th>
<th>Number of families represented</th>
<th>Contributors</th>
<th>Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Kinship connection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SENINA</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>brothers' sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>classificatory brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANAKBERU</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>brother-in-law (Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Y's brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>brother's son-in-law (also his FBDS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>FFZSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>immigrant whose wife belongs to the sub-clan of the patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANAKBERU</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>sister's son-in-law (ZDH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MENTERI</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(in other words, the son-in-law of his brother-in-law)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>father of above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>brother-in-law of brother-in-law (ZHIZ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>brothers-in-law of the above FFZSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KALIMBUBU</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>brother-in-law (WB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>members of his mother's lineage, i.e. MFBSS (2) and MFBSSSS (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) co-resident in the village
whilst the kalimbubu comes to the fore only in special circumstances. Further, the amount of aid rendered by each category of kin strongly suggests that in practice the anakberu is of primary importance (see Table 14). There are variables, however, so that it occasionally happens that the senina or even the kalimbubu are of greater help. This is particularly so because besides kinship values there are other determining factors in the situation, namely geographical proximity and the economic condition of the relatives themselves.

Nevertheless the available data confirm that Pa Tolong's case is typical in representing the duties and obligations of relatives. There are many instances in which it would appear to be more appropriate to call on agnates but nevertheless assistance is sought among anakberu. When Sapa Pinem of Kuta Gamber, for instance, was due to get married about two months before the harvest, there was a shortage of food for his proposed wedding feast. It was estimated that another 15 pelgan of paddy was necessary and this was borrowed from relatives on the condition it would be repaid after the harvest. Since his father lived in his natal village where he himself was a member of the principal lineage there should have been no difficulty for him to find such an amount of paddy from his close agnates. Nevertheless the major part of the borrowed paddy came from his anakberu: 3 pelgan from anakberu tua, 3 pelgan from his son-in-law, 5 pelgan from
Table 14:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>KB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st treatment</td>
<td>750(1)</td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd treatment</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd treatment</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>2550</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) in rupiah

AB = anakberu
SN = senina
KB = kalimbubu

two of his brothers' sons-in-law and 3 pelgan from his brother's son. Thus of the 14 pelgan he obtained from kinsmen, 11 were from anakberu and 3 from senina (pelgan = 40 litres).

Erduhum

One of the salient economic and political functions of an anakberu is his position as a guarantor, that is, a person who is prepared to give a guarantee for his kalimbubu when necessary. On major legal and political occasions both the anakberu and senina
may be guarantors but there is no occasion where a senina alone, without anakberu, acts as a guarantor. In the discussion that follows I will examine the nature of the anakberu's position as a guarantor and thereafter his joint guarantorship with the senina of his kalimbubu.

In the traditional political system, taking an oath was one of the essential procedures to test the innocence of an accused person. Despite the fact that since the coming of the Dutch at the beginning of this century, followed by the Japanese occupation and independence - all of which caused extensive changes in both the political organization and the judicial system - the ancient procedure of taking an oath still survives and is practised sporadically. The belief concerning its effectiveness is still an important sanction of social control. Even an innocent man is reluctant to take a formal oath if he can avoid doing so.

There are two words, ersumpah and erduhum, which refer to the act of taking an oath. The two intransitive verbs are composed of the nouns sumpah and duhum plus the verb forming prefix er. There is a sharp distinction in both the content and the application of the two words and only erduhum implies a legal action. Nevertheless either oath may bring death and this is believed to be the supreme consequence of the oath itself. In either case the basic principle is this: he who takes the oath will die if what he says is not true.
Erduhum is a formal occasion for which a certain ritual procedure must be observed. Duhum means pouring food, particularly rice, into the mouth. The action must be such that the hand, while holding the food, is above the mouth. As the term suggests something must be consumed by the person who takes the oath. The ritual objects for this are small quantities of rice, turmeric, pepper, garlic and salt. These are mixed with water in a white porcelain bowl (mangkok metjiho). The underlying symbolism here is that the ingredients represent the basic needs in human life. Rice is the staple food and it is thought that man cannot survive without it; at any rate life would be miserable without rice. (My informants were astonished to hear from me that there are other people whose staple food is not rice). Water is inseparable from rice without which the latter cannot be cooked. The failure of a love affair or a marriage which ends in divorce is usually expressed in the euphemism: rice is separating from water. Turmeric, pepper and garlic are components of a traditional herbal salve (kuning) which is regarded as essential to human welfare, particularly in the early stages of life. The salve which is supposed to have a preventive power against several diseases is smeared on a child twice a day after its bath. Salt is also one of its ingredients as it is an essential item in daily food. 'We are weak and feel cold without salt'.
The logic of erduhum is based on a dynamistic belief that these ritual objects, 'the sustainer of our life', turn into harmful objects and kill the person who takes the oath if he tells a lie. This condition is explicitly disclosed in the formula uttered by a person while he is holding the ritual bowl containing the ingredients before drinking the potion. The formula, in the case of an accused who is supposed to be harmful because he keeps poison and by this means has attempted to kill someone, is:

'Please hear me rice, water, turmeric, pepper, garlic and salt. If I do or did keep poison by which I ever attempted to poison anyone in this village, I will die, killed by this rice, water, turmeric, pepper, garlic and salt'.

However, for the erduhum to be valid the accuser must be accompanied by an anakberu so that in fact it is a joint action of an individual and his anakberu. Thus erduhum cannot take place if the accuser has no anakberu or if there is no one among the anakberu who is prepared to take an oath on behalf of his kalimbubu. This is a typical example of the political service given by anakberu to their kalimbubu. In this action, it is believed, the anakberu risks his life for the sake of his kalimbubu. It is important to note that the senina of the accused cannot be a substitute for the anakberu, nor can a man be obliged to take an oath on behalf of an agnate. So after an accused takes an oath it is repeated, but with a slightly different formula, by
one of his anakberu. The anakberu comes to the fore, holds the same bowl, drinks the same ritual water and utters: 'Please hear me rice, water, turmeric, pepper, garlic and salt. If my kalimbubu does or did keep poison by which he has attempted to poison someone in this village, I will die, killed by this rice, water, turmeric, pepper, garlic and salt'.

This erduhum institution is primarily associated with two types of criminal behaviour: theft and sorcery. In both cases the accuser is usually a group of people and the accused an individual. It is indeed a grave social matter because erduhum manifests a latent social tension. The accusers may be co-members of an adat-house or co-villagers. It is however rare: in the last twenty years there were only two cases in Kuta Gamber and Liren and two others in adjacent villages (Kempawa and Lau Perimbon); three of the four cases were related to poison and sorcery and one to theft. When I was in the field I heard of one case in a distant village in which the accused was supposed to have caused batang kare, a chronic skin disease around the neck, to three victims.

Unfortunately I was unable to gather detailed information concerning the known cases. Only in two could I ascertain the exact kinship relation between the accused and his anakberu who joined him in the oath, in one case a sister's son and in the other a brother's son-in-law of the accused.
One of these cases, in which the accused was Pa Sate, occurred in Liren; it was still fresh in the mind of my informants because it had happened only two years before I arrived. According to my informants, Pa Sate was arrogant and used to pretend being a guru who knew many things about medicine, divination and magic. He suffered from a chronic skin disease and a Pakpak guru treated him and stayed with him. The villagers did not like this priest very much and regarded him as harmful. At that time Sura, Pa Sate's BS, failed to marry a cross-cousin (3rd cousin) because the girl had refused his proposal. Sura's parents were very disappointed by this. There was a suspicion that his father's brother, Pa Sate, would take 'revenge' through sorcery called tahan which would result in the girl remaining a spinster all her life.

One evening at about 8.00 p.m. a distant agnate of the girl saw someone standing near the ladder of her house which was an adat-house. He thought the man was Pa Sate and suspected that he was preparing black magic. He immediately went to see a close agnate, the FB of the girl (who was also his agnate) to whom he disclosed his observation. They set off to search the place but the man had gone. However, they found a fresh betel leaf under the ladder with red substance on it which they supposed to be blood. They convinced themselves that it was Pa Sate who placed this object of sorcery there and this was confirmed by someone who saw Pa Sate around that place some short while before. It is said that a betel
leaf and the blood of a chicken are the two most important ingredients in this kind of sorcery (tahan) for which the spell is: 'This leaf must become green, and the chicken to which this blood belongs, live again before So-and-so may get married'. Both of them conveyed the news to other agnates and this led to a dramatic event. In panic they went angrily to Pa Sate's house with the intention of attacking him. Someone hurriedly warned Pa Sate about this forthcoming danger and the latter locked his house immediately. Two other families shared the house, Pa Sate's son and his brother. The house was surrounded by people who knocked at the door repeatedly. They angrily requested him to open the door and kept up a constant drumming against the door, windows and walls of his house. This continued the whole night; most villagers joined in the attack because they hated the accused man. In the morning two policemen came from Kuta Buluh, invited by an anakberu of the accuser. Discussions were held between both parties and it was decided that a reconciliatory ceremony be held accompanied by erduhum ritual, attended by the asisten wedana (the sub-district officer). The anakberu who took part in this erduhum was the son-in-law of Pa Sate's brother. He was Pa Sate's closest anakberu because he had no sisters and his own daughter had not yet married.
Nehken tangko atjem tjina

The importance of the function of anakberu as a guarantor may be more explicitly manifested in a custom called nehken tangko atjem tjina, literally 'reporting the theft of vinegar and chilly', which is performed when a family moves to an adat-house. As has been described in Chapter 4, co-members of an adat-house share common ladders and doors and the apartments are not separated by walls. There is no physical barrier which prevents a member from going to another apartment. In such a mode of habitation, in the interests of the inhabitants of the house, the adat prescribes a rule that every new-comer should have a guarantor. Here the guarantor is an anakberu who, on the day his kalimbubu moves to the adat-house, proclaims to all the members of the adat-house that he is the person to whom complaints should be conveyed. It usually takes place in the evening at about eight o'clock when all the members are present. The anakberu stands on the djabu of his kalimbubu and says loudly in a formal manner: 'Dear members of the house. I am the anakberu of this new-comer who has moved to your house this morning. I hope that in this house you will all help each other. In case my kalimbubu steals vinegar or chillies please report to me'.
In general, however, it is both the anakberu and senina who serve as jural guarantors of either an individual or an agnatic group. At every formal meeting, particularly when dealing with adat matters, at least one anakberu and one senina must be present. Under the old political and administrative system this situation was clearly reflected in the fact that the pengulu did not and practically could not stand alone as the administrator and chief of the village. There was always an executive and judicial body consisting of three persons, the pengulu, an anakberu (anakberu tua, not an immediate anakberu) and a senina. This senina is a distant agnate, a member of another sub-clan. (In both Kuta Gamber and Liren villages the institutionalised senina were always of the Bangun sub-clan.) Joustra (1926:232) when speaking about the old political organization of the Karo described this lucidly in the following sentences:

No case can be treated as a court session without the presence of the anakberu and senina of each party. Every male adult inhabitant should always be able to indicate his anakberu and senina. If he fails to do so, then is he liable for punishment, and if he is unable to provide them immediately, then is he anyhow regarded as anak ladjang, 'wanderer'. These anakberu - senina are natural guarantors (djamin, kakoe), the adat-guarantors.

Despite the fact that, due to the substantial social changes since the coming of the Dutch, the function of anakberu and senina as guarantors has declined, it is nevertheless still very important
in various jural and legal procedures. In the past in almost every contract executed by an individual the procedure had to be witnessed by both an anakberu and a senina. Should a man sell his house or pawn his tangerine grove the attendance of the two guarantors was essential. In their absence the contract was impossible. Such was also the procedure when a man built a house. The contract would only be binding if it was witnessed by an anakberu and a senina of the man who proposed to build the house. This apparently meant that in special cases both the anakberu and senina concerned were deeply involved in the matter. It is impossible to obtain detailed information concerning such cases in the past but, nevertheless, there are still many verbal accounts of such involvements. In some cases the belongings of the anakberu and the senina were confiscated due to the failure of certain contracts. Moreover, the anakberu and senina, under the old adat law, shared the responsibility whether or not they witnessed the contract. According to Tamboen (1952:165), a man who failed to pay a gambling debt was punished by ibajangken, that is by putting him in stocks, until he was redeemed by his anakberu and senina. In his discussion of the old criminal law he describes two other instances in which the anakberu and senina of a defendant were involved. In the first, a captive in war was punished by the method of ibajangken until he was redeemed by his anakberu and senina. In the second, a murder was punished by a heavy penalty called si kati lima in which the criminal
was fined 603 serpi (Spanish dollar). However, Tamboen's account concerning this fine is not clear. The trunk of the fine was 555 serpi (his identification of serpi as Rp. is clearly misleading) to which the phrase si kati lima refers. The additional 48 serpi which, following Tamboen, are meant 'to replace the death' (djadi ganti jang mati, I), is not clear. What is relevant for our discussion is the fact that in cases where the defendant could not pay, his anakberu and senina were held responsible. Their refusal to pay, says Tamboen, could result in warfare.

The institutionalized mediation of anakberu

Today, in a legal sense, a family is a more distinctly independent economic and political unit. It is true that kinship relations are still characterized by intricate norms concerning duties and obligations, but in legal terms each family is conceptualized as a distinct entity. Although the anakberu and senina are still considered guarantors, the nature of the institution has undergone considerable change. At present the position of anakberu and senina as guarantors has almost no legal consequences so that, in a strict sense, they are in fact no longer guarantors. Furthermore, in making a contract or transaction neither a senina nor an anakberu are required as witnesses or as guarantors.
Nevertheless, the above statement of Joustra's that no adat affairs could be dealt with without the participation of anakberu and senina of both sides, still holds true. This is clearly seen in the customary procedure of sidjalapen which is still a formal prerequisite in the opening of an adat discussion. The root of the word is djalap which, according to Neumann (1951:78), means potency (of medicine), trust and sincerity (of mind); ndjalapi (n-djalap-i), he says further, means 'to make a note, as happens now and then in the village, in order to know the anakberu - senina of the inhabitants; to send for someone's anakberu - senina (thus looking for reliable information in a lawsuit)'. The term sidjalapen (si-djalap-en) signifies reciprocal action between two groups locked in discussion; each group makes a formal enquiry about the identification of anakberu and senina of the person about whom the discussion is held. Such a formality must always be carried out although both parties may know each other very well and may know the answer beforehand.

To illustrate how this sidjalapen operates let me give an example of a formal meeting in which the brideprice is handed (pedalan emas) by the bridegroom's agnates to those of the bride's. Before reaching this stage there are other formal meetings which will be discussed in the chapter on marriage. As a rule the wedding takes place at the bride's village. Before noon, that is, when the sun is still rising, the function of handing the brideprice takes place. A group of about thirty people gather
in the midst of the wedding guests. The inner group is composed of two parties, the fathers of the bride and groom respectively and their agnates and anakberu. The seating arrangement is such that they face each other. The anakberu of each party sit in front so that the givers of the feast are separated by their anakberu. Everyone sits on mats with their legs crossed, the proper and formal way of sitting. The 'talking anakberu' of each party is the anakberu tua and they lead the procedure. First they check informally whether everyone is present. This is followed by a formal checking. Either of the 'talking anakberu' may initiate the parley.

X 'You, the party of the bridegroom, are you complete already?'

Y 'Yes, we are, and you, the party of the bride, are you complete already?'

X 'Yes, we are complete already'.

Y 'So, may we start sidjalapen?'

X 'Yes, we certainly may'.

Y 'Who is the anakberu of the person who will give the bride away?'

X 'I am'.

Y 'What is your name please?'

Y 'Sinek, my clan name is Tarigan'.
X to his party:

'Have we all heard that? The anakberu of the bride-giver (sinereh) is Sinek Tarigan'.

X's party:

'Yes, we have'.

X 'Who is the bapa (classificatory father) of the bride?' (The question is implicitly directed to Y).

Y to his kalimbubu:

'My kalimbubu, the anakberu of the groom has asked: "who is the father of the bride"'.

A classificatory father of the bride, to Y:

'Please tell the anakberu of the groom that I, Rikat Ginting, am the bapa of the bride'.

Y 'The father is Rikat Ginting'.

X to his party:

'The father of the bride is Rikat Ginting. Have we heard that, all of us?'.

X's party:

'Yes we have'.

Y 'It is now my turn to question you. Who is the anakberu of the bridegroom?'

X 'I am; (jocularly) the man to whom you have been talking. My name is Simpar, my clan is Karo-karo'.

Y to his party:

'The anakberu of the bridegroom is Simpar Karo-karo. Have we all heard that?'
Y's party:

'Yes, we have'.

Y 'Who is the bapa of the bridegroom?'

X to his kalimbubu:

'You may have heard the voice of the anakberu of the bride. He asked: "who is the bapa of the bridegroom?"'

A classificatory father to X:

'Please tell him that I, Mbalo Sembiring, am the bapa of the bridegroom'.

X 'The bapa is Mbalo Sembiring. Do you hear me?'

Y 'Yes I do'.

Y to his party:

'The bapa of the bridegroom is Mbalo Sembiring; is it clear already?'

Y's party:

'Yes, it is'.

X 'Now as we have finished sidjalapen, do you think we can proceed to the transfer of the brideprice?'

Y 'No, I am sorry. I think we have first to ask the approval of both the bride and the bridegroom, that is, whether they approve the proposed contract for their marriage'.

X 'I am sorry, you are right'.

The fact that the enquiry about the identification of anakberu takes precedence in the above sidjalapen does not mean
that the anakberu is more important than his kalimbubu in the discussion. In a sense it is a matter of expediency because an anakberu is an institutionalized mediator without whom jural processes cannot work. So if the agnatic group of the groom is identified as A and that of the bride as B, the adat prescribes that A cannot directly contact B and vice versa; likewise the anakberu of A cannot contact B and the anakberu of B cannot contact A directly. The nature of the communication may be systematized in this way:

A - A's anakberu - B's anakberu - B

An anakberu is a mediator (kelang) in the widest sense of the word and this is another important aspect of their service. On big occasions when the whole lineage is represented, the mediator is the anakberu tua whilst on minor occasions, in daily life, it is the immediate anakberu who acts as a mediator. Conflicts about boundaries of fields or economic contracts are mediated by the close anakberu of both sides. Furthermore, there are many instances in which the customary rule about the mediation of anakberu is also used as a channel of communication in modern institutions. In Kuta Gamber, for instance, as in many Karo villages, there is what they call persatun piring, literally, a 'dish association. Every family in the village is expected to join the association because it is established 'for the benefit of all'. Its main purpose is to help
a feast-giver to borrow kitchen utensils, dishes, mats and other things needed for the feast. A feast, whether it is 'for joy' or 'for tears', implies that a meal is served and it is very common that the participants number between 200 and 300 whilst at big ceremonies there may be a thousand or more participants. The utensils of the Kuta Gamber 'dish association' can cater for 200 people but there are still no mats. Each member contributes Rp.50 and pays Rp.50 each time he borrows utensils but non-members must pay Rp.100. Only two people in the village have not joined the association. The chairman of the association reminded both of them once but they did not respond. He then conveyed his complaint to their respective anakberu, in this case their brothers-in-law.

Because it is 'for the benefit of all', joining this association is not visualized as a voluntary action. One person did not join because in fact he was considering moving to another village and later on he did. The other person joined it after hearing the following remarks from his anakberu: 'I am told by the chairman that you have not joined the "dish association" and this I think is embarrassing; Rp.50 is not much and it is for the benefit of all'.

The anakberu is furthermore the mediator in the internal matters of the agnatic group of his kalimbubu. The anakberu are obliged to mediate if there is conflict among agnates because being a mediator implies that they are peacemakers. The anakberu must always 'stand in the middle' and not take sides with one of the agnatic groups in
conflict. That is why the attendance of anakberu is particularly important in partition because this is usually a source of conflict. (I have described elsewhere that partition occurs at each generation after the death of both parents). Partition usually takes place in the presence of anakberu. I have heard of cases where the anakberu went to a field in dispute and divided it according to their judgment.

Anakberu's service in arranging feasts

In the foregoing pages I have discussed at some length the various aspects of the duties and obligations of the anakberu towards the kalimbubu. However, in our discussion of the asymmetrical service of the anakberu it is important to look at another aspect, that is, the part played by the anakberu in arranging a feast. The Karo consider feasts to be very important. Giving a feast is a significant event in the life of an individual and his social status is closely attached to it. A family, a segment of a lineage or even a lineage is frequently valued according to the feasts which have been given. There are families who used to give big and successful feasts, there are others who are 'moderate' (budjur-budjur) in terms of feasts and there are people who have not given any memorable feasts and others who have bad reputations because of the failure of their feasts.
There are two types of feast, kerdja mehuli and kerdja raté tjéda, that is 'good' or 'joyful' and 'sorrowful' festivities. The first includes weddings, the inauguration of a new house and erpangir kulau, which is a feast for the guardian spirits. Each such feast marks the achievement of a desired goal. Getting married is itself recognized as a goal and this will be discussed in the chapter on marriage. A house is important as a place of shelter and a place in which to gather, grow old and die. Erpangir kulau is a feast by which the guardian spirits are propitiated. It is usually held after the achievement of a desired goal. More often than not it serves as a redemption of an oath. A 'sorrowful feast' is confined to mortuary festivities but with one exception. A person who dies after all his children have got married is called tjawir metua and only he or she is entitled to have a big mortuary feast (nurun-nurun). The death of such a person is not recognized as sad because he has passed an ideal life, that is all his children have got married. He has fulfilled his responsibility in life or in other words: 'he has paid his debt'. Such a death is regarded as natural and ideal and there is thus no reason to shed tears. It is called kerdja meriah, a glad feast although it is not quite as joyful as the previously mentioned ones.

Feasts (kerdja-kerdja) are distinguished according to their 'size', that is 'small', 'medium' and 'big'. As food must be served and there must also be some meat with the rice, the general
criterion for distinguishing the size of the feast is the animal which is killed for the occasion. For a small feast the standard is four chickens but the others require animals with four legs. For a medium feast one or two pigs whilst a big feast needs a cow or a buffalo; sometimes more than one cow or buffalo is slaughtered for the feast. However, feasts of the small type are very rare. They are held only by poor people who have no, or very few, relatives. No such feasts were held during my stay in the field. In general when people talk about kerdja-kerdja they usually refer to medium and big ones.

The type of feast given obviously reflects the economic status of the feast-giver. Only well-to-do families used to hold big feasts of which they could be proud. For them, killing a pig is a small occasion which they sometimes do even without a kerdja-kerdja. This phenomenon occurs particularly in urbanized areas.

It is, however, a well-known fact that for a feast to be successful, a number of crucial conditions should be observed. Economic prosperity alone is not enough to hold a successful feast: it is necessary to have sufficient people to attend it. The villagers epitomized this condition lucidly in saying 'You need people to eat your food, your pig or your cow (killed for the occasion)'. Otherwise the food prepared for such a feast is wasted, 'eaten by dogs' (pan biang), and this is embarrassing.
Only those who are sociable and have many relatives can expect that there will be sufficient people to consume all the food prepared for a big feast because one cannot 'pay to come'. Attending one's feast is an expression of social cohesion. Apart from kinship obligations it is based on the principle of reciprocity so that in fact only those who are willing to fulfill others' invitations can expect other people to fulfill theirs. Those who try to disregard this basic principle are said to have two tumba (a bamboo measure of volume containing about two litres), that is, a different tumba for buying and for selling, a big one for the former and a small one for the latter. 'He does not like to fulfill others' invitations but would like many people to respond to his. The feast of such a person will consequently be 'eaten by dogs'.

Another criterion in the valuation of a feast is inferred in the question: 'Is it well-arranged?' This is important because a big feast with many guests will not bring its host a good reputation if it is badly arranged. A well-arranged feast of medium size will bring a better reputation than a big but disorganized one. People will praise the latter by saying: 'It was not a big one but it was excellent. The sunshades were well arranged; the guests were well cared for and they knew where to sit (there was someone to usher them); the food was tasty and well-distributed; the feast giver was a nice person; he moved around and had a word for every guest. It is worth spending money for such an
excellent feast'. On the other hand an unsuccessful feast is the butt of jokes and gossip. Typical comment is this about Tuah's feast: 'Although it was a big feast it was horrible. I have never seen such a feast. The food was tasteless. The distribution was so poor that some did not get any meat at all. What a waste of money'.

This last aspect of the feast, that is, its arrangement and organization is of great importance in our analysis of the affinal relations because it exclusively lies in the hands of the anakberu. So whether a feast is successful or not again largely depends on the attitude and the capability of the anakberu concerned. In fact a feast is an occasion where the ability of the anakberu to serve their kalimbubu and their guests is tested. In this institution the role of anakberu as servant of their kalimbubu finds its fullest expression. A man can work for himself in his field, in his house or anywhere else but not for himself in his own feast. There all his anakberu become a single group and take the responsibility for arranging the feast. There is a division of labour in the anakberu group; there are usually two leaders, that is, an anakberu tua and a senior among the immediate anakberu, usually the FZH or the ZH. The anakberu are charged with a variety of tasks, namely: erecting the sunscreens, preparing food, serving the guests, guiding them to their seats, distributing tobacco and palm leaf wrappers for cigarettes, betel and other ingredients for chewing betel, cleaning after the
Plate 8.

The anakberu are preparing a meal as part of a feast. The pandanu bags in the foreground contain cooked rice and the bamboo tubes contain baked meat. Guests are seated under a shelter, the poles of which are seen in the background. Kabandjahe.
meal, collecting gifts and making a note of them, leading the formal adat discussion and several other duties besides. In short, they do everything. The sukut, i.e. the giver of the feast and his senina, do nothing. The Karo say of the sukut: 'they wait' (nimai). If one of them, for instance, observes that there is stagnation in the distribution of food he may not get up and go to help the anakberu. The most he can do is to approach one of them without attracting attention and say a few informal words about it. This specific behaviour of the kalimbubu symbolizes the dominance of the kalimbubu over the anakberu, who do all the menial tasks such as cooking and the serving of food for the feast, which are exclusively the work of women in ordinary everyday life.

**Dibata djabu and dibata niidah**

As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter the term kalimbubu, which originally meant 'the crown of the head', symbolizes superiority and authority. However, it is in its identification as dibata niidah, the visible god, that its superiority over the anakberu is explicitly manifest. In addition this phrase clearly indicates that the pre-eminent position of the kalimbubu is also rooted in religious belief.

The term dibata has a number of meanings. According to Neumann (1951:75) 'dibata is god, gods, the world of gods; the pregnant womb;
i dibatana being still unborn; dibata niidah the way of naming the kalimbubu (father-in-law); dibata si nangkhih nusur the sun...'

This definition of Neumann however is not altogether correct. I agree that in a sense the prime meaning of dibata is god. The Hindu element in this conceptualization is very obvious because besides the term dibata itself being Sanskrit (devata) in origin, the Karo, like other Batak, also recognize the trinity of god. There are three gods in Karo cosmology: the upper god (dibata idatas), the middle god (dibata itengah) and the lower god (dibata iteruh). But it should be stressed that these gods are almost insignificant in the religious life of the people. There is neither an offering nor a religious cult which is associated with them. All that we can say about them is that they are mentioned in a number of spells (tabas). In some spells, used by the guru for certain magical practices this sentence serves as an opening phrase: 'Please come down Upper Dibata, please sit down Middle Dibata and please come up Lower Dibata...' In fact in the daily life of the villagers it is the guardian spirits whom they refer to as dibata and surprisingly enough this is not included in the above definition of Neumann; he also does not mention that the term dibata is commonly applied when referring to

1 Literally: in its dibata.
2 The up and down dibata.
penis as shown for instance in this sentence: 'he feels itchy on his dibata'. In addition Neumann's reference to the pregnant womb as one connotation of dibata is not borne out by present usage.

Dibata as a guardian spirit has a specific meaning so that in fact not all guardian spirits are regarded as dibata. Firstly, the spirit must be 'from home' (rumah nari), that is the spirit of a dead human being. It is believed that there are a number of anthropomorphic spirits whose genesis are not known but they are 'not from home', that is not of human origin. They are sometimes referred to as spirits who come 'from the forest' (kerangen nari). Secondly, as I have described earlier, not all souls of the dead are regarded as dibata. Only those who 'died in one day' (mate sada wari), namely those who commit suicide or who died in an accident, belong to dibata. However the soul of a dead foetus, a baby and also a child whose teeth have not yet appeared are recognized as si mate sada wari; to be more specific the soul of a foetus, i.e. who 'dies before seeing the daylight', is termed butara guru whilst those who died after 'seeing the daylight', i.e. babies and children, are termed bitjara guru. Similarly a woman who dies during childbirth is regarded as 'dying in one day'. Those who die naturally (mate gerpa-gerpa) are also held to be guardian spirits but are never referred to as dibata. They are of secondary importance and are 'immediately forgotten'. Both spirits are entertained in distinct ceremonies, the dibata in the ceremony
called perumah dibata and the others in perumah begu. However, there is another exception to this rule. A senior guru, carpenter or player of the traditional orchestra become dibata regardless of the nature of death.

One crucial principle which underlies the inter-relationship of an individual and his dibata is that such a link must be exclusively based on agnatic descent. If a man speaks of his dibata, the term may signify either a particular spirit or a group of spirits, but in either case the point of reference is the deceased members of his patrilineage. As I have mentioned previously only males are permanent members of the lineage whilst the membership of women depends on their marital status. A married woman is affiliated to her husband's lineage and similarly her spirit in the afterworld. The dibata is traced through the agnatic line of an individual if the point of reference is a man whilst the dibata of a married woman is traced through her husband's agnatic line.

Whilst in secular life the anakberu and senina are guarantors, in the spiritual world the sole guarantor is the dibata djabu, i.e. the dibata of the family. I have argued in the foregoing pages that although anakberu and senina are joint guarantors in various adat matters, the former seems to be of more importance than the latter. This was proved by the fact that there are legal procedures in which an anakberu alone stands as a sole guarantor whilst such
guarantorship is never requested from senina. In the spiritual world the guarantor of the family is the dibata djabu which is also termed perkakun djabu, the guarantor of the djabu. Here the spirit of the anakberu is not recognized as a guarantor. However the explanation of the people that these are guarantors (djamin, from Indonesian) is obviously incorrect because its legal context is lacking. What they mean to say is that the dibata djabu are the main protectors in the religious field without whom life, it is believed, would be in perpetual danger because they are recognized as protectors against evil spirits.

The kalimbubu as 'the visible god'

The position of kalimbubu is unique in Karo religion because they are supposed to be endowed with a mystical power. Thus every Karo, when he is in the position of kalimbubu, has such a power. Everyone is a 'visible god' in his relation to his anakberu. Everything which is good in life is ascribed to two supernatural powers, the dibata djabu and the mystical power (tuah) of kalimbubu. An identical phenomenon can be ascribed to either of these. A man might say that his family is in good health and economically comfortable because of the protection of his dibata djabu. In another context the same person may explain that this is due to the mystical power of the kalimbubu, particularly when he is talking to a member of the kalimbubu. It should be noted, however, that the
two points of reference, i.e. the *dibata djabu* and the mystical power of the *kalimbubu*, are totally distinct in nature. The first signifies the soul of the agnates including the wives of agnates who 'died in one day' whilst the second refers to the living *kalimbubu*, not to the soul of the dead. Neither the soul of a dead *anakberu* nor the soul of a dead *kalimbubu* is a guardian spirit of an individual. A man gives an offering to neither of them. But there is a mystical relation between him and his living *kalimbubu*, particularly his *kalimbubu* by marriage and *kalimbubu* by birth and this relation is, as we have seen, asymmetrical. In the mystical sense only the *kalimbubu* can influence the *anakberu* and not the reverse. On the other hand, such a mystical relation does not exist in the relation between living agnates.

One of the principles which underlies the superior status of the *kalimbubu* is that they stand as a giver whilst the *anakberu* as a receiver. The *anakberu* receives a wife, a human being, which is the most 'precious thing' in life. 'Nothing is more precious than a human being'. It is true that compensation has been paid in terms of marriage payment but this is comparatively insignificant. This wife gives birth to children who are essential for the continuation of the lineage. From the point of view of these children this *kalimbubu* gives them birth and this recognition is always emphasized. To explain that a man's mother belongs to the speaker's lineage or sub-clan, the latter may say: 'We gave him birth'. (*Kami mupussa*). On the
other hand, referring to the *anakberu* by marriage, one might say: 'We enabled him to marry'. *(Kami pemposa).*

Another explanation of this asymmetrical relation may be sought in the symbolism concerning the sexual groups, i.e. the *kalimbubu* represent masculinity and the *anakberu* femininity. This may sound hypothetical but I am of the opinion that we must not overlook this point. I have mentioned that another meaning of the term *kalimbubu* is the crown of the head. I cannot prove that this symbolizes masculinity and I therefore base this terminological analysis exclusively on the word *anakberu*. In ethnological literature the term *anakberu* (or *anak boru* among some other Bataks) is generally described as 'the child of the woman' (*anak*, child; *beru* or *boru*, woman). Tugby (1958:347) for instance, writes about the Mandailing: 'The *boru*, woman-receiving group, is commonly termed generically, *anak boru*, child of the women'. Almost half a century earlier Westenberg (1914:467) provided a similar explanation when he said: '*Anak beroe* betekend letterlijk "het kind van eene vrouw" '. For our purpose, i.e. to prove the symbolic recognition of *anakberu* representing femininity, this literal analysis seems to be satisfactory. At any rate one can argue that there is a strong attachment of *anakberu* and femininity because the relation is traced through woman. One may then go further and add that the first composite word *anak* (child) which represents 'smallness' in Karo
symbolism conforms with the inferior connotation of the term anakberu.

Closer examination of the social implication of the term anakberu however suggests the fallibility of the above literal analysis. Are the children of the woman indeed the principal anakberu in the social system? In other words: does the term anakberu basically signify the children of the women? This seems not to be the case because the anakberu - kalimbubu relations are established after the marriage is contracted regardless of the birth of children resulting from that union. Since the consummation of her marriage the woman stands as an anakberu to her own natal lineage and so do her husband, her parents-in-law and all the members of her husband's lineage. If this lineage is X and the woman's natal lineage Y, the link between the two is the couple, the bridegroom from the point of view of X and the bride from Y. As Y is now affiliated to X then she, the beru, becomes the point of reference in identifying X. Thus from the point of view of Y, X is 'the group' of the woman. X is identified as anakberu, 'the people of the woman' and this, in my view, is the basic meaning of the term. It is supported by the fact that the term anak, besides meaning 'child', is a categoric term signifying 'a group of people' in Indonesian and many local languages including Karo. In Karo anak gugung, used as contra-distinction to anak djahé-djahé, means 'the people of the highland' (gugung, upstream). The term anak is also to
signify a local community so that it means 'people' or 'inhabitant'. Anak Liren means 'the inhabitant of Liren', which may be either singular or plural in number. In the sentence: Djonang anak Liren (Djonang is an inhabitant of Liren), anak is singular whilst in the sentence: Anak Liren merandal (Liren people are nice), it is plural. Back to our point, that they are called "the woman's people" is, in my view, a proof that in symbolic terms the anakberu represents femininity, and implies that the kalimbubu represents masculinity. The superiority of the latter to the former conforms with the patrilineal ideology which is one of the most important values in Karo social structure.

The mystical power of the kalimbubu is regarded as essential for the welfare and the physical continuation of the lineage of the anakberu, and this is best seen in the pregnancy rite called kalimbubu mesuri man, meaning 'the kalimbubu give food'; literally it means 'the kalimbubu make it satisfied with food'. Another name for this rite is kalimbubu nungkir djabu, 'the kalimbubu call the djabu'. In the past a big feast was occasionally held for this occasion and it was called kalimbubu ngembahken naroh mbentar, i.e. 'the kalimbubu deliver white egg'. However, its ritual procedure and content are identical to the above mentioned standard 'kalimbubu give food' rite. As the name suggest, this pregnancy rite is performed by the kalimbubu for the sake of the anakberu. Members of the lineage do not perform this rite on their behalf. It is carried out
in the seventh month of pregnancy, reckoned according to the lunar calendar from the last menstruation, and it is confined to the first born child.

In this 'kalimbubu give food' rite three kalimbubu groups are involved, the core of which is the natal lineage of the pregnant woman. The two other kalimbubu are her mother's and mother's mother's natal lineages. I have stated that the wife's agnates are the kalimbubu by marriage from the point of view of the husband provided that it is not a cross-cousin marriage. In this rite another phrase is employed to identify the kalimbubu by marriage. The three types of kalimbubu are distinguished according to that specific part of the brideprice to which they are entitled. The kalimbubu by marriage is called kalimbubu si ngaloken tukor, the kalimbubu who receive the tukor, the trunk of the brideprice. As has been described earlier her mother's natal lineage who stand as puang kalimbubu is called kalimbubu si ngaloken beré-beré, the beré-beré being a specific part of the brideprice. The third kalimbubu, the mother's mother's lineage of the pregnant woman who stand as the kalimbubu of the puang kalimbubu, is referred to as kalimbubu si ngalo perkempun, that is, the kalimbubu who receive the perkempun, again a specific part of the marriage payment (see Figure 9).

It is believed that the 'child' gets its first meal in this rite so that this occasion is meant to feed the 'child'. It is fed by the kalimbubu, that is, the members of its mother's natal lineage,
accompanied by the puang kalimbubu and the kalimbubu of the latter. Thus in symbolic terms its 'visible god' is accompanied by the 'visible god of the visible god' and 'the visible god' of the latter. Should this rite be neglected the 'child' would suffer in his life from what is called tera-tera mulana, literally 'the first frustration'. It is believed that he will not be in good health and will experience difficulties in getting married. He may remain a bachelor or if he gets married he may not have children.

However there are other important aspects of this rite. One function of the rite is to check whether there are disturbances in the relations between the parents of the 'child' and either the kalimbubu or the spirit world or both. This is tested by the spirit medium through two divinations: one is carried out before the ritual meal and the other after; the ritual objects in these cases are a boiled egg and a chicken head respectively. By 'reading' these objects the spirit medium may reveal that the kalimbubu is frustrated, the dibata djabu are claiming a promised feast, a guardian spirit (djinudjung) outside the dibata djabu is neglected or the soul of one of the parents is 'away' (not at home); it may be detained by a sacred spirit (keramat) in whose place the parent experienced sudden shock (sengget) sometime ago but this needs further investigation. Thus, for the welfare of the child he or she should be born in a situation where the parents are on good terms with both 'the visible' and 'invisible gods'. The following example which took place in
Figure 9: The various types of kalimbubu

From Y's point of view:

a = the kalimbubu by marriage or the kalimbubu who receive the tukor (the kalimbubu)

b = the kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré (the puang kalimbubu)

c = the kalimbubu who receive the perkempun (the kalimbubu of the puang kalimbubu)
Kuta Gamber in December 1961, will illustrate the procedure in this rite.

The rite was for Malem's wife. He married uxorilocally like his father-in-law so that in fact he lived in the village of his puang kalimbubu, in which his WM's lineage is the principal lineage. Malem is a member of Sembiring Milala sub-clan, his wife belongs to Ginting Munte (the kalimbubu), his wife's mother is Perangin-angin Pinem (the puang kalimbubu or the kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré) and his wife's mother's mother Tarigan Gersang (the kalimbubu who receive the perkempun). It was attended by 61 adults, 27 males and 34 females (it is common for a small feast or rite to have more female than male participants); of the 61 people, 4 stand as anakberu, 10 as senina, 18 as kalimbubu who receive the tukor, 17 as kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré and 12 as kalimbubu who receive the perkempun. Almost all participants were co-resident in the village. Only four were outsiders: Malem's father, mother, a sister and a brother. Consequently only the puang kalimbubu was genuinely represented because it took place in their own village. The members of Malem's WMM's lineage, for instance, are far away and they are represented by the members of their clan and their wives who reside in the same village. They came to attend the wedding feast, received the portion of the marriage payment they were entitled to and distributed a substantial part of it to their clan-mates in the village. They also left some money to purchase one
chicken, one egg and two litres (one *tumba*) of rice which they were obliged to donate in conducting this rite.

The rite and the feast took place at Malem's house. His *kalimbubu* by marriage donated four chickens, 20 litres of rice and one egg for this occasion; the second and the third *kalimbubu* each gave one chicken, two litres of rice and one egg. Malem himself, his agnates and his *anakberu* gave nothing. One chicken, one egg and two litres of rice which came from the first *kalimbubu* were used for the ritual meal. The food was put in a huge sacred Chinese porcelain dish (*pinggan pasu*) and the couple were accompanied by three other people, two *senina* and one *kalimbubu*, so that they were five (*lima*) in number. It is ritually a good number because it rhymes with *ertima* (to wait) which implies: the *tendi* (the souls of the living) are waiting at home; they are not away. The rice is placed in a heap with the egg on its top and the cooked chicken on its side.

The spirit medium took the egg, opened it and 'read' it. She returned the egg after the 'reading' and the ritual meal started. The five people ate the ritual meal. Meanwhile the member of the *kalimbubu* who joined the meal said: 'Here we, your *kalimbubu*, are bringing food, that is, chicken, egg and rice, to you. Be satisfied with it. We bring this to prevent you from suffering from *tera-tera mulana* in the future. May we have good health. May your father and
Plate 9.

Iting Meltah, a distinguished spirit medium. She is holding a decorated staff (tiken), belonging to her late husband, of which she is very proud.
mother achieve their aspirations. Please eat the food. Do not hesitate'.

The meal was followed by the 'reading' of the head of the chicken. According to the spirit medium, the egg was good and nothing was wrong with it but the head of the chicken revealed one thing: there is menek-menek (or morah-morah) kalimbubu, that is a kalimbubu who is frustrated. The spirit medium addressed an enquiry to each group of kalimbubu about this and eventually Malem's mother-in-law admitted that she had a grievance. Then the spirit medium urged her to tell her whole story because it had to be made public.

Malem's mother-in-law explained that one day she discovered her daughter at home and asked her why she did not go to their field. Her daughter replied that she felt very tired and wanted to rest. In fact a short while ago, Malem had urged his wife to go because there was much work to be done. He intended to cut tobacco and he needed his wife to pluck the leaves. This is a common arrangement in the division of labour in the village. Eventually they quarrelled because his wife refused to go. Malem was furious and said among other things: 'Is this what you learned from your father Minter and your mother Simpan?' Malem's mother-in-law felt deeply insulted when her daughter told her this. It is taboo to mention one's senior's name and especially the name of one's parent-in-law. In addition, one of the gravest insults to a person is mentioning his or her parent's name.
Eventually Malem's wife set off for the tobacco field, accompanied by her mother who stayed to have a meal with them after helping her daughter pluck tobacco leaves. After the meal she asked her daughter, in the presence of her son-in-law, whether she was on good terms with her husband. She pretended not to know the real situation. Her daughter repeated the story. She then commented with anger: 'That is a grave insult. That is a shame. Everyone knows that at some time or another a husband and a wife must quarrel. It is unavoidable. But why must the names of the parents-in-law be involved? I recommend you to divorce your husband'.

Malem apologised both to his wife and to his mother-in-law. A few days later he and his wife brought a chicken to the house of his parents-in-law to formalise the apology. So the matter had been settled. 'You know I had forgiven kela (son-in-law)', said Malem's mother-in-law to the spirit medium, 'indeed I have forgotten the happening unless it is revealed by divination. But it seems that my tendi (soul) still feels injured, otherwise it wouldn't come out in the "reading".' Thus the principle of this belief is: when the spirit medium proclaims that the kalimbubu is frustrated the point of reference is the soul (tendi) of the kalimbubu concerned, regardless of the actual feeling of the kalimbubu when the divination is held: they may still be frustrated but they may have forgotten or even forgiven as shown in the above example. But once it is revealed by
a spirit medium and the anakberu concerned apologises in the way prescribed by the spirit medium, then the matter is completely solved.

An elderly woman who stood as anakberu asked Malem if the account was true. The latter admitted that it was and expressed his regret. 'If you again have a dispute with your wife, please do not mention the name of your parent-in-law', said the old woman, 'that is indeed embarrassing'. Another woman added: 'I would rather be beaten'. To this another replied: 'To beat a wife is also not good. The best thing is to have no quarrels, but if you must have them, avoid letting them become serious'. All this was said in the husband's presence and this made the sanction doubly effective.

To conclude the occasion the spirit medium advised Malem to hold a simple rite of reconciliation called nunggahi lau malem which means 'to serve cold water', intended to eliminate the frustration of the kalimbubu by 'cooling' it. Preparation was made by putting some rice, onion, katjiwer (kaempheria galanga), bunga sapa (a type of flower), a Dutch silver guilder and cold water into a white porcelain bowl. Holding the ritual bowl in his hand Malem, accompanied by his mother, approached his father-in-law and sat in front of him. He bowed his head and formally said: 'I apologise to you mama (father-in-law), I will never do it again'. Then he handed the bowl to his father-in-law and the latter drank a little of the water. While he was drinking the spirit medium and some other old
women said: 'May your heart be as cold as the water'. Someone added: 'Cold is the water and colder is our heart'. After that the ritual bowl was circulated. Almost all the members of the kalimbubu present drank some of the water in turn.

That the kalimbubu is found to be frustrated or injured in feelings is a common phenomenon in Karo divination. Divination is held on many occasions, namely when sowing paddy in the sacred bed (pemenanken) which is associated with the paddy cult, at various rites associated with the ancestor cult, at mortuary rites, in the spirit medium cult, in propitiating other guardian spirits, in inaugurating a new house, in curative and protective magic and elsewhere. The main ritual materia of divination are: eggs, a chicken (the head in minor occasions and the whole body in major occasions), areca blossom and a double quadrangle symbol (désa si waluh). In each system of divination there is a specific sign which indicates 'frustration of kalimbubu'.

From the foregoing we have seen the crux of the anakberu-kalimbubu institution in the Karo social system. Both anakberu and kalimbubu are basically reference categories, one being complementary to the other, so that the notion that these entities are social groups, as asserted by some anthropologists, is obviously misleading.  

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4 Tobing (1956:133), for instance, states that among the Toba "There are three functional groups: hulahula, dongan sabutuha and boru'.
It is true that, as the Karo see it, there are three categories of kin and affines, *senina* (or *sembujak*), *kalimbubu* and *anakberu* which taken together are called *sangkep si telu*, meaning literally 'the three intact'; however it may be noted that the phrase does not signify the existence of three functional groups in Karo society. *Sangkep si telu*, as frequently applied in ritual, ceremonial and jural situations, denotes the relation of a particular man or an agnatic group with his or their three categories of kin and affines who necessarily take part on a particular social occasion.

There are two basic principles, equality and inequality, which underlie the structure of *sangkep si telu*. These again, are the foundations of the Karo social system. In contrast with the *senina* or *sembujak* relationship which is, generally speaking, characterized by equality, reciprocity and mutual obligations, the *anakberu* - *kalimbubu* relationship is strictly asymmetrical, culminating in the identification of the *kalimbubu* as 'the visible god'. It means that in his everyday social intercourse a man experiences continuous shifts of status; he is treated as an equal when meeting his *senina*, but as a superior when meeting an *anakberu* and conversely an inferior in his relationship with a *kalimbubu*. As the *anakberu* -

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5 The *sangkep si telu* is called *dalihan na tolu* among the Toba, meaning the three stones forming a hearth.
kalimbubu tie derives from marriage, it is thus obvious that for the asymmetrical relationship to become operative, one prerequisite is the observance of an asymmetrical marriage system. This, with other aspects of marriage, will be discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT: MARRIAGE

Marriage is an institution by which a new family and household are created and the marriage partners achieve a new social and economic status. Among the Karo the initial stage of married life is characterized by economic dependence but the period generally does not exceed one year and after this the couple are usually economically and spatially independent. Consequently, marriage is not thought to result in a situation where one of the spouses leaves the parental home to join the household of the parents of the other. There is an ideal picture of the two spouses leaving their respective parental homes to build a new one for themselves. The word for marriage, erdjabu, confirms this because the term means 'to have one's own djabu', which, as we have seen in Chapter 4, is one of the sections in the adat-house.

In a wider sense the Karo visualize marriage not as a contract between two individuals but as an alliance between two agnatic groups. In fact, the social involvement is even much wider than between the two families concerned, because the relatives on either side are also involved so that a marriage links numerous agnatic groups. It results in a ramification of kinship relations between the senina, anakberu and kalimbubu of the bride on the one hand and
the senina, anakberu and kalimbubu of the groom on the other hand. Thus the bride's and the groom's agnatic groups stand in an institutionalised anakberu - kalimbubu relationship; in addition the anakberu of the groom stands in an anakberu menteri - puang kalimbubu relationship with the bride's agnates and similarly the agnates of the groom with the kalimbubu of the bride's agnates. Furthermore, the agnates of the groom are in a senina relationship with the anakberu of the bride's agnates which again is similar to the relation between the groom's kalimbubu, such as his mother's brother and the agnates of the latter in relation to the bride's agnates.

These are lucidly represented in the kinship terminology (Appendix I), where, for instance, the groom addresses the bride's FZH as bapa, a term signifying 'father'. They are in a senina relationship now because they have a common kalimbubu. This term is also employed by the bride in addressing the groom's MB, as if she is a daughter of her husband's kalimbubu by birth (Figures 15 and 16).

Prohibited degrees

The classification of relatives into three categories is an expression of the marriage system, i.e. its regulations concerning the prohibited, permitted and preferred degrees of marriage. Those who are agnatically related are regarded as being linked by blood;
marriage between them is forbidden. Those who do not consider themselves to be blood relatives, though strictly speaking they may be consanguines, may intermarry but the adat prescribes that the marriage relation must be asymmetrical. Thus if A marries B's sister, A's son may marry B's daughter but B cannot marry A's sister nor B's son marry A's daughter. This rule is extended to their respective agnatic groups. Indeed it is only by the observance of these marriage rules that the structural anakberu - kalimbubu relation can be maintained. There are thus two major degrees of marriage prohibition, namely turang and turang impal marriage, both of which will be discussed in this section.

The kinship term turang, as has been previously mentioned, is synonymous in certain respects with the terms senina and sembujak. They signify agnatic kinship: turang denotes an agnatic tie between individuals of opposite sex whilst both senina and sembujak are of the same sex. For a woman turang means 'brother' and for a man 'sister'. The turang, like the senina, is extended to the clan level. However only three of the five clans, Ginting, Karo-karo and Tarigan, are strictly exogamous units and there are minor exceptions in the case of Perangin-angin and Sembiring (see Chapter 5).

The turang category, like the senina, is extended to maternal kinsmen so that a particular category in the maternal line may become turang or senina. A maternal parallel cousin of the same sex is a senina and of the opposite sex a turang. To be exact they
are called senina sepemeren and turang sepemeren respectively. They possess the same beré-beré which is indicative of their mother's agnatic line by birth. Thus a man and a woman whose respective mothers are sisters or classificatory sisters are in a mutual turang sepemeren relation and marriage between them is forbidden.

In theory the turang sepemeren relation is extended to the clan level but in actual practice its effectiveness does not stretch beyond the sub-clan. This is best reflected by the fact that of the 112 couples in Kuta Gamber and Liren villages, nine were in fact turang sepemeren. Such a marriage is not held to be at variance with the rule prescribed by adat.

However, if the mothers belonged to the same sub-clan then the children were close senina, if of the same sex, or, if of the opposite sex, they were turang sepemeren and marriage between them was strictly forbidden. The infringement of this rule was punishable in the past. Despite the fact that such a marriage is still discouraged, the turang sepemeren marriage prohibition is now declining. The transgression of this rule has become more common and the old sanction has been disregarded. In other words this kind of marriage is now tolerated.

In Kuta Gamber there is one such case in which both the husband's and the wife's mother belong to Tarigan Sibero sub-clan. The turang sepemeren marriage prohibition has been consequently reduced to the lineage level. Those whose mothers belong to the same lineage may not marry and this rule is still strictly observed.
The function of the *turang sepemerén* marriage prohibition is to preserve harmony in the *anakberu - kalimbubu* relation. The kinship terms *senina* and *turang* besides signifying agnatic kinship, mean 'brother' or 'sister' having a common *kalimbubu* or *anakberu*. This is indeed a crucial point in the analysis of the Karo kinship system. In general terms one might say that *turang* or *senina* is a kinship term which signifies an agnatic link but further analysis reveals that such a definition is questionable. In the totality of kinship relations *senina* constitutes one of the three categories of kinship so that in fact one's *senina* are those to whom one stands neither as *anakberu* nor as *kalimbubu*, for one of the essential rules of Karo kinship classification is that those who have either a common *kalimbubu* or a common *anakberu* are *senina* (cf Figure 17).

The *senina sepemerén* relationship under discussion is based on this rule: their mothers are sisters and therefore they have the same *kalimbubu* by birth. Their fathers are also *senina* because they have the same *kalimbubu* by marriage. If their wives are sisters, their husbands are called *senina siparibanen*. In the *anakberu - kalimbubu* relation they are 'equals', they are what the Karo call *sendalanen*, i.e. of one path. Both of them stand as *anakberu* by marriage to their respective wives' agnatic groups. The marriage prohibition among their children perpetuates this 'equality' because if their children marry, their wives who are *senina* will become *anakberu-kalimbubu* towards one another.
The other prohibited degree is the turang impal marriage which is between a man and his paternal cross-cousin (FZD). Turang impal is a reciprocal term of address between a man and his father's sister's daughter. This prohibition again is essential in preserving the existing anakberu - kalimbubu relation because marrying a turang impal means that a man from the woman giving group (kalimbubu) takes a wife from the woman taking group (anakberu) and this inevitably results in the distortion of the existing anakberu - kalimbubu relation. In the past the turang impal marriage prohibition was extended to the sub-clan level but nowadays the range is reduced to the lineage. Despite the fact that the resultant disharmony in the kinship relation causes 'adat inconvenience', marrying a distant turang impal (at the sub-clan level) is tolerated. There are two such instances of this in Kuta Gamber and both husbands are members of Pinem sub-clan.

The complication resulting from this marriage is twofold: firstly in anakberu - kalimbubu and secondly in sembujak - puang kalimbubu relations. Thus Saro Pinem in Figure 10 who stood as kalimbubu to Lembas' father before he got married now stands as anakberu to the latter. Lembas' natal lineage becomes Saro's kalimbubu by marriage. Consequently, Lembas' mother's natal lineage, the kalimbubu of Lembas' father, becomes the puang kalimbubu of Saro who are in fact his sembujak because they belong to the same sub-clan.
This required a drastic structural change in Saro's kinship relation with his wife's mother's natal lineage. He knew almost all the members of this lineage before he got married and treated them as sembujak. But now his wife's mother's brother who was his bapa becomes his mama; any male kalimbubu or puang kalimbubu who is one generation higher than ego is referred to and addressed as mama (see Figure 18). Further social implication is that he is in a restraint relation with this particular agnatic group who now becomes his puang kalimbubu. They are no longer equals. He must treat them with deference; they may not joke with each other nor may they bathe together.

Although the turang impal prohibition is strictly observed at the lineage level, this does not mean that the effective group alliance in terms of anakberu-kalimbubu relations is at that level. It is true that there is a notion that the anakberu-kalimbubu relation should be maintained at the sub-clan or at any rate at the lineage level but nevertheless the study of their genealogies reveals that the effective anakberu-kalimbubu alliance is commonly at the lineage segment level. The disturbance of the anakberu-kalimbubu relation usually occurs when a male member of the kalimbubu marries a classificatory sister or other female member of the anakberu. Once such a marriage is contracted a complicated anakberu-kalimbubu relation emerges so that in terms of marriage alliance the fission of each lineage is inevitable.
Figure 10: Overlapping of senina and puang kalimbubu relations

a. Perangin-angin
b. Pinem

Level of lineage furcation

a. Ginting
b. Munte

a. = clan name
b. = sub-clan name
There are three such instances in the pedigree of the principal lineage of Kuta Gamber. In one case, Sibah (Figure 11) - a member of Tarigan Gersang sub-clan, who stands as kalimbubu because his FZ married a member of the lineage - took a wife from his woman taking group (anakberu) because he married his FZHFBSDD. In the two other cases the disruptive factor was the marriage of a man to his second cousin's husband's sister (FFBSDHZ, see Djolam in Figure 11). This demonstrates that the effective range in an anakberu - kalimbubu relation, as a concept of an asymmetrical marriage alliance, is in many cases not larger than the segments of a lineage composing three generations. It is however hard to say that this is typical but my data indicates that overlapping between the larger segments, although discouraged, is tolerated.

**Preferential marriage**

There is a wide range of permitted marriage but preference is given to maternal cross-cousin marriage, i.e. with a MBD for a boy and a FZS for a girl. This is impal marriage. An impal is a generic term which includes all cross-cousins with the exception of a boy's paternal cross-cousin. Thus a boy is in a mutual impal relation with his MBD and MBS but not with his FZD who is, as has been discussed above, his turang impal. People frequently stress their belief that preferential marriage helps to preserve existing anakberu - kalimbubu relations and indeed there is no other mechanism which could
Figure 11: Overlapping of anakberu - kalimbubu relation.
do this so effectively. By impal marriage connubial alliance between agnatic groups is maintained or renewed, as the Karo put it. It is said that the MBD, who is called si ngumban, i.e. the substitute, replaces the groom's mother and this is made explicit in various situations. A conventional way of expressing one's love is: 'I would like you to replace my mother'. (Kam atÉku man sambar nandó). It is a poetical expression for 'I would like to marry you'.

Impal preferential marriage forms the core of a number of interlocking institutions. As I described earlier a child is told in early life who his or her impal is and the term thus has the implication of a marriage partner. In the religious life of the people the importance of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is manifested in a ritual wedding in which there is a simulated marriage between cross-cousins. The foundation of this is the belief that cross-cousin marriage itself affords both a curative and a protective power.

Thus when Pa Siman dreamt that his child Siman was in the company of Nurih, a man who had recently died, his wife went to consult the spirit medium whose prognosis was that the life of the child was in danger. Siman's parents were deeply concerned about this. As a protective measure the spirit medium said that a cross-cousin marriage rite should be held. For a boy this is called tarohken kudjabu kalimbubu, i.e. 'bringing (him) to the kalimbubu's djabu'. A similar prescription may be made for a female child.
in which case she is brought to the **djabu** of her **anakberu** and there the rite is called **tarohken kudjabu anakberu**, i.e. 'bringing her to the **djabu** of her **anakberu**'. In either case a hypothetical or symbolic marriage is 'contracted'.

In such a case a small ceremony attended by about twenty to thirty people is held in the morning. Four or five chickens are killed for the festive meal at midday. The principal ritual procedure is that the 'bride' and 'groom' eat from a common dish (**mukul**). After the meal a nominal amount of 'brideprice' (about Rp.100) is handed to the relatives of the bride. The contract is clearly no more than symbolic however for it has no further effect on their lives. All that is left is an occasional jocular reference to their 'marriage'.

Siman's 'marriage', for instance, is always a source of amusement and he is teased in this manner:

'You have married Siman, haven't you?'

'Yes, I have'.

'Who is your wife?'

'Undjuk'.

'Where is she?'

'In her house'.

'What is she doing there?'

'I don't know'.
People laughed saying that Siman has no idea what his wife does and other amusing comments in this vein are made. 'The brideprice' that has been paid should however be returned if the girl gets married to someone else and that is the only obligation of the parents of the girl towards their fictional son-in-law.

The incidence of cross-cousin marriage is relatively low. Out of 75 couples in Kuta Gamber (76 wives including one second wife of a polygynous family), only 4 (about 5.3 per cent) are full cross-cousin marriages. This criterion is based on the customary norm that a proper impal marriage means marrying an actual MBD and this may be extended at the utmost to the second cousin, i.e. one's MFBSD, but not beyond her. It is true that any female member of the mother's subclan who belongs to the same generation as a boy, is his impal in a classificatory sense but strictly speaking marrying a distant impal is no longer recognized as impal marriage. Even if such distant classificatory cases are included, however, this would not result in an appreciably higher incident of impal marriages. There is one case of impal marriage at the lineage level of classificatory extension, 13 cases at the sub-clan level and a further 13 at the clan level. It is, however, important to note that these last two categories of cross-cousin marriage are not regarded as cross-cousin marriage in any sense by the people. The reason for this is obvious: a subclan or a clan is in no sense a corporate unit.
The situation in Liren corresponds with that of Kuta Gamber. In none of the 38 couples (39 wives including the second wife of a polygynous family) was there a cross-cousin marriage proper. One marriage in this sample, however, was usually described as cross-cousin marriage because the man married his first cousin's daughter (MBSD). At the lineage level two other instances may be added: marrying a third cousin and the daughter of a third cousin respectively. At the lineage level we then have three cases (7.7 per cent) of cross-cousin marriage out of 39 in Liren. Thus this comparison reveals that out of 115 marriages contracted in Kuta Gamber and Liren, only 5 (4.3 per cent) are impal marriages proper. At the lineage level we find 9 instances (7.8 per cent) altogether but these are, as we have seen, only quasi-impal marriages. As further extensions to larger unilineal groups are of little sociological significance I shall not take this statistical analysis to the sub-clan or the clan level.

1 Despite its preferential nature, comparative data from other studies suggest that the incidence of cross-cousin marriage among the Batak is quite low. Bruner (1959:120) states that the frequency of marriage to real mother's brother's daughter is 2.3 per cent among the Toba. If extension is made to the mother's clan, the frequency is increased to 15 per cent. Similar phenomena are to be found recorded in Tugby's study (1958:319) of the Upper-Mandailing. Of 150 marriage cases in his sample, mother's brother's daughter marriage is 3.4 per cent (4 per cent in intra-village and 2.7 per cent in inter-village marriage) whilst classificatory mother's brother's daughter marriage is only 4 per cent (5.3 per cent in intra-village and 2.7 per cent in inter-village marriage).
It would seem at first sight that there is constantly a wide gap between the ideal of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and the normative behaviour of the people. The facts do indeed indicate that in the majority of marriages people deviate from the ideal pattern. Closer examination of the system, however, indicates that the theme of impal marriage is not well articulated in the value system of Karo culture. One might even say that the low frequency of such marriage is inherent in the system itself.

Let us examine the factors that are responsible for this. Indeed the nature of the expectation is that one son should marry his maternal cross-cousin. It is not expected that all the children will follow this preferential marriage rule. It is even paradoxical that, in speaking about the sons in a family, only one is permitted to marry an impal. Two brothers marrying two sisters, although compatible with the marriage system, is taboo for it is believed to bring supernatural disaster causing death to one of the marriage partners and nothing will prevent this. The structural implication of this prohibition is that new anakberu - kalimbubu relations are created at each generation level.

Another factor is the social recognition that there should be free choice in selecting a marriage partner. Corresponding to this there are neither infant betrothals nor child marriages. The previously mentioned symbolic cross-cousin marriage does not entail a jural bond that could prevent one of the partners from marrying
someone else. Furthermore the couple are not regarded socially as marriage partners. If a boy intends to marry a girl he brings her to his anakberu's house in which they lead a semi-married life regardless of the approval of both parents. This procedure is called nangkih and very often it serves to pressurize protesting parents. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

A third factor is the rule that there is no free choice in marrying a cross-cousin. A boy is expected to marry the closest and the most senior of his cross-cousins in sibling order and this becomes a serious impediment in several situations. There are many instances in which a man fails to marry a cross-cousin because the elder sister of the proposed girl 'is still there'. Thus Limbong abandoned the idea of marrying a cross-cousin primarily because her elder sister was a young divorcee whom he did not wish to marry. He was keen to marry her younger sister but that was against the rule. As a result of this he got a bad reputation because the kalimbubu, including his senior impal, felt insulted. Thereafter he proposed marrying a more distant impal but this proposal too was refused because it was against the adat.

Demographic factors must also be taken into account. 'When he was grown up there was no (grown up) impal available', I was occasionally informed.
Preliminaries to marriage

A youth - from the age of about thirteen for a girl and fifteen for a boy - is called erladjar medjilé, i.e. 'learning (about what is) beauty'. This is considered to be a transitional period between childhood and adulthood but there is no rite of passage. It is merely a criterion of measuring age but as indicated by the term there is a substantial change with regard to sexual behaviour: grooming becomes important in the boy's or girl's daily life. About two years later - at about fifteen for a girl and seventeen for a boy - they reach adulthood: the girl becomes 'a young unmarried woman' (singuda-nguda) and the boy 'a young bachelor' (anak perana).

It is said that this is the period in which an individual enjoys his or her life to its fullest extent. It is the time of courtship. Social intercourse between them is free and as a rule a boy meets his girl friend in the evening at the latter's turé, i.e. an open platform of the adat house. If he has a girl friend at a neighbouring village, it is a common practice for him to spend the evening there and return late at night to his own village. Today, sending letters is another medium of communication between them and in addition the market serves as a rendezvous.

Courtship may or may not result in marriage. A young man often has two or three girl friends in succession before getting married and he may finally marry a girl by 'proposal' in which case he does not marry the girl he has been courting. However, it is assumed
improper to have more than one partner at the same time because partnership requires a certain degree of loyalty. Ideally the status of being singuda-nguda or anak perana lasts about three or four years. It is ended by marriage so that a girl marries at the age of about 17 or 18 and a boy at about 19 or 20.

There is, however, a recent development which affects the traditional age of marriage. A substantial number of youngsters, after finishing the elementary school, either in their village or in a neighbouring one, are sent to town for further education. This has resulted in the postponement of marriage until the completion of their study. This is particularly so for boys because they are 'never too old to marry' as the villagers put it. At present the age of twenty for a girl and twenty five for a boy are considered as tolerable ages for marriage.

Remaining unmarried throughout life is highly discouraged and should that happen, it is a serious matter for the family concerned. It is embarrassing for them and a butt for jokes in the community. Marriage itself is considered as an important goal in life. My informants stressed this point by saying: 'what is the use of possessing everything in this life if you do not get married?' In both Kuta Gamber and Liren there was not one spinster or elderly bachelor when I was in the field. In the past it was the custom to build a commemorative 'death house' on poles called tungkup for a
dead spinster but no special arrangement seems to have been made for a deceased bachelor.

There are two preliminary procedures - both recognised by adat - which lead to marriage. One is arah rumah, i.e. 'through the house', and the other nangkih, literally 'to climb up'. The former refers to marriage by proposal and the latter by secret tryst. In general terms we may define marriage by proposal as a marriage in which both the future partners and their parents consent, whilst in marriage by secret tryst the decision is made by the partners, and usually without the prior consent, or despite the opposition of one or both sets of parents.

It is, however, important to note that marriage by nangkih does not occasion social disapproval. For this reason I do not adopt the term 'marriage by elopement', which is indeed widely used in Batak anthropological literature, to identify nangkih (cf. Loeb, 1935:57). The term 'elopement' in this context, in my view, is not strictly correct because it suggests social disapproval and even an unlawful act. The Oxford Dictionary defines the verb 'to elope': (Of woman) run away from husband or home (with par amour, lover); abscond. Instead I employ 'marriage by secret tryst'.

Marriage by proposal generally occurs with cross-cousin marriages, for it is usually the parents and particularly the mother of a boy, who persuades him to marry an impal. This initial process might be simple or complicated: it is simple if the son accepts his parents'
wishes without much delay but very often his acceptance is the outcome of prolonged pressure especially from his mother. The next step is to approach the girl and her parents and this is primarily his mother's business. She pays an informal visit to the girl's mother - i.e. her sister-in-law - and as a rule she is welcomed. It is customary for the parents of a girl not to manifest a negative reaction to a proposal of marriage to their daughter. They may criticise the suitor and his parents later on in the presence of their daughter or even suggest that she refuse the proposal but despite this the suitor's envoy must always be overtly welcomed. A conventional concluding remark of the girl's mother is that everything depends on her daughter's wishes. 'We certainly agree with this nice proposal but it really depends on my daughter. We are like the drum, the proverb says, the child is our teacher'.

Thereafter the boy's mother approaches the girl informally and the former may be assisted by a close relative, either the sister of her husband or a close classificatory sister of her son. These persons are the anakberu of the suitor. At this stage it is hard to guess the feeling of the girl because it is customary for her not to refuse a proposal outright. Her answer must be flexible and it is often open to various interpretations because even she is agreeable

There are two drums in a Karo orchestra and the small one, 'the child', serves to mark the rhythm on which the variation made by the mother drum is based.
it would be immodest for her not to evince some show of refusal. To consent too easily would make her an object of gossip.

This is followed by a formal proposal in which the boy's parents with an immediate anakberu pay a visit to the girl's parents and in their presence, they ask formally whether the girl consents. Usually this formal meeting does not bring any definite result and the consent of the girl comes a few weeks later after continuous efforts to persuade her have been made. Then people say that she accepts the proposal after having changed her mind. Not too easy, but also not too negative, an attitude is regarded as ideal for a girl in considering a proposal.

Today the consent of both partners alone is sufficient for their marriage; neither can be forced to marry someone whom they have no wish to be united with. In the past this was invariably true for a man; in the case of a woman, although her consent was also important she could be forced against her will to marry her cross-cousin and this occurred sporadically. In these cases the strong opposition of the girl was ignored. The parents of both parties agreed to force the girl and by a secret arrangement which was executed by the boy's parents, she was caught by the boy's senina or anakberu and carried to the house of her cross-cousin. There the marriage ritual (mukul) was immediately performed and they were expected to live as husband and wife both socially and sexually. The remaining jural
aspect such as determining the brideprice and holding the wedding were deferred until later.

Among all the married couples in Kuta Gamber there is only one case of forced cross-cousin marriage and this occurred in 1933. The villagers predicted that this would be the last instance of marriage by force in the area. Before marriage the girl lived in a village about 10 kilometres from that of her impal. A few weeks after she refused his proposal she was caught near her village by four people, two women and two men, who bound both her hands and forced her to go to Kuta Gamber. She wept all the way, refused to walk and had to be jogged along or carried. That evening a small marriage ceremony and a marriage rite were performed. I was told that even in the past this was rare because most parents disagreed with it. They might exercise pressure in various ways on the daughter but were reluctant to take this extreme measure because by so doing they ran the risk of her committing suicide. I was given several accounts of such bridal suicide.

Marrying an impal by elopement is prohibited by the adat and a specific fine called pengeruhak dingding is imposed upon its transgressors. Pa Rido explained this rule by saying: 'Why do you come through the window if you are welcome through the door?'

Another explanation may be sought in the fact that elopement is inseparable from courtship and to court an impal is assumed to be improper and is ridiculed. This appears at first to contradict the
ideal of impal cross-cousin marriage but courtship and marriage are viewed differently. 'Your impal is much like your sister', I was told, 'the principal difference is that you may marry an impal but not your sister'.

It may be added that this normative behaviour between cross-cousins is another factor which accounts for the low frequency of cross-cousin marriage. A boy does not court his impal but courts another girl and similarly his impal makes love to another boy. When the courtship results in their decision to marry, their parents may react strongly against it. This means that for them, marriage by proposal is difficult or even impossible and so the alternative is the other procedure, i.e. to marry by secret tryst.

In general marriage by secret tryst is said to result from 'a discussion outside the house' (ranan teroh-teroh). A plan is formulated by the two partners without the involvement of either parent. For psychological reasons, this procedure is favoured by the partners, particularly by the boy. By so doing, it is said, he proves that he is able to find a wife by himself without the assistance of his parents and other relatives. Thus his marriage is not 'through the big kampil' (pandanus bag), that is his parents do not need to visit the girl's parents bringing a proposal of marriage by offering them betel in a pandanus bag.

From the point of view of the boy the action is called maba nangkihan (maba, to bring) whilst from the girl's, it is ibas nangkihen,
i.e. in **nangkih** condition. On an auspicious evening the boy, accompanied by one or three friends (the total should not be an even number), fetch the girl and bring her to one of his **anakberu**'s houses. The **anakberu** in such cases is usually not an immediate **anakberu** and is preferably one who stands a generation higher. Strictly speaking **nangkih** starts when the girl arrives at the **anakberu**'s house, but it has not yet altered their marital status because at that stage the adat has not recognised them as a married couple.

It is, as Pa Tupa put it, a period of uncertainty for in some circumstances the **nangkih** may fail to end in marriage. The parents of the girl sometimes come to persuade their daughter to abandon the idea of marrying the boy, the implication being that they would prefer her to marry her cross-cousin. However, she may not be compelled to leave the house in which the **nangkih** takes place. Whilst there, she is under the custody of the boy's **anakberu** and 'nobody can do her harm' as long as she stays within the house. If she goes outside the house she may be caught by the **anakberu** (of her parents) but this only occurs if a deliberate plan has been made between the girl's parents and their **anakberu**. It is said that there were cases of this in the past: the **nangkih** was thwarted and the girl eventually married her cross-cousin.

Today, with very few exceptions, every **nangkih** leads to marriage. I only came across one **nangkih** case which was eventually dissolved and this was because it was incompatible with existing **anakberu - kalimbubu** relations. It was bitterly opposed by the girl's father's brother who
stood as anakberu to the boy, i.e. his MBSS. The marriage, if allowed, would create a confused relationship because the former would stand as kalimbubu to the latter. He shed tears at a meeting and said to the girl: 'I am no longer your father if you marry him'. The latter eventually agreed to dissolve the nangkih.

Nangkih usually lasts for three to five days during which time the couple are partly co-resident at the anakberu's house, but may not cohabit. The boy has his meals there but sleeps in the djambor. As a rule they meet each other at night on the ture where they, as frequently happens, have sexual intercourse. It is normative to have sexual intercourse during the nangkih period.

After the first day a number of the boy's anakberu visit the girl's house and inform her parents what has happened. It is now necessary to fix the date on which the girl's agnates will come to pay a formal visit to the girl; this is called kalimbubu ngembahken nakan, i.e. the kalimbubu bring food. This takes place two or three days later and is a sign that the girl's parents accept the proposed marriage. With this the nangkih period ends and on the same evening the girl moves to the boy's father's house. They become de facto husband and wife and there is no further customary bar to the consummation of their marriage.
The marriage ceremonies

Ideally a marriage is legalized at a wedding in which a marriage payment is made by the groom to the bride's relatives and this is preceded by mukul, the marriage rite, in those cases where it had not previously been held. This is the final stage of the wedding and the 'adat debt' (utang adat) is cleared. In practice, however, things are more complicated. The arrangement of a wedding, as will be described later, involves a number of things and failure to fulfil them generally causes postponement. Most important of these is the economic condition of the groom's parents and the seasonal agricultural activity of the villagers. In general the most suitable time for a wedding is after the harvest or a few weeks later when the cash crop has been planted. Sometimes a wedding is held before the harvest because this is the time of leisure and 'it is easy to invite relatives at that time'. The economic difficulties are solved by borrowing rice which is repaid after the harvest. In most cases the marriage is legalized prior to the wedding ceremony, sometimes almost a year previously. There are a few cases where a 'bride' - who is legally married - has already given birth to a child but her adat wedding ceremony has been postponed for one reason or another.

Marriage by nangkih is legalized in a small ceremony held at the girl's house a few days after the couple have begun to cohabit at the house of the boy's parents. Such a procedure also holds true for a marriage by proposal in which the legalization takes place soon after
the proposal has been accepted. Thus from this stage on, both
marriage by elopement and by proposal follow the same procedure
which may be outlined in the following way.

PROPOSAL
or
NANGKIH

The marriage rite may be performed either before or after the wedding.

The marriage is legalized in a small ceremony in which both the
anakberu and senina on either side meet and after they have reached
agreement about the marriage payment and the date of the wedding, the
pengulu of the bride legalizes the marriage. The normal procedure is
for the groom's parents to give Rp.300 to the pengulu; the latter then
hands this sum to the bride's parents. This is called si arah radja
(through the king) and serves as a 'provisional marriage payment'
until it is finalised later at the proposed wedding.

The pengulu as a rule makes a brief speech directed firstly to
the bride and secondly to the groom; he reminds them that the payment
of si arah radja has altered their social status: the bride is no
longer a girl but a married woman and similarly the boy is no longer
a bachelor. 'Life will be different from now on and do not remember
your unmarried past. There are new duties and responsibilities. The
proverb says that married people are like maize which has been placed
on the para (hanging rack) above the kitchen. Regardless of their age, they are considered to be 'old' and ought to behave accordingly'.

Another Rp.500 is paid by the groom's parents as penindih pudun (literally, 'a thing to press the knot' but figuratively 'a deposit to keep the appointment') which serves as a guarantee that the wedding will be held at the agreed time. This is kept by the anakberu of the bride's parents. Should the former fail to hold the wedding they forfeit the penindih pudun. Both the si arah radja and the penindih pudun are returned at the wedding.

On the evening before the wedding there is a formal meeting between the bride's and the groom's parents and their respective anakberu and senina. This is termed ngembah manok, literally, 'bringing a chicken'. The main purpose of the meeting is to see that the arrangements for the wedding have been completed and that all will run smoothly. The sum of the marriage payment is once again announced to avoid any misunderstanding. Both sides make estimates of the number of their respective guests and the preparation of food is based on this.

The wedding ceremony is thus a culmination of a series of procedures leading to marriage. The occasion is held at the bride's village and, despite the fact that the groom's parents are responsible for all expenditure, both the groom's and the bride's parents are recognised jointly as the feast-givers. Both parties send written, usually stencilled but sometimes printed, invitations to their respective relatives (see Appendix II). Co-villagers, regardless of
their kinship tie with the feast-givers, are orally invited by the wives of the feast-givers who go from house to house.

There are about 300 guests at an average ceremony. One or two pigs, but occasionally a cow, are killed for the occasion. Two simple rectangular booths are erected and under these, mats are unfolded on the ground. There are thus two separate seating areas, one for the groom's and the other for the bride's party. Again, each is divided into three sections: the middle part for the feast-givers and their senina, on their left their anakberu, i.e. all those who stand as anakberu to them, and on their right all their kalimbubu (Figure 12). The arrangement is in accordance with the symbolic system in which left represents inferiority and right superiority. It is oriented in this way so that each of the two major groups face the other with an open space in between.

Both the bride and the groom are dressed in ceremonial attire and very often they alone are seated on chairs with a table before them in front of the groom's party. The couple should ideally be calm and reserved; excessive shyness, however, is ridiculed.

The wedding 'programme' is made up of four main parts: presentation of the marriage payment, the delivery of 'kalimbubu gifts' (luah kalimbubu), the meal and the formal visit to each group of relatives by the bridal couple. By 11 a.m. all the guests have assembled and sit in their appropriate sections. When the guests are
Plate 10.

A couple at a wedding feast, Kabandjahe. In towns the groom wears a necktie, regarded as a symbol of sophistication. The bride, however, still wears the traditional bridal costume of the Karo.
Figure 12: Seating arrangements at a wedding ceremony

Groom's party

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{KB} & \text{SN} & \text{AB} \\
\end{array}
\]

Bride's Party

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{AB} & \text{SN} & \text{KB} \\
\end{array}
\]

SN = senina
KB = kalimbubu
AB = anakberu

2 metres
all seated a number of mats are unfolded between the two booths where the first programme, i.e. the delivery of the marriage payment, takes place.

The first stage, which lasts about one hour, is followed by another brief ceremony which takes from ten to twenty minutes. Here both 'the kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré' and the 'kalimbubu who receive the perkempun' simultaneously deliver their respective gifts to the bridal couple. These usually consist of kitchen utensils: a cooking pot, a small kettle, two porcelain dishes and two porcelain bowls. In addition to these a chicken, a mat and two pillows may also be given. The bowls are filled with rice on top of which there is an egg to symbolize fertility.

Soon after, the food is served and the meal takes about an hour. When the meal has been consumed the ceremony is virtually ended. It was not the custom in the past to make speeches at a wedding but it is now, and especially in urban and peri-urban areas where it is a universal feature of the 'programme'.

After the meal both the bride and the groom are then introduced to the guests. A female relative leads the bride and a male relative leads the groom as they go around from one group of relatives to another. Meanwhile, other guests are also moving around and exchanging words with their relatives. Cigarettes and betel are exchanged and this marks the conclusion of the wedding ceremony. At about two p.m. the guests gradually depart.
The marriage ceremony is of great social significance because only after it is completed does a marriage attain full social recognition. It is true that in the jural sense the marriage has been both contracted and usually consummated after the presentation of the above mentioned si arah radja but, nevertheless, the 'adat debt' has not been paid and this is of crucial importance. Prior to the wedding a parent may say that his son or daughter is already married but that the marriage is not yet 'complete'. He says: 'Yes, my son has got married but only si arah radja has been paid. It has not been 'ceremonised' (ikerdjaken), so the 'adat debt', that is, the debt to the kalimbubu and other relatives, has not been paid'.

The phrase 'adat debt' denotes a distinctive customary obligation which has to be fulfilled to complete a marriage. It may be added that this phrase refers exclusively to marriage. According to Karo adat, as we have seen, marriage creates an alliance between a number of agnatic groups, the nucleus of it being that of the groom and of the bride. The groom's agnates, their various degress of anakberu and kalimbubu on the one side, the bride's agnates, their anakberu and kalimbubu on the other side, are all involved. However, the social system is such that for them to become formally involved the holding of the wedding ceremony is essential. It is a social mechanism by which the newly created kinship ties are formalized and cemented or, in the case of a cross-cousin marriage, the old ties renewed.
One important aspect of the 'adat debt' is the obligation to deliver the marriage payment at the wedding ceremony. In the previous chapter I have described the 'kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré' and the 'kalimbubu who receive the perkempun' (Figure 9) and these identifications are exclusively based on specific portions of the marriage payment to which each is entitled. The link is thus expressed in terms of marriage payments and both the literal and cultural implications are that new affinal relationships have not been established unless the obligatory payment concerned has been made.

Pa Tarima, whose daughter's wedding had been delayed more than once, said to me that he felt this to be most embarrassing. 'My kalimbubu and other relatives have not received their share of the marriage payments', he said emphatically. 'This means that they do not "know" my son-in-law. And they haven't eaten the nice meal of the wedding feast. I know that there is gossip about it now'.

There is an intricate set of customary rules concerning the distribution of the marriage payment and these reflect the complicated kinship system. Various categories of kinship, as well as other social relations, are defined by the marriage payment. All the bride's paternal kin, namely her father's agnates, anakberu, anakberu menteri, kalimbubu and puang kalimbubu, receive a share in the payment but a part is also given to the relatives of the groom. In addition, the pengulu on either side, the co-members of the adat-house in which the couple is going to live and the guru who selected the auspicious day
for the wedding, are given a share. The division of marriage payments is described in the following section of this chapter.

Another implication of the 'adat debt' is the obligation to hold a ceremonial feast. People put strong emphasis on this. In a broad sense relatives on both sides partake in a joint meal at this ceremony. Thereby the newly created kinship relations are formally established; this is indeed the primary symbolic function of food in the society. Thereafter a relative of the bride, for instance, may not say with reference to the groom: 'I do not know him because I have not eaten his food'. What he is saying is that prior to the wedding he was, strictly speaking, not obliged to regard the groom as a relative.

Sociologically, the crux of the ceremony is that both sides and their respective relatives, meet each other on this occasion and this makes the newly created kinship ties a social reality. Besides sharing a common meal, they exchange cigarettes and betel and discuss the new kinship ties resulting from this marriage. The bride's father, for instances, goes to see the groom's mother's brother. The former introduces himself by saying: 'I am the father of the bride. I have already heard that you are the mama of my son-in-law and so we are senina'.

Not less important, of course, is the aspect of the ceremony as a reflection of social status. This has been described in the previous chapter.
Marriage payment

There are three major parts of the marriage payment: the ulu emas, the tukor and the si metjur. Payment is said 'to go three times' (telu kali erdalan) and this derives from the fact that each of these three parts is separately delivered. In Kuta Gamber and its surrounding villages the marriage payment ranged from Rp.2500 to Rp.3000 in 1961. This was divided into: the ulu emas Rp.15, the tukor Rp.1500 or Rp.2000 and the si metjur about Rp.1000.

Nowadays, the money is regarded as of relatively small economic significance because rapid economic development in the last few years outstripped the scale of marriage payments. In the Dutch period, for instance, the marriage payment ranged from f.40 to f.60 which, according to Pa Numbor, 'equalled 8 to 12 buffalo whilst today's brideprice is the equivalent of less than one buffalo'. At that time the price of a buffalo was f.5 and while I was in the field, it was about Rp.4000. This discrepancy has given rise to a popular conception that 'women are very cheap now'. The implication is that whereas in the past the marriage payment was the grave concern of the family, its agnates and anakberu, today the average family manages to pay it on its own without difficulty.

The ulu emas which literally means 'the source' or 'the head of the gold' (gold is synonymous with marriage payment) is the exclusive right of the groom's mother's brother's lineage. In other words, it is allocated to the kalimbubu by birth of the groom who are
called the kalimbubu si ngaloken ulu emas, i.e. the kalimbubu who receive the ulu emas. In cross-cousin marriages this part of the bride-price does not exist so that in that case there are only two main divisions of marriage payment. However, ulu emas should not be regarded as a fine for not marrying a cross-cousin but rather a link between the kalimbubu by birth and by marriage. The bride becomes 'the daughter' of the groom's mother's brother and consequently her natal lineage stands as senina to the latter's. It is in honour of the kalimbubu by birth that the delivery of this part of the marriage payment takes precedence over the others.

The above sum of ulu emas, which amount is fixed by adat, is generally regarded as too small and for this reason it is commonly augmented by both the groom's and the bride's father. Indeed Rp.15 could buy only a packet of cigarettes and, unless some addition was provided, its distribution among so many people would create a problem. To illustrate this I take the case of Sinek, the groom.

Sinek's wedding took place in December 1961 in Kuta Gamber. Both his and the bride's father added another Rp.50 and Rp.200 respectively so that, in fact, the ulu emas totalled Rp.265. As prescribed by custom, its distribution was as follows:

1/3 X Rp.265, rounded to Rp.80, for Sinek's actual mother's brothers.

4/9 X Rp.265, rounded to Rp.120, equally divided among agnates of above present at the wedding.

2/9 X Rp.265, rounded to Rp.65, for 'the four kalimbubu' of the groom.
As Sinek belonged to Perangin-angin clan, 'the four kalimbubu' referred to were the clans: Ginting, Karo-karo, Sembiring and Tarigan. These were represented by co-villagers and each of the four agnatic groups in the village received an equal share of the Rp.65 from the ulu emas.

The second part, the tukor, is the 'trunk' of the marriage payment. This is implicit in the term tukor itself which means 'purchase'. It is also termed batangna or undjuken; batangna means 'its trunk' but the meaning of undjuken is obscure. As tukor suggests, this part of the marriage payment goes to the bride's agnates: the members of her natal lineage and sub-clan. Each of them who attends the wedding receives a share, usually about Rp.5. It is also distributed amongst the invited senina sepemerén of both parents of the bride who are respectively her married FMZS and MMZD but numerically these are of minor importance.

The third part of the marriage payment, the si metjur, which literally means 'the tiny ones' is composed of five subdivisions: the rudang-rudang, the beré-beré, the perkempun, the perkembaren and the perbibin. In Kuta Gamber the si metjur generally totalled Rp.980, that is Rp.150, Rp.430, Rp.220, Rp.120 and Rp.60 respectively for each of the five parts.

The rudang-rudang is for the clansmen (of different sub-clans) of the bride's father. Consequently the bride's father's agnates, both at the lineage and the sub-clan level have a share in the tukor
whilst beyond the sub-clan, that is at the clan level, they share in the **rudang-rudang**. Thus the latter are not entitled to a share in the trunk of the marriage payment and this has an important symbolic and social significance. I was informed that the **rudang-rudang** was indeed a recent phenomenon which was non-existent in the immediate past, namely in the Dutch period. At that time, all the agnates of the bride's father shared the **tukor**, the trunk of the marriage payment. The implication is thus, that the demarcation in the kinship affiliation between sub-clan and clan level is becoming more strongly pronounced. In order to mollify this development, it is a common practice for the bride's father to distribute the **rudang-rudang** as **tukor**. He distributes it to his clansmen and says: 'Here is the **tukor** of our daughter', whereas it is, in fact, **rudang-rudang**.

The **bere-bere** is nominally for the members of the bride's mother's natal lineage. They are the **kalimbubu** by marriage of the bride's father and from the point of view of the bridegroom, the **puang kalimbubu**. As has been previously described they are usually identified as the **kalimbubu si ngaloken bere-bere**, that is, 'the **kalimbubu** who receive the **bere-bere**' (Figure 9).

At Sinek's wedding, the **bere-bere** was Rp.430. Prior to its distribution, Rp.140, i.e. the value of two chickens, was put aside because this **kalimbubu** had an obligation to provide two chickens for the bride's first pregnancy rite. The remainder, amounting to Rp.290, was divided in the following way:
1/3 Rp.390, rounded to Rp.100, for the bride's mother's natal lineage (Tarigan Sibero sub-clan).

2/9 Rp.290, rounded to Rp.60, for the bride's father's mother's natal lineage (Ginging Munte sub-clan)

4/9 Rp.290, rounded to Rp.130, for 'the four kalimbubu' of the bride's father.

Thus, in practice, the beré-beré is shared by a) the kalimbubu by marriage, b) the kalimbubu by birth and c) the four kalimbubu of the bride's father.

The perkempun is for the bride's mother's mother's natal lineage, called 'the kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré' (kalimbubu si ngaloken beré-beré). This agnatic group stands as the kalimbubu of the above 'kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré' and from the point of view of the bride's father they stand as puang kalimbubu. There are fixed proportional rights and obligations in the ratio of 2 : 1 between 'the kalimbubu who receive the beré-beré' and 'the kalimbubu who receive the perkempun'. The sum of beré-beré is twice as big as the perkempun and there is a corresponding obligation to provide chickens for the pregnancy rite in the same proportion. 'The kalimbubu who receive the perkempun' must thus provide one chicken instead of two.

At Sinek's wedding the perkempun was Rp.220. The purchase of one chicken (Rp.70) for the first pregnancy rite was put aside and the remainder (Rp.150) was divided in this way:

1/3 X Rp.150, Rp.50, for the bride's mother's mother's brother.
2/9 x Rp.150, rounded to Rp.30, for the members of the lineage and sub-clan of above.

4/9 X Rp.150, rounded to Rp.70, for the members of the clan (beyond the sub-clan) of the above.

The amounts suggest that people belonging to the third category receive more than the second or even the first but, in fact, that is not the case. The last category receives the least per head because the size of the group is much bigger.

The perkembaren is for the anakberu of the bride's father. At Sinek's wedding it totalled Rp.120 and was divided in the following manner:

- a) Sinek, the groom: Rp.10
- b) Anakberu si ntjekoh baka tutup: 10
- c) Anakberu menteri: 10
- d) 1/3 of the remaining Rp.90 for the anakberu tua: 30
- e) 2/3 of the remaining Rp.90 for the four anakberu: 60

Total: Rp.120

Paradoxically, the groom himself, as shown above, receives a share of the marriage payment. In fact he is the first to receive a part of the perkembaren. Its function is to formalize the groom's status as anakberu in relation to his wife's natal lineage. He has hitherto been part of the anakberu with all its concomitant right and obligations. His portion is called upah erduhum which means 'the wage for taking the oath' as a guarantor for the kalimbubu and this is a manifestation of the asymmetrical nature of the anakberu-kalimbubu relations.
The next part of the perkembaren is allocated to the married sisters (and their husbands) of the bride's father who are the latter's anakberu si ntjekuh baka tutup, i.e. 'the anakberu who open the baka'. Baka is a container for storing valuables. The phrase signifies that these anakberu know much about the internal matters of the family and they, compared with other anakberu, are the most responsible for the domestic and economic matters of the family. The anakberu tua, for instance, is as a rule a distant anakberu in a genealogical sense and is not expected to shoulder such responsibilities. He is, nevertheless, of primary importance in adat negotiations in which he acts as 'the talking anakberu'.

The anakberu menteri, who are entitled to get the third part of perkembaren, are the daughters of the bride's father's father's sisters. They are the anakberu of the bride's father's anakberu, i.e. both the FZH and his sons.

The anakberu tua, who acts as a temporary leader, receives Rp.30. The remainder, amounting to Rp.60, is allocated to 'the four anakberu' who each receive Rp.15.

The perbibin, the last part of the si metjur, is given to the bride's mother's sisters. In fact, bibi, the term from which perbibin is derived, refers either to one's mother's or father's sister but in this respect the term is confined to the mother's sister. Table 15 outlines the distribution of the marriage payment.
After the completion of the above principal marriage payment a form (supplied by the government) is filled in, on which the amount of tukor - but not the other part of the marriage payment - is stated. Tukor is, in the legal sense, the most important part of the marriage payment and it is the only part which is recoverable if the marriage ends in divorce. Five people, i.e. the father and anakberu of both the groom and the bride and the pengulu of the latter, sign the contract. A special payment (Rp.50) called perpengulum is made to the pengulu of the bride for legalizing the contract.

In many cases the marriage is twice legalized because, prior to this, i.e. when the si arah radja is paid, the marriage is already legalized. In the eyes of the villagers, however, the former is viewed as a provisional legalization and it is only by the second procedure, when 'the adat debt' is cleared, that legalization becomes absolute. Nevertheless there is a principal jural distinction between the two which reflects the current dualism between adat and state law. According to custom, as we have seen, the marriage is legal after paying the si arah radja. From the point of view of civil law the marriage is not yet legal and for this the second procedure is essential. Consequently, a marriage may be dissolved by negotiation, attended by relatives of both sides and the pengulu, at the village level provided it has not reached the second level of legalization. Otherwise the marriage can only be dissolved in the court at the regency level (Pengadilan Negeri).
Table 15: The distribution of marriage payment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section of the marriage payment</th>
<th>Allocated to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Ulu emas</td>
<td>1. groom's mother's agnates, i.e. his kalimbubu by birth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. groom's 'four kalimbubu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Tukor</td>
<td>bride's natal agnatic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Si metjur, 'the small ones':</td>
<td>bride's distant agnates (clansmen).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) rudang-rudang</td>
<td>1. bride's mother's natal lineage, i.e. the bride's father's kalimbubu by marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) beré-beré</td>
<td>2. bride's father's mother's natal lineage, i.e. her father's kalimbubu by birth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) perkempun</td>
<td>3. bride's father's 'four kalimbubu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) perkembaren</td>
<td>bride's mother's mother's lineage, sub-clan and clan, i.e. the bride's father's puang kalimbubu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) perbibin</td>
<td>bride's father's anakberu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. the groom, i.e. the new anakberu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. the bride's father's married sisters, i.e. 'the anakberu who open the baka'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. the bride's FFZD, i.e. the anakberu menteri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. anakberu tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. the bride's father's 'four anakberu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>married sisters of the bride's mother; they are senina and their husbands senina siparibanen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The marriage payment is concluded by distributing 120, or sometimes 100 cakes of gambier. The 100 gambier at Sinek's wedding were distributed as follows:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><strong>Tastas namor</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><strong>Si niktik wari</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><strong>Si nangket amak</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td><strong>Buka-buka rumah</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><strong>Si nggulé</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><strong>Gamber inget-inget</strong></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tastas namor**, which means 'clearing the dew' is the entitlement of the person who initiated the marriage arrangement, either a matchmaker or someone who was involved in the early stages of the arrangement.

The second part goes to **si niktik wari**, he or she who, through divination, chose an auspicious day for both the wedding and the wedding rite. This is usually the guru.

Those who prepare the bridal suite are called **si nangket amak**, which literally means 'those who hang the mats' because, particularly in the past, mats were used as walls. They are entitled to 10 gambier.

The **buka-buka rumah** is for the co-residents of the adat-house in which the couple will live, symbolizing their incorporation into the adat-house community. By giving them this, according to Pa Djimat, the co-members of the house will be prepared to open the door in case
the husband comes home late after the doors are locked. **Buka-buka rumah** means 'opening the house'.

The fifth part, **si nggulé**, is for those who prepare the food for the wedding.

The last part, the **gamber inget-inget**, is 'the gambier to remember'. Those who receive this are expected to remember the amount of **tukor**. The **gamber inget-inget** is divided into three equal parts, the first is for both the **pengulu** of the bride and the groom, the second for the bride's party and the third for the groom's. It is distributed to every category of kin and each time the delivery is preceded by a formal explanatory speech: 'Here is "the gambier to remember" which will remind you of the amount of the **tukor** in this wedding: of the **tukor** totals Rp.2000, Rp.1500 has already been paid and the remainder will be paid in the future.'

**Residence after marriage**

As has been described in Chapter 3, the ideal developmental cycle of the family is that a newly married couple do not set up a household on their own but join the household of the husband's parents. This economic dependence lasts a year or so and after reaping the first harvest the couple becomes economically independent. 'They kindle their own hearth and so they are **djajo**' (separate economically) and the couple becomes henceforth a separate unit of consumption and a new household is thereby established.
Although they may still share the same house with the husband's parents, there is usually a clear spatial division within it so that even in a physical sense it is recognized as a distinct unit.

My data indicate that only 50 per cent of the sample followed the ideal residential pattern. Out of 76 cases in the sample, only 38 were included into the household of the husband's parents. The duration of their dependency ranged from three months to three years and in the majority of cases one year (see Table 16). Furthermore, in special cases, economic dependency of the couple does not coincide with common residence and here a number of possibilities are open.

It may happen that the couple live in the same village as the husband's parents and share a common meal with them but live in different houses. Tanding and his wife, for instance, lived in a section of an adat-house but they had their meals at another house, i.e. at Tanding's parents' house. This arrangement lasted for about three months after which they cooked their own food. This separation, however, did not reflect their economic independence because the rice they consumed was provided by Tanding's parents. The latter gave them 30 pelgan (about 660 kilograms) of paddy, supporting them for one year until they were *djajo* proper. Such economic assistance by the husband's parents is called *pendjajon*.

This means that initial economic dependence of a newly married son may take two forms: either he and his wife join the household of his parents, which is regarded as an ideal arrangement, or the couple
Table 16:
The duration of joining the household of the husband's parents after marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay</th>
<th>Number of couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 - 9 months</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

live in a separate house immediately after marriage and receive the pendjajon. The above case is a combination of the two and Tanding's mother explained the situation in this way: 'My house is too small for two families. But to avoid gossip I would like them to have a meal with us for a number of months, so people won't say that I am reluctant to live with my daughter-in-law'. For the sake of simplicity I include this case in No.6 in Table 17.

In another case the couple lived, immediately after marriage, in the same village as the wife's parents but in a different house; the pendjajon was provided by the husband's parents. Thus, in terms of
locality, the couple is closely associated with the wife's parents but the economic support came primarily from the husband's.

24 cases (31.6 per cent) in my sample (see Table 17) became independent immediately after marriage. In the remaining 12 cases we find that 8 couples joined the bride's parents' household, 2 couples joined the HB's, 1 the HZ's and 1 the HFZ's.

If parents are deceased when their son gets married, the latter and his wife join the household of the husband's elder brother, usually the eldest brother. This is represented by two cases in the sample.

Under special circumstances, the newly married couple may join the household of one of the husband's immediate anakberu. This is represented by two cases in the sample, one into the husband's sister's household and the other the husband's father's sister's household. In these cases the parents of the husband were dead and he was either the eldest or the only son.

There are cases in which the couple plan to settle in the same village as the wife's parents. In such a situation, instead of joining the husband's parents' household, the couple join the wife's parents' household for about a year. It is called kekêla, i.e. having a kêla (son-in-law) in the household and is represented by 8 cases in the sample. The implication of such a situation is that the couple will settle permanently in the same village.
Table 17:

Temporary residence after marriage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Household of husband's parents</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. &quot; husband's brother</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot; husband's sister</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot; husband's father's sister</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot; wife's parents</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Independent but pendjajon from husband's parents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Independent without pendjajon</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31.6 per cent of the cases in our sample, the couple became economically independent immediately after marriage without receiving the pendjajon. The economic difficulties experienced by the husband's parents was the main factor in this and in a number of cases one of the parents had died. In fact there are also cases (two in the sample) in which the groom solved such a problem by working hard and saving money before getting married so that he and his wife did not require economic support from the husband's parents. Another factor is
inherent in the changing economic system itself. There is a strong tendency for a groom, who, by the time of marriage, earns a cash income, to become immediately independent economically. This is represented by two young teachers in the village and by three men who were engaged in trading business in town.

Despite the fact that the initial inclusion of the couple into the household of a parent or relative corresponds to their permanent residence, that is, they will settle permanently in the same village although in a different house, this alone cannot explain the types of residence in the wider sense of the phrase. A couple, for instance, lived for one year at the house of the parents of the husband and moved to another house in the village in which they established a new household of their own. It is only partly correct to say that this couple lived virilocally because the parents of the bride may also have lived in the same village, whilst in geographical terms the couple may or may not have been closer to the house of the husband's parents than that of the wife's. My data indicates that intra-village marriage is common among the Karo and spatial distribution in the village is such that a clear definition of locality is essential to avoid confusion in the analysis of their types of residence.

In the analysis of the types of residence, I start with the establishment of a new household. This means that the initial mode of residence and economic dependence, which have been discussed
above, are excluded in this discussion.

As has been described earlier, Karo villages, without exception, are compact local units and the length of the average village does not exceed 150 metres. The length of Kuta Gamber village is about 110 metres and Liren 120 metres. There is no geographical division of the village which bears any sociological significance except in larger villages with kesains. There is no section, for instance, where the houses of one lineage are grouped together. In addition, as far as intra-village marriage is concerned, people do not care whether the house of a couple is closer geographically to the house of the husband's or the wife's parents. What is most important to the villager is co-residence, within a village, which people value highly. 'There you can see each other any time you need'. For this reason I take the village as the smallest local unit in this analysis.

Intra-village and inter-village marriages should be classified as distinct categories. This is important because, in general, in intra-village marriage, neither spouse leaves its natal village but continues to live there by establishing a new household for themselves. Thus both husband and wife live in the same village as their respective parents. On the other hand, in inter-village marriage, one, or in very rare cases, both, leaves his or her parental home and stays permanently in the village of his or her spouse.
Out of 76 marriages in our sample, 26 (34.2 per cent) were intra-village and the rest (50 cases or 65.8 per cent) were inter-village cases.

There are a number of factors which give rise to this relatively high proportion of intra-village marriage. Firstly, the village, as we have seen, is heterogeneous from the point of view of the agnatic affiliation of its inhabitants which means that inter-marriage between different agnatic groups within a village is permissible. Secondly, marriage between people within one's own territorial group is preferred, particularly because both families know each other well. 'We do not know the secrets of far away people', said Pa Murdap in stressing this point. Another important factor is geographical proximity: it is easier to court a girl of the same village.

It sometimes happens that courting a girl in another village causes difficulties either because a boy in that village loves the girl or because of 'mere jealousy'. Ibatu-batu, for instance, means 'being thrown by stones'; it refers to a situation in which an unknown person stones a courting couple at night. As a rule the stone-thrower lives in the same village as the girl and the boy is an outsider who usually runs away to his own village in such a situation. I heard of a number of such cases when I was in the field; one took place in Kuta Gamber whilst I was there.
The ancestors of the 26 couples married within the village have resided there for varying periods. Members of the bangsa taneh are obviously those who have lived longest in Kuta Gamber because the history of their lineage is inseparable from the foundation of the village. Of the 26 husbands, 4 were members of the bangsa taneh and one was a member of the same sub-clan as the bangsa taneh whose ancestors are believed to have been in Kuta Gamber since the foundation of the village. Of the 26 wives, 6 were members of the bangsa taneh by birth and another 2 the sisters of the above sub-clan member.

A number of those who do not belong to the bangsa taneh explained that their ancestors had lived in Kuta Gamber for three to four generations. Pidjer Ginting's for instance have lived in this village for four successive generations. His FFF married uxorilocally and settled in Kuta Gamber where he died. His FF married a girl from the same village (Kuta Gamber), his father married virilocally and he himself married a girl from the same village.

Only four families who belong to this category (intra-village marriage) are comparatively new-comers. Two of them were migrants who had moved to Kuta Gamber less than three years before I arrived. Later on the son of one of them married a girl within the same village and this I classify as intra-village marriage. The
other one is the son of the third migrant who lived there about
five years before my arrival.

The location of the household of an independent couple depends
largely on circumstances. However, it is very likely that the
couple shared the house of the husband's parents rather than the
wife's parents, provided that both houses were big enough to be
shared or the house of the former was larger. But if the wife's
parents occupied two sections in the adat-house whilst the
husband's parents occupied only one, the situation was simple: the
couple would borrow one section from the wife's parents.
Frequently the house of either parent was too small to be shared
and consequently the couple had to find another place, either by
borrowing from a relative or by renting. The rent of a section
in the adat-house ranged from Rp.50 to Rp.100 per year and this
was considered to be relatively cheap.

The inter-village marriage residence was predominantly
virilocal. Out of 50 cases (see Table 18) of such marriages, 27
(54 per cent) were virilocal, 20 (40 per cent) uxorilocal and three
(6 per cent) neolocal residences.

In the group residing virilocally, patrivirilocal residence,
i.e. co-residence with the husband's patrilineal kinsmen, was the
dominant type (16 out of 27). There were four cases where the
couple were co-resident with the patrilineal kinsmen of the
husband's mother and I classify these as avunculo-virilocal. This
type of residence results from the fact that the HF, or sometimes the HFF, married patri-uxoriloca\-ly.

There are 7 instances of virilocal residence which I classify as 'other types'. In two cases they were the sons of male immigrants who moved to Kuta Gamber, because the village in which they had lived had become depopulated. In two other cases they had migrated to Kuta Gamber because of economic considerations. They wished to grow tobacco there; one was sponsored by his FFBS and the other by a distant classificatory brother. In the remaining three cases, the link was the father's sister. Strictly speaking only two represented this phenomenon because in one case the couple lived with the husband's father's father's sister's husband's patrilineal kinsmen. He is the son of one of the above husbands who live with his father's sister and her husband's patrilineal kinsmen.

Among those who resided uxoriloca\-ly, the dominant type was patri-uxorilocal residence, that is co-residence with the wife's patrilineal kinsmen. The data indicates that avunculo-uxorilocal, that is co-residence with the wife's mother's brother's patrilineal kinsmen, is also a common type.

In only one case was the couple co-resident with the wife's mother's mother's patrilineal kinsmen.

The case which is classified as 'other types' represents a family who moved to Kuta Gamber with the intention of making money
Table 18:

**Types of residence in inter-village marriage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>Sub-Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Virilocal</strong></td>
<td>a. Patri-virilocal</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Avunculo-virilocal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Other types</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uxorilocal</strong></td>
<td>a. Patri-uxorilocal</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Avunculo-uxorilocal</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. With WMM's patrilineal kinsmen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Other types</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neolocal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from growing tobacco. They were sponsored by the husband's WFB who was a resident of the village.

There are only three cases of neolocal residence in the sample and this reflects the rarity of this mode of residence. In two cases they migrated to Kuta Gamber because they wished to grow tobacco and chose this village because they were members of the same clan as the principal lineage. In the third case the couple came from town where they had previously lived neolocally. Both husband and wife were engaged in petty trading in town and eventually, after experiencing financial difficulties there, moved to Kuta Gamber. Their sponsor was an acquaintance with whom they had no kinship links.

The Karo mode of residence is thus a mixed type. In intra-village marriage, as we have seen, residence is either virilocal or uxorilocal with the exception of a few cases of neolocal residence. A substantial part of the sample (26 out of 76) comprises intra-village marriage, in which both husband and wife continue to live in their natal village. As may be noted, the significance of the latter phenomenon is that it generates a highly ramified anakberu - kalimbubu alliance within the village community.

In inter-village marriage, residence is ideally virilocal. This ideal is in conformity with the patrilineal ideology, for physical propinquity is fully acknowledged to be a cardinal factor
in maintaining kinship sentiment, cooperation and mutual help. Moreover, this mode of residence adds to the power of the lineage group in the local community. Despite this, the pull of the wife's kin is strongly felt and it profoundly affects the residential pattern in general. As shown in Table 18, our sample exhibits a high incidence of uxorilocal residence, amounting to 40 per cent in inter-village marriage.

One important reason for taking domicile in the wife's natal village is that she has no brother to take care of her parents. In this circumstance uxorilocality is backed by strong social approval, though obviously incongruent with the patrilineal ideology. Understandably, in a number of cases the motive for uxorilocal residence is said to be strictly personal. For personal reasons the wife is reluctant to leave her natal village. Djudjur, whose wife is one among them, is of the opinion that the underlying factor here is the extremely strong tie between the mother and her daughter. He comments: 'There seems to be no end in the business (tangkelen) which links a daughter to her mother'. Sometimes it is put as a condition for marriage at the time she is courted or proposed to so that there are cases in which marriage proposals fail due to disagreement concerning residence. It is generally explained that in such a case the woman concerned obtains no support from her parents but there is good reason to doubt this, for having
a married daughter and a son-in-law (immediate anakberu) close at hand is indeed a great advantage.

Another factor is the more favourable economic condition prevailing in the wife's natal village and this may interlock with the two factors mentioned above. The wife's parents may be able to render some economic support in terms of food, some capital and an apartment for the couple to live in. Not less important, of course, is the consideration of acquiring a plot of land there. But this is chiefly dependent upon the system of land tenure which, in fact, presents no difficulties in the practice of uxorilocal or even of neolocal residence.

The land which is the most important economic resource in the village does not belong to a particular lineage group; the land-owning group is the village as a whole. Thus, a man who marries uxorilocally enjoys full usufructuary rights, no less than do others, over the unused village land. The same condition holds true for migrants who become anak kuta (the people of the village) immediately after the completion of the required formalities. These are the relinquishment of membership of the village from whence a migrant comes and the registration of membership in the new village. In addition, he has a jural obligation to pay a formal visit to his new village headman to whom he presents some rice (about one litre), an egg and a chicken.
We have used residential terms like virilocal, uxorilocal, neolocal, etc., as a means for classifying social phenomena. However, in order to obtain a deeper insight into the Karo mode of residence, it is essential to view these phenomena within the wider framework of the local organization. Looking at the social composition of the village as a whole, it becomes clear that one of its fundamental features is the representation of the five clans in the village. It means that in uxorilocal marriage a Karo man does not exclusively live among his wife's kin, because among the members of his new local group he will also find some of his agnates, though remote ones. Here geographical propinquity and being members of the same local community bring new dimensions to the otherwise loose agnatic tie. Their senina relation, as being characterized by mutual help, specific kinship behaviour and sentiment, becomes effective and functional.

Furthermore, despite the fact that a clan is in no sense a corporate body, characterized only by a common clan name and the rule of exogamy, when its members share the same village, there are various occasions on which they are identified as a kind of corporate unit. We have seen that both the 'four anakberu' and the 'four kalimbubu' are automatically represented by co-villagers. They represent the four other clans in receiving part of the brideprice, in dancing and in other situations. Again those whose anakberu or kalimbubu live in other villages nominate co-villagers to deputize
for their effective anakberu or kalimbubu as their representatives in everyday affairs. This institution results in the fact that irrespective of his mode of residence, a man's senina, anakberu and kalimbubu, whether they are actual or classificatory, will always be represented in the local community. In this way the village becomes the place where kinship and locality, the two main elements in Karo social organization, interact and where cross-currents in the kinship ideology become manifest.
CHAPTER NINE:
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Summary of kinship and affinal relationship

We have seen in the foregoing chapters that kinship looms large in Karo social organization, having a wide range of application. It has important economic, political, jural and religious functions and provides most of the norms of social conduct. In fact a Karo perceives human relations in general in terms of kinship relations. It is said that for a Karo no other Karo is a non-relative because everyone is a member of one of the five clans (merga si lima) and these clans are horizontally linked by intricate marriage relations. It is recognized that the foundation of the adat is merga si lima, a phrase which Karo frequently use to describe their society, and the sangkep si telu (literally, the three intact), i.e. the three categories of kinship relations: senina or sembujak, anakberu and kalimbubu.

The five dispersed clans divide, so to speak, Karo society into five patrilineal units. A clan (merga) however has no politico-jural function. There is no clan chief, no clan emblem and on no occasion do its members or representatives assemble as a group. The only thing that can be said about the clan is that it has a name, transmitted through the male line, and is ideally an exogamous unit.
Three of the five clans are strictly exogamous. A clan-mate, like any other agnate, is a senina, but senina relationship at this level may only be of significance among persons in frequent social contact. However, occasional groups are frequently organized according to the clan structure. For instance, in youth festivals in towns the sitting place is usually divided into five, each occupied by boys belonging to one clan who share the place with girls from a different clan. Boys and girls of the same clan are sisters and may not sit or dance together. Thus, boys from clan A sit with girls from clan B, boys from clan C sit with girls from clan D and so on and the dance is arranged in a similar way. On such an occasion the ideology of merga si lima finds its fullest expression.

The five clans are subdivided into 83 dispersed sub-clans, each of which contains 13-18 sub-clans, also called merga. At the sub-clan level myths and histories of origin are known. The first village founded by the sub-clan ancestor is regarded as the village of origin but the genealogical link between the sub-clan members is untraceable. A sub-clan is strictly exogamous and here an agnate, besides being a senina, is also termed a sembujak, literally of one stomach. However, a sub-clan, like a clan, is not a political unit and in no economic or religious activity do they act as an organized group.

The genealogical segment of the sub-clan is the lineage tracing common descent from an ancestor six to eight generations back. A
lineage is an unnamed patrilineal unit whose founding ancestor is generally the founder of a village or the ward of a village. For this reason the usual reference to a lineage is in a political context and it is generally spoken of as the bangsa taneh, literally, the people of the land, of such-and-such village or ward. In the past the political superiority of the bangsa taneh was manifested in their legal right to hold the village or the ward chieftainship. The village headman, the pengulu, had to be a member of the bangsa taneh, who succeeded to his office by the rule of primogeniture. This prerogative of the bangsa taneh has been abolished by the Indonesian government and there can be little doubt that this has initiated the gradual disintegration of traditional political system of the Karo. It will be interesting to see how the traditional system adapts itself to this new situation but so far the change has not been strongly felt in the villages. Despite its lack of legal foundation, the ideology of the bangsa taneh, its superiority in political, ritual and ceremonial matters in the village community, still largely persist. This is clearly reflected in the fact that the present kepala kampung (a new name for the village headman) who are appointed by election are generally members of the bangsa taneh.

A lineage is not a residential unit and its members are generally widely distributed in the villages surrounding a 'mother' village. A substantial part of its members, however, live in the 'mother' village
and this agnatic group may be viewed as the core of both the lineage and the village community.

For ritual and ceremonial purposes a lineage is subdivided into various segments, minor and major, but due to the fact that partition occurs in each generation, the largest property holding group is the domestic family (djabu) which generally is composed of a single elementary family. Thus, ownership of land and other economically useful property is vested in the smallest segment of the lineage.

The djabu is the smallest and functionally the most important kin group in the society. As a residential unit it occupies one or two sections of the adat-house or, sometimes, a modern house or part of a modern house. As an economic unit the djabu is characterized by a division of labour based on differences of sex and age. Its composition may vary from a widow to a paternal extended family, depending upon its phase of development in the developmental cycle of the family. The patri potestas is vested in the head of the djabu who is generally a male; only in cases where the husband has died is the head of the djabu a female.

From the above description we are able to discern an essential feature of Karo social organization; it is a markedly patrilineal system but one in which the djabu or residential family is the basic social unit. Another fundamental feature of Karo society is the prominence given to affinal relations, and in the paragraphs that
follow we will examine the anakberu and kalimbubu institutions which, according to the Karo together with the senina, constitute the sangkep si telu, the three basic categories of kinship.

The anakberu - kalimbubu relationship is an alliance relationship, anakberu being the woman-taking category and kalimbubu the woman-giving category. The relationship originates in marriage but here affinity, like membership in the descent group, is transmitted and becomes institutional enduring from generation to generation. It means that the mother's brother, for instance, by being an affine of Ego's father, is also recognized as Ego's affine and similarly the mother's brother's son.

For the sake of convenience the term 'affinity' is employed occasionally to substitute for the anakberu - kalimbubu relationship. This analogy, however, is not altogether correct (cf. Fischer, 1935: 287-9), but there is unfortunately no better term available. 'Affinal relationships' as defined in Notes and Queries on Anthropology (1954:76), 'link a person with his or her spouse's kin, e.g. the relationship of a man to his wife's sister or to his mother's brother's wife'. The definition implies that the totality of 'the kinship system' (ibid, p.76) is composed of kinship and affinity, the former being the 'relationship actually or putatively traced through parent-child or sibling relations' (ibid, p.75). This dichotomy, however, is not in conformity with Karo categorization of kinship. A cognate, for instance, may be a senina, an anakberu or a kalimbubu. A man's MZS is his senina.
while his MBS, as stated above, is his kalimbubu. Moreover, some who are affines by the above definition are, in fact, not related by an anakberu - kalimbubu tie. For example, a man with his WFZS is in mutual senina relation.

The institutionalized anakberu - kalimbubu relationship is extended to the lineage. At the lineage level we find the anakberu tua (the senior anakberu) and the kalimbubu tua (the senior kalimbubu) deriving both from the anakberu and kalimbubu of the apical ancestor of the lineage, the former referring to the lineage of his sister's husband and the latter to the natal lineage of his wife. In theory, anakberu - kalimbubu relationship is recognized at each level of segmentation, but in practice effective anakberu - kalimbubu relations are limited to immediate anakberu and kalimbubu. The immediate kalimbubu of a man are both the lineage men of his mother's brother and his father-in-law, the first being his kalimbubu by birth and the second his kalimbubu by marriage. His immediate anakberu are the lineage men of his father's sisters' husbands and his sisters' husbands.

Unlike the senina relation in which reciprocity is the guiding principle, the salient characteristic of anakberu - kalimbubu relation is that they are asymmetrical. Kalimbubu is culturally recognized as superior to the anakberu and this entails numerous asymmetrical duties and obligations from the anakberu to the kalimbubu. A man must treat his kalimbubu, his 'visible god', with deference and render them continuous service. The service of anakberu covers a
broad field of Karo social life, particularly in the economic and political fields. We have seen in Chapter 7 that the economic assistance of the anakberu is even greater in importance than that of the senina whilst its political service is integrated with the ongoing political system. The anakberu is the institutionalized guarantor, witness and mediator and consequently no jural procedure may be carried out both at the family and the lineage level without the participation of the anakberu.

The bearing of Karo evidence on some current anthropological issues.

For a comparative study of patrilineal descent systems this classification of kinship categories and the important political role of the affines is of great interest. In his analysis on segmentary systems Smith (1956:43) says: 'the fundamental concepts of segmentary theory centre about the definition of a system of political relations, and on the basis of this, differentiate lineages from other kinship groupings in terms of segmentary principles and structures which reflect and discharge political functions'. Further (p.64) he says: 'political relations and segmentation are synonymous, and that corporate group character emerges in the context of segmentary political relations'. In Africa we find that 'the lineage is not only a corporate unit in the legal or jural sense but is also the primary political association. Thus the individual has no legal or political status except as a member of a lineage; or to put it in another way,
all legal and political relations in the society take place in the context of the lineage system' (Fortes, 1953:26). Among the Karo, however, this is not so and it is an error to assume that, in terms of political action, a lineage or its segment is an autonomous group because the political service of the anakberu is an integral part of the ongoing political system.

Another interesting feature which emerges from the asymmetrical anakberu - kalimbubu relation is a specific interpersonal relation among immediate kin, namely the relation with a mother's brother and father's sister. It has been recorded that in many societies the nature of the interpersonal relation between a child and a parent is extended to the latter's kinmen, and sometimes the mother's brother is identified as a male mother and the father's sister as a female father (see Radcliffe-Brown, 1952; 1950: 37-8; Gluckman, 1955: 61-2; Firth, 1961: 212). Radcliffe-Brown writes (1952: 25): 'Since it is from his mother that he expects care and indulgence he looks for the same sort of treatment from the people of his mother's group, i.e. from all his maternal kin. On the other hand it is to his paternal kin that he owes obedience and respect'. Further he states in his conclusion that 'In patrilineal societies of a certain type, the special pattern of behaviour between a sister's son and the mother's brother is derived from the pattern of behaviour between
the child and the mother, which is itself the product of the social life within the family in the narrow sense'.

In contrast to this, among the Karo, the affective tie which characterizes the relation between a son and his mother is not extended to his mother's agnates and, again, the father's sister is by no means a father figure. As the mother's brother is a typical representative of the kalimbubu, instead of being a mother figure, he is, rather, a father figure. The mother's brother represents 'the visible god' whose anger and frustration is believed to be capable of causing harm to his sister's son. Thus the tie between a child and his mother's brother is one of respect and, as already stated, this is clearly reflected in the opening sentence of a Karo lullaby: 'Grow up my child and obey your mama (MB)'.

To disobey one's mother's brother is regarded as morally worse than to disobey one's father. For that reason if pressure is to be put on a person it is not uncommon that his or her mother's brother comes into the picture. Thus when Simpang, a girl, decided to marry Ngambati despite the strong opposition of her father and other agnates, including her sister, her mother's brother invited her to come to Kuta Buluh. Nobody knew what her mother's brother said but thereafter it was known that she would not marry Ngambati and people in the village
believed that this was due to the intervention of her mother's brother.

A man's father's sister and her husband stand as anakberu who are obliged to render him service in various ways. For him both of them fall in the category of the mother figure. They are what the Karo call si latih, those who are tired (through working hard), the servants. Life is for him easy at his father's sister's home. At the parental generation it is with the FZH, and only with him, that he jokes.

Using the above hypothesis of Radcliffe-Brown as a starting point, Homans and Schneider (1955) put forward what they call an 'efficient-cause theory', aiming principally to refute the 'final-cause theory' of Lévi-Strauss (in *Les Structures élémentaires de la Parenté*, 1949). The final-type of explanation, as defined by Homans and Schneider, refers to Lévy-Strauss' argumentation 'that mother's brother's daughter marriage occurs in more societies than does father's sister's

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Like the mother's sister, father's sister is called and referred to as bibi. The terminological analogy, as pointed out in Appendix I, runs counter to the basic principle of kinship categorization. So the system is, structurally speaking, confusing. It only makes sense if a psychological explanation is taken into account, that is, that both the father's sister and the mother's sister represent the mother figure.
daughter married because the former is "better" for a society, at creating a higher degree of organic solidarity' (p.58).

On this they comment (p.58-9):

This form (of cross-cousin marriage) is indeed the more common, and we should give Levi-Strauss full credit for being correct, did we not believe that it is more common, not for Lévi-Strauss's reasons, but rather because societies in which jural authority over ego is vested in father are more numerous than those it is vested in mother's brother. In the locus of authority and the personal, sentimental interests it precipitates we have provided an efficient-cause type of explanation. Note that the facts on which we have based our theory are just the ones to which Lévi-Strauss pays least attention. He has little to say about what we have called 'interpersonal relations' and less about authority.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with comparative and statistical analysis of cross-cousin marriage.

Nevertheless, it is justifiable to point out that my Karo material gives no support to Homans' and Schneider's hypothesis. Furthermore, I would like to argue, that their inclusion of the Batak (p.34 & 37) to support their contention is unfounded. Preferential matrilateral cross-cousin marriage

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2 The book itself has given rise to a chain of reactions, most important of which is Rodney Needham's: Structure and sentiment, a test case in social anthropology, 1960.
among the Karo, which I believe reflects the Batak situation in general, is not in the presence of the sentimental tie with the mother's brother. Instead, we have here a society where maternal cross-cousin marriage is preferred but the mother's brother is recognized as a man of authority and sister's son—mother's brother relationship is not an affectionate one. In fact what often happens is that cross-cousin marriage, instead of resulting from an affective tie, is the outcome of pressure from the mother's brother.

The basis of Karo social structure

In the analysis of interpersonal relations among the Karo the distinction of relatives according to sex is of cardinal importance. Extension of kinship behaviour from lateral to collateral kin does exist but there are limits, imposed by the difference of sex. At the parental generation the pattern of behaviour towards one's father is extended to the father's brother but not to the father's sister and

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3 Again, Needham's assumption that cross-cousin marriage among the Batak is 'prescriptive' (ibid, p.9) is undoubtedly erroneous (cf. Löffler, 1964).
similarly the behaviour towards one's mother is extended to the mother's sister but not to the mother's brother. To explain this phenomenon we have to understand that siblings of opposite sex may not be equated in this kinship system because a sister stands as anakberu to her brother and the latter as kalimbubu to his sister. This fact demonstrates that the dominant position of the mother's brother over his sister's son is indeed a reflection of the dominant position of a man over his sister. To illuminate this point let us examine the position of women in Karo kinship structure.

Firstly we will review the place of women in her natal lineage and secondly in the anakberu-kalimbubu relationship, that is, in the relationship between her natal lineage and her conjugal lineage. In her natal lineage a woman is a special kind of agnate, a secondary agnate with very limited rights. First of all descent is traced through the male line and in no circumstances may a woman continue an otherwise dying family line. The institution of ambil anak, found in a number of Indonesian societies, in which, under special circumstances, 'male descent' is continued by a female child, does not exist among the Karo. In addition adoption is not a customary practice so that only the birth of a son in the djabu may secure the continuation of the family line. The need for a son is consequently strongly emphasized in the culture and is recognized as a prerequisite for a happy and stable marriage. Unless a son has been born in the djabu there is always a great likelihood that the husband will remarry and
this leads to the fact that sonless women, especially young mothers, live under great strain. The following examples will illustrate this point. In February 1961 I attended an occasion in which a sonless mother, who had already two daughters, gave birth to a third baby. Everyone present realized that the matter was serious: the family would be happy if the woman gave birth to a son but in case the baby was again a girl, the family would be terribly disappointed. The great moment arrived when the baby was born but immediately a woman shouted disappointingly: 'a girl again'. Hearing this the mother fainted and in a panic - people used to shout repeatedly calling the patient's name when his or her life is thought to be in danger - the priest arrived. She regained consciousness after about half an hour. In another case when a sonless mother gave birth to a fourth daughter the placenta, due to her great psychological stress, was retained and eventually had to be removed under operation.

In accordance with the strict patrilineal descent a woman, strictly speaking, enjoys no rights over inheritance and succession. Regardless of her marital status, a daughter is not recognized as a co-parcener in the djabu except for small items like mats and pandanus containers. It means that a daughter of a sonless family is not entitled to inherit valuables like land, cattle and a house from her natal family because the adat prescribes that it is her closest male agnates, in genealogical terms, who have the full parcenary rights over them. For moral considerations a woman may
get a buffalo or a plot of land from her natal djabu but as far as land is concerned, she only has a maintenance right over it. After she dies the land reverts to her natal lineage.

That full membership of the merga (clan or sub-clan) is restricted to men is clearly seen in the symbolic system in which a clear distinction is made between the affiliation of men and that of women. Only the membership of men are signified by the term merga whilst membership of women are signified by a different term, beru which means 'woman' or 'women' (Figure 7). To denote that he belongs to Tarigan clan, for instance, a man says: 'Mergangku Tarigan' (My clan is Tarigan), but his sister will say: 'Aku beru Tarigan' (I am the female member of Tarigan). Similarly the senina relationship is limited to the relations between agnates of the same sex so that in jural sense senina denotes mainly the relation between male members of the lineage, sub-clan or clan. Agnates of different sex are in mutual turang relations and the term implies anakberu - kalimbubu relations.

If a woman marries, as is most likely, there is a shift in her lineage affiliation. 'She has been purchased' and, by marriage, becomes the member of her husband's lineage. She is said to be the people (djelma) of her husband's lineage and again, this is substantiated by various terms concerning the marriage process. For example, both sexes employ distinct terms for the word 'to marry', empo for a man and sereh for a woman. The literal meaning of the
words are no longer known but it is very likely that empọ, like
empu in Malay, means 'master' and sereh, like serah in Malay, means
'transfer'. But the jural implication of marriage is more
explicitly expressed in the sentence: 'I like to marry you'. If the
speaker is a man, he says: 'I would like you to belong to me'
(Bangku atékù kám), but if the speaker is a woman it then sounds:
'I would like to belong to you' (Bandu atékù āku). Furthermore, the
principal part of the marriage payment is termed tukor, purchase,
and a wife is sometimes referred to as tukor emas, the purchase of
the gold.

In her conjugal djabu a woman enjoys limited rights. A woman
may acquire considerable influence and prestige as a mother but
nevertheless her inferior jural position is well-marked. In her
conjugal djabu she has the rights of maintenance but has no parcenary
rights. But more important is the fact that, strictly speaking, a
woman has no right over her children so that in divorce a woman has
to leave all her children. Even a young widow has no right to marry
unless she divorces her deceased husband and returns part of the
marriage payment and then leaves her children with the closest male
agnate of her late husband.

Let us now examine the anakberu - kalimbubu relationship in the
light of the relationship between married women and their natal
lineages. We have seen that agnates of different sex, instead of
being in a senina relation, are in mutual turang relations, i.e. a
female married turang stands as anakberu and a male turang as kalimbubu. It is a reflection of the relationship between a married woman with her natal lineage, to which she stands as anakberu and her natal lineage - to be exact, the male members of the lineage, their wives and unmarried daughters - stand as kalimbubu. This, in my view, is a crucial fact because in analysing Batak kinship system, we generally admit too readily that anakberu - kalimbubu (in other Batak societies boru - hula-hula or boru - mora) relationship with all its implications is basically the relationship between 'the woman-taking category' and 'the woman-giving category'. In other words, it is the relationship between men and men.

Interestingly enough deeper understanding of their symbolic system reveals that that is not the case: the contraposition between anakberu and kalimbubu represents the contraposition between female and male or, at any rate, female quality and male quality. In Chapter 7 I have described that the literal meaning of anakberu (anak, people; beru, woman) is 'woman's people' or 'women's people' whereas among some other Bataks, namely the Toba and the Mandailing, they are even called boru which means 'woman' or 'women'. Thus the female members of the lineage, their husbands, their children, in short their conjugal lineages are all identified as 'the women's people' by their natal lineage. In this marriage alliance the female members of the natal lineage are literally and, to a large extent, functionally the chief exponent in the anakberu and it implies that kalimbubu, which
literally means 'the crown of the head', represents masculinity, i.e. the male members of the lineage.

We may thus conclude that among the Karo both patrilineal kinship and anakberu - kalimbubu institution, the two pivots of their kinship system, are manifestations of a single principle, that is the social dominance of males over females. It is a social system in which the dominance of males, 'the visible gods', over females and those associated with them has become institutionalized to create and perpetuate the principal formal groupings of the social structure.
APPENDIX I:

KARO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparental generation nini is the sole term for grandparent. The third ascending generation is called entē, the fourth entah and the fifth empong but in general the term nini covers them all and it is even applied to old strangers. Sex is frequently distinguished by adding bulang (headdress or cap for man) for male and tudong (woman's headdress) for female. Clan names in simplified forms serve also as additional terms for female nini but not for male nini. Thus a grandmother whose natal clan is Tarigan may be called nini tigan or tigan; if she belongs to Ginting clan she is nini iting or iting; etc. In some parts of Karoland there is another term, laki, for nini bulang.

In the parental generation father is bapa, mother is nandé; father's brother, like father, is bapa and his wife, like mother, is nandé (Figure 13); father's sister, like mother's sister, is bibi but the husband of the former is bengkila whilst the husband of the latter is, like father and father's brother, bapa; mother's brother is mama and his wife mami. Thus the term bapa for father is extended to collateral agnates but not the term nandé for mother whose sister is bibi. Again bapa is extended to MZH and nandé to FBW although neither of them are consanguinely related. Peculiarly enough MZ and FZ are
both bibi which, as we will see later, does not conform with the structural principle because each of them belongs to a distinct kinship category.

For this reason it is easier to discern the three categories of kinship by looking at the terms for male rather than female at the parental generation. Bapa (F), mama (MB) and bengkila (FZH) represent senina, kalimbubu and anakberu respectively. MZH (bapa) is included in the senina category not on account of patrilineal descent but because Ego shares the same kalimbubu with him. His kalimbubu by marriage is Ego's kalimbubu by birth (See the classification of anakberu and kalimbubu in Chapter 7). On the same principle, as seen in Figure 13, FMZS and MFZS are both called bapa; with the former Ego's father shares the same kalimbubu by birth whilst the latter's kalimbubu by birth is Ego's father's kalimbubu by marriage (thus the kalimbubu by birth of Ego). The various bapa which derives from a common kalimbubu are shown in Figure 17.

Having a common anakberu links people in senina relations and among them those who stand one generation higher than Ego are Ego's bapa. For instance, a man calls his ZHMB bapa because they share a common anakberu, that is, the former ZH (anakberu) is the latter's ZS (anakberu). On similar grounds a man calls both his FZSWF and his DHMF bapa (Figure 17). To sum up when the speaker is a man all his male senina who belong to his parental generation are his bapa.
Despite the fact that with regard to relatives at the parental generation there are no distinctions in terminology based on the sex of the speaker, the nature of their relation with the speaker is determined by the sex of the speaker. Unlike a man whose bapa is his senina, for a married woman bapa is one of the terms denoting her kalimbubu. As has been pointed out in Chapter 7 a married woman is no longer a full member of her natal lineage and by a strong identification with the lineage of her husband becomes one of the anakberu of her own natal lineage. Thus for a married woman, her father and all the senina of her father, including her own brother, are her kalimbubu; this means that the kalimbubu of her father stand as puang kalimbubu to her, the anakberu of her father stand as senina to her, and so on.

The wife of each bapa is nandé provided she is not an agnate of one's mother or one's wife. If she is a sister or a classificatory sister of one's mother or one generation above Ego's wife she is called bibi.

On the basis of birth order in the sibling group the terms tua, tengah and nguda, which mean senior, middle and junior respectively, are added for relatives of the parental generation. In the father's sibling group, for instance, the eldest FB is called bapa tua, the 'middle' FB bapa tengah and the youngest FB bapa nguda; similarly the father's eldest sister is called bibi tua, his 'middle' sister bibi tengah and his youngest sister bibi nguda. In reference to one's
actual father, however, the term tua, tengah or nguda is not employed so that a man has no bapa tua if his father is the eldest son in the sibling group. On the other hand he may have more than one bapa tengah because 'middle', in this respect, with the exception of father's youngest brother, covers all the younger brothers of the eldest bapa. Bapa tengah is a bapa whose birth order is between the eldest and the youngest bapa.

The mother's brother, mama, is a representative of the kalimbubu. As shown in Figure 13, besides the agnates of MB there are other relatives who are also called mama, namely FMBS, MMZS and MMBS. The FMBS is a kalimbubu deriving from the marriage of Ego's FF and so the 'kalimbubu by birth' of Ego's father. As he belongs to Ego's father's generation he is called and referred to as mama. The MMZS is mama because his mother is the MZ of Ego's MB (mama). As we will see later they are in a senina sepemerén relation. The MMBS belongs to a distinct category of kalimbubu because his lineage is the 'kalimbubu by birth' of Ego's MB. He stands as the kalimbubu of Ego's kalimbubu (puang kalimbubu). Further examples of mama are shown in Figure 18 in which we see that the kinship term mama includes one's WF, WFWB, WFWMBS, BWF and SWFF. Thus every male kalimbubu, including the puang kalimbubu and the kalimbubu of puang kalimbubu, who belongs to one's parental generation is mama. The wife of every mama is mami. In addition to this the daughter of the puang kalimbubu who stands one generation above Ego is also called mami (see MMBD in Figure 13).
On the other hand every male anakberu, including the anakberu menteri and the anakberu of the anakberu menteri, who belongs to one's parental generation is bengkila (Figures 13 & 19). The wife of bengkila is bibi. As a man's father-in-law is his mama and his mother-in-law mami, the father-in-law of a woman is her bengkila and her mother-in-law bibi.

In Ego's generation there is a sharp distinction in terminology according to the sex of the speaker. As has been pointed out earlier a sibling of the same sex is senina whilst a sibling of opposite sex is turang. Thus, senina means brother if the speaker is a man but if the speaker is a woman, senina means 'sister'; her brother is her turang. It is important to note that the term senina in this context has a specific meaning which is distinct from the senina we have been referring to in the foregoing pages. Here the senina of a man is only part of the above-mentioned senina, limited to the senina of his own generation. Thus, for a man the sons of his bapa are his senina and their daughters his turang.

There is a specific term for a man's senina and turang who are the children of his mother's sisters. With the former he is in senina sepemerén relation and with the latter turang sepemerén (Figures 13 & 14). The term sepemerén denotes that they have the same beré-beré, a term signifying maternal clan affiliation.

Among cross-cousins the anakberu and kalimbubu are distinguished. If the speaker is a man both the son and daughter of his MB (mama), that
is, his kalimbubu, are his impal but if the speaker is a woman only her MBD is her impal whilst her MBS is her turang impal. The opposite holds true with regard to the children of the anakberu: the son and daughter of bibi (FZ) and bengkila (FZH). If the speaker is a woman both the FZS and FZD are referred to as impal whilst for a man impal is confined to FZS whilst his FZD is his turang impal.

To sum up, cross-cousin of the same sex, regardless of the sex of the speaker, is impal; a cross-cousin of opposite sex is either impal or turang impal; for a man the daughter of his kalimbubu (MB) is his impal whilst the daughter of his anakberu (FZH) is his turang-impal; for a woman the son of the kalimbubu (MB) is her turang-impal whilst the son of anakberu (FZH) is her impal. Both impal and turang impal are reciprocal terms.

It should be noted that this terminology is in accordance with the Karo marriage rule by which paternal cross-cousin marriage (FZD) is strictly prohibited. In other words impal marriage is desirable but turang impal marriage is prohibited. As has been stressed in Chapter 7 this rule serves to perpetuate the enduring anakberu-kalimbubu relations.

The terms impal and turang impal are extended to every anakberu-kalimbubu relation within Ego's own generation. In order to cover the whole relation at this level we only need to add another term, turangku, a reciprocal term referring to the relation between a man with either the wife of his kalimbubu, say his MBSW or his WBW, or the
daughter of his puang kalimbubu like his MBWBD or his MMBSD. It has to be noted, however, that the wife of one's kalimbubu is the daughter of one's puang kalimbubu. In his own generation every male anakberu (including the anakberu menteri and the anakberu of anakberu menteri) and kalimbubu (including the puang kalimbubu and the kalimbubu of puang kalimbubu) of a man is his impal; in addition to this the daughters of his kalimbubu are also his impal; but the daughter of his puang kalimbubu and the wives of his kalimbubu and puang kalimbubu are his turangku (Figure 20); the daughters of his anakberu (bengkila), including his anakberu menteri, are his turang impal.

At the same time impal is a reciprocal term for spouse so that the impal of a man is both his MBD and his wife and the impal of a woman is both her FZS and her husband. Again this is in accordance with the preferential marriage mentioned above in which the MBD of a man is his potential wife and the FZS of a woman is a potential husband. The extension of this principle gives rise to the fact that the wife of a man's senina is his impal and the husband of a woman's senina is also her impal.

In the first descending generation the term anak is used with reference to one's own children as well as the children of one's senina. This explains why Ego's mother's brother's daughter's children in Figure 13 are referred to as anak; the MBDH is now the
senina of Ego. By a similar principle the children of Ego's FZS in Figure 14 are referred to as anak; the FZSW is now Ego's senina.

The term bere-bere is used in reference to the children of one's anakberu and the term permên to the children of one's kalimbubu. A son-in-law is also bere-bere or kėla and a daughter-in-law permên or permain.

A grandchild, regardless of the sex of the speaker, is referred to as kempu. It is applied to every relative two or more generations lower than Ego.

The vocative system is based on seniority of generation and birth order. With regard to the grandparental and parental generations the vocative system coincides with the reference system. Thus the terms nini for a grandparent, bapa for father, mama for MB, for instance, are employed both as terms of reference and terms of address. The only exception here is that the terms mami for WM and bengkila for HF are never used as vocatives because a person is in avoidance relation with a parent-in-law of opposite sex.

This avoidance has a wide application and various degrees of mami and bengkila are included. Mami avoidance here includes:

(i) the wives of the classificatory brothers of a man's father-in-law;
(ii) the sisters and classificatory sisters of his mother-in-law;
(iii) the wife of WMB (puang kalimbubu) and also (iv) the wife of WMMBS (see mama in Figure 18). Bengkila avoidance for a woman includes (i) the brothers and classificatory brothers of her father-
in-law; (ii) the husbands of the sisters and classificatory sisters of her mother-in-law; (iii) the HFZH and (iv) the HFFZDH.

In Ego's generation vocative terminology is determined by order of birth. Any junior relative according to his or her birth order is called by name and a senior is called kaka. This applies also to affines so that a person addresses a younger sibling of his or her spouse by his or her personal name and an elder sibling by the term kaka. However, in various places, including Kuta Gamber and Liren and their surrounding villages, there is an exception. In this area a reciprocal term for brother-in-law is silih.

At this generational level turangku avoidance is practiced, that is between a man and the wife of his kalimbubu, namely his WBW, his MBSW, etc. (See Figure 20).

Children and grandchildren, as well as other relatives in the descending generations, are addressed by their personal names. The only exception occurs with reference to the name of a child-in-law of opposite sex; this is based on the avoidance relation between child and parent-in-law mentioned above.

Conclusion

The structuring of all kinship and affinal relations into three categories is well manifested in the kinship terminology, especially in its referential aspects. With minor exceptions the nomenclature which is used for three generations - ego's, one ascending and one
descending generation - may be classified into three sets of kinship terms, each referring to senina, anakberu and kalimbubu respectively. Thus one set is employed for those with whom a man has a senina or sembujak relation, i.e. his agnates and those with whom he either has a common anakberu or a common kalimbubu. The second set is for those who stand to him as anakberu, including the anakberu of his anakberu (anakberu menteri) and the anakberu of his anakberu menteri. In theory it may be extended to the anakberu menteri of his anakberu menteri or even further but in actual practice the limit is the anakberu of the anakberu menteri. The third set is those who stand to him as kalimbubu, including the kalimbubu of his kalimbubu (puang kalimbubu) and the kalimbubu of his puang kalimbubu.

In the kinship terms referring to the generations of grandparents and grandchildren the classification of the three categories of kinship is no longer expressed. This does not mean however that at that level the principle of the classification ceases to operate. In the minds of the people it is always clear which grandparent is anakberu, which grandson stands as kalimbubu, etc.
Figure 13: Man's terms of reference for cognates

nini-tudong nini-bulang

bengkila bibi bapa bibi

bapa bibi mama bibi bapa bibi bapa bibi

mama bibi mama mami

bengkila bibi nandé bapa

bapa nandé bapa bibi

mama mami

impal turang senina turang

impal (sembujak) senina (sembujak) turang

EGO

beré-beré anak beré-beré anak beré-beré

anak beré-beré anak beré-beré

permén anak

kempu
Figure 14: Woman's terms of reference for cognates

- **nini-tudong**
- **nini-bulang**

bengkila bibi bapa bibi

bapa bibi mama bibi

mama bibi mama mami

- **impal**

 turang senina

 turang EGO senina

 turang-sepemerén senina-sepemerén

 turang-impal

anak beré permén anak

permén anak

permén anak

permén

kempu
Figure 15

Man's terms of reference for affines

\[ \Delta = \bigcirc \]

nini-bulang  nini-tudong

\[ \Delta = \bigcirc \]

mami  mama  bapa  bibi  mama

impal  senina  turang

\[ \Delta = \bigcirc \]

impal  turangku  impal

\[ \Delta = \bigcirc \]

impal  turangku  impal

\[ \Delta = \bigcirc \]

impal  (diberu)

impal  (silih)

impal  senina-
sipurbanen

\[ \Delta = \bigcirc \]

permén  anak  beré-
beré

permén  anak  permén  anak

permén  anak  beré-
beré

kempu
Figure 16: Woman's terms of reference for affines

\[ \Delta = \bigcirc \]

\( \text{nini-bulang} \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \)
\( \text{nini-tudong} \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \)

\( \bigcirc = \Delta \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \)

\( \text{bibi} \quad \text{bengkila} \quad \text{bibi} \quad \text{bengkila} \quad \text{bibi} \quad \text{nandé} \quad \text{bapa} \quad \text{bibi} \quad \text{bengkila} \)

\( \text{impal} \quad \text{turangku} \quad \text{impal} \quad \text{turang senina} \quad \text{impal} \)

\( \bigcirc = \Delta \)

\( \text{EGO} \)

\( \text{impal (dilaki)} \quad \text{impal} \quad \text{turangku} \quad \text{impal} \quad \text{senina (tjimbang)} \)

\( \bigcirc = \Delta \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \)

\( \text{permén} \quad \text{anak} \quad \text{beré-beré} \quad \text{anak} \quad \text{beré-beré} \quad \text{beré-beré} \quad \text{beré-beré} \quad \text{anak} \quad \text{beré-beré} \)

\( \text{anak} \quad \text{beré-beré (kéla)} \quad \text{anak} \quad \text{beré-beré (kéla)} \quad \text{anak} \quad \text{beré-beré} \)

\( \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \)

kempu
Figure 17: Term of address and reference: bapa

\[ \text{\includegraphics{figure17.png}} \]

\[ \text{\large \textbf{Diagram}} \]

\[ \text{\large \textbf{Legend}} \]

\[ \text{\textbullet} \text{ = bapa} \]

\[ \text{\textbullet} = \text{ common kalimbubu} \]

\[ \text{\textbullet} = \text{ common anakberu} \]
Figure 18: Term of address and reference: mama

Diagram:

\[ \text{Diagram depicting relationships between terms: mama, kalimbubu, puang kalimbubu, and kalimbubu of the puang kalimbubu.} \]

Legend:

- ▲ = mama
- 1 = kalimbubu
- 2 = puang kalimbubu (kalimbubu of the kalimbubu)
- 3 = kalimbubu of the puang kalimbubu

EGO
Figure 19: Term of address and reference: bengkila

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\textbullet} &= \text{bengkila} \\
1 &= \text{anakberu} \\
2 &= \text{anakberu menteri (anakberu of the anakberu)} \\
3 &= \text{anakberu of the anakberu menteri}
\end{align*} \]
Figure 20: Term of reference: turangku

○ = turangku
1. = kalimbubu
2 = puang kalimbubu
3 = kalimbubu of the puang kalimbubu
APPENDIX II: A WEDDING INVITATION

WEDDING ANNOUNCEMENT

With respect.

We inform you herewith, that agreement with the anakberu and senina as well as kalimbubu has been achieved, so that on Wednesday 2.11.1960 the wedding of our grandchild/child/brother or sister:

UDJAN SEMBIRING

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

with

MUATULINA beru KARO

will take place at Lau Perimbon. We thus sincerely hope that you, and other relatives who ought to be invited, come early on that day so that we meet together to promote and to celebrate our ceremony. Your coming is welcomed. With kind regard from we who send you this invitation.

Liren/Lau Perimbon, 21.10.1960

We the inviters:

The party of the bridegroom:

1. Elok Sembiring, his bapa - Liren.
2. Ronah beru Pinem, his nande - Liren
3. Degur Sembiring, his mid bapa - Liren
4. Badjar Sembiring, his younger bapa - Liren
5. Nimbang Sembiring, his mid bapa - Liren
6. Merlang Sembiring, his mid bapa - Pamah
7. Nutup Sembiring, his senina - Liren
8. Minde Sembiring, his senina - Liren.
9. Piher Sembiring, his nini - Lau Perimbon
10. Djendamuli Sembiring, his nini - T. Lingga
11. Tarlong Sembiring, his senina - T. Lingga
12. Ngidas Sembiring, his nini - Kutabulu
13. Djendamalem Sembiring, his bapa - Kutabulu
14. Beren-nggit Sembiring, his senina - Kutabulu
15. Ngari Sembiring, his senina - Kempawa
16. Ngerip Sembiring, his senina - Lau Perimbon
17. Ngadjarbana Sembiring, his bapa - Lau Perimbon
18. Rantjap Sembiring, his bapa - Lau Perimbon

The party of the bride:

1. Rana Karo2, her actual bapa - Lau Perimbon
2. Pelen beru Tarigan, her actual nande - Lau Perimbon
3. Kidu Karo2, her mid bapa - Lau Tawar
4. Tandjong Karo2, her younger bapa - Lau Perimbon
5. Napal Karo2, her turang - Lau Tawar
6. Geltoh Karo2, her nini - Lau Perimbon
7. Djanempa Karo2, her nini - Lau Perimbon
8. Sakti Karo2, her nini - Lau Perimbon
9. Djumpalingga Karo2, her turang - Tigalingga
10. Rengeti Karo2, her turang - Lau Perimbon
11. Nalangi Karo2, her turang - Lau Perimbon
12. Mekken Karo2, her turang - Lau Tawar
13. Rakat Karo2, her turang - Baturedan
14. Sampa Karo2, her turang - Lau Perimbon
15. Kumpul Karo2, her turang - Tandjongpamah

Expressly stencilled by Toko Bukit Mbelin Gunana Phone 88 Kabandjahe

WEDDING ANNOUNCEMENT

To

Our respected (Kalimbubu
(SembuJak
(Anekberu

at

Tingger Pinem

Kt. Gamber

NOTE:
The crossings out indicate that the inviters are the party of the bridegroom and that Tingger Pinem stands as kalimbubu to the inviters.
Alu mehamat.

Arah surat enda iboritaken kami man bandu, maka enggô arih ersada ras anak bero sonina bage po arah bagin kalimbubu, ema-
ka ibas wari Rebu tanggal 2 – 11.1960, erdemu baju/petuturken kompu/anak/tureng kami:

UDJAN SEMBIRING

Si ----------- ras

MUATULINA br. KARO,

djanah kerdja e ibohan i LAU PERIMBON. Dage mbelin pengarapen kami,
ma la lampas kan reh tupung wari së, rikut ras sibiak man katankent
korina, gelah ras2 kita puling lako petunggung ras pehageken di-
ngor ndungi kerdjanta e. Ibas kerehendu iako-âko kami alu merish
ukur. Medjush-djuah ibas kami nari siertenah.

Liron/Lau Perimbon, 21-10-1960.

Kami siertenah:

Arah Sipempoke:

1. Elok Sembiring, bapana – Liron.
2. Ronah br. Pinem, nandena – Liron.
3. Degur Sembiring, bapana tongah – Liron.
7. Mutup Sembiring, sininana – Liron.

Arah Sinoreh:

1. Rana Karo2, bapana simupus – Lau Perimbon.
4. Tandjong Karo2, bapana udana – Lau Perimbon.
15. Rampul Karo2, turangna – Tandjong pamah.

Men Sinihamat:

Sembajak kami: 

Lacak-bora ringan medjush-djuah

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