MODERN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
IN
UPPER MANDAILING, SUMATRA

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
The Australian National University

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Most of the fieldwork for this study was carried out in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan in north-central Sumatra. The author and his wife spent thirteen months in one village and afterwards made a survey of thirty villages staying two to four days in each. A survey on economics was also carried out in two Kotanopan secondary schools.

There was no opportunity to consult the background literature before carrying out the fieldwork.

Acknowledgements follow.

Chapter 1 : A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Mandailing is in the south of the Gayo-Atlas-Batak law area of Indonesia. It had patriclans inhabiting their own
territory, small self-governing communities, a dominant clan in the community which supplied the community head (radja) and immigrant clans with representatives on the village council. Matrilateral cross-cousin marriage was preferred. The clans were asymmetrically organised as wife-givers and wife-receivers. Society was divided into nobles, commoners and slaves.

Geographically Mandailing is the southernmost part of the Province of North Sumatra in the Republic of Indonesia. It is divided into two parts: Upper Mandailing and Lower Mandailing. The population of Upper Mandailing is now about 47,000. The Upper Mandailingers are Muslims whose main food crops are dry rice, wet rice and maize. The main cash crops are rubber and coffee.

The main part of this work is about the social structure and social organization of these people in 1955-56. The social system of the Upper Mandailingers has changed considerably in the past 130 years. The ancestors of the Upper Mandailingers entered the area from the north. Prior to their entry the area was occupied by the Ulu. The latter retreated to the remoter mountains where they now live. They comprise about eight per cent of the population.

The Upper Mandailingers were converted to Islam as a result of a military invasion by the Paderis of Menangkabau about 1820.
Dutch military forces entered Upper Mandailing in the eighteen-thirties and a Controleur was appointed in Kotanopan in 1835. The Paderis were finally defeated in 1835; they concentrated upon spreading Islam by teaching. The Dutch set up collecting houses for local products and controlled the area through the indigenous leaders (radjas) of village complexes. The head of each village and village complex was both adat (customary law) head and official head. The moral basis of these two positions was quite different. The slaves were freed about 1870. Christian missions in the area were not successful.

The economy of the area expanded rapidly after the introduction of coffee in 1878 and trading became an important occupation. The wealthier merchants became hadjis and supported Islamic teaching. By 1900 the whole population had been converted to Islam.

The radjas lost their indigenous powers of punishment but retained an advantage over commoners because they had easier access to secular schools. The radjas identified with the Dutch administrative system but insisted on the maintenance of adat ceremonial which symbolized their high status in the village community.

Further economic expansion took place after the introduction of rubber in 1918. Islamic schools and colleges
were founded. By 1940 the Controleur was regarded as a paternalistic power who could be appealed to by anyone. Justice was administered by courts (adat being the law applied in land cases). Many civil cases were decided by adat 'courts' run by indigenous heads. There was considerable differentiation of wealth among the population.

The Japanese entered the area in 1942, imprisoned the Controleur and occupied the area with a small military force until 1945. They recruited labour but interfered little with religious affairs or village government. The radjas effaced themselves but there was little breakdown in village social life, a demonstration of the inherent self-regulating qualities of the village social system. There was some economic distress.

After the Indonesian Revolution villages were governed by elected committees until new village heads were elected.

Chapter 2: THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE PATTERN OF OCCUPATION

Upper Mandailing is largely covered by forest. The settlement pattern in different regions varies according to the physiography. The Mandailingers cannot raise water artificially; physiography therefore has an important effect on the production of wet rice, the main food crop. There is a scarcity of flat irrigable land and where available it is
fully utilised.

The climate and weather are described. The agricultural cycle starts on a certain date in the Islamic calendar which is eleven days shorter than the solar calendar. There is therefore a precession of the agricultural cycle with respect to the solar calendar. Differences of weather in the area affect the work schedule. Vegetation and the use made of it is described. Owing to the overuse of reserves of land during the Japanese Occupation there is a general scarcity of good garden land, but the scarcity is greater in some places than in others. Wild animals are not important as a source of food, but some animals are important as pests. Hook-worm and bacillary dysentery are the most common sicknesses. Curative powers enhance the status of those who have them.

The general pattern of occupation is similar in all villages, but there are important differences among villages in altitude, situation, size and function. Kotanopan represents 'the town' and differs from the villages in its social structure. The latter is briefly described. Each village has a unique character but there are elements common to all villages - Islamic institutions, the general form of the kinship system, the system of economic ethics and the formal characteristics of the political and administrative
systems. Taken together these provide the framework of a social structure and social organization which is common to all villages.

Chapter 3: THE PROBLEM OF UNITY IN DIVERSITY

The general characteristics of the people are described; clothes are important as a symbol of status. Two languages are used for normal discourse: Bahasa Mandailing, (the Mandailing language) and Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian language). The former is the indigenous language of the area. The latter is an official language and serves to emphasize the esoteric aspects of the role of officials. English is learned because it is identified with modernism; Arabic is learnt for religious purposes.

Adat became identified with a distribution of privileges in favour of radja families, but its principles permeate social organization in the villages. The strongly held concept of the biaso, the usual, is a part of what is called the accentuation of normality. The usual is redefined in each village; consequently there is a process called cultural drift as a result of which different social practices are found in different villages.

The Upper Mandailingers as a whole contrast their own adat with that of Menangkabau. In relation to criminal law there is a sense of dependence upon a single court, but no
sense of conformity to a single legal order embracing a wider area than Upper Mandailing.

It is taken for granted that all Mandailingers are Muslims. The taboo on eating pork is used to distinguish the Upper Mandailingers from the Christian Bataks; the Upper Mandailingers deny a common origin with the latter. Islam has many competences; it introduces a certain uniformity in world outlook, but fails to resolve differences in points of view.

Modernism is man-centred not God-centred; it has no doctrine; it is uncodified; it encourages anomy.

The village community is coincident with the Islamic congregation; it is the unit in which redefinition of social practices takes place. The village is the most distinct polity in Upper Mandailing and a proper unit of study. There is overall uniformity in the structure of village economy. A typical village is described. Adat, canon law and modernism provide different models for behaviour. The problem of how they can be rationalized must be solved in the village. In order to show how this problem is solved social structure and social organization are distinguished. The former refers to a model of consistent social relationships between persons or groups, the latter to the process of ordering action in relation to given social ends. This
process is guided by what are called precepts of interaction. The integrity of the community is maintained by common acceptance of these precepts of interaction. The latter are described.

Chapter 4: THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF VILLAGE LIFE

The transfer of goods and the rendering of services are regarded as components of complexes of rights and duties associated with social positions.

The Upper Mandailingers are very interested in economic affairs. Economic activity is the basis of village life in that it provides subsistence, is a medium of role differentiation and an avenue to power.

The social relationships primarily oriented to economic action may be divided into those which are implemented in production and those which are confirmed in expenditure.

The methods of production and concomitant social relations are described in respect of wet rice, ladang cultivation and the major cash producing activities. The following occupations are also dealt with: plank getting, ironsmithing, midwife, village leech and religious judge.

The division of labour in the household in relation to main food crop and cash production is described. Besides contributing to household production each member of the
household has his or her own small economic endeavours.

The most important relationships of the household oriented to economic affairs are those which turn upon access to resources.

The most valuable resource is land. Six types of land and the ways in which they are inherited or otherwise transferred are dealt with.

In relation to wet rice land the most important social unit is the sibling group. A use-rights group living in the village and an ultimate-disposal-rights group which includes all members of the sibling group are distinguished. Landlord-tenant relationships are relatively impermanent. Because of population pressure many people are forced to emigrate in order to find land.

Garden land may be obtained by inheritance, sharecropping or where there is a village reserve through village membership. Forest land outside the Forestry Reserve is a free good.

Gifts between households are very rare. Trading is an important occupation which is subject to the Islamic law of buying and selling. The latter is described.

There are two types of merchants: importers of consumption goods and exporters of local products. The amount of profit a merchant can make is limited by public opinion,
which will not allow exploitation.

The unit of production is the household. The household head must pay religious tax, hold a prayer service for dead parents annually and meet other contingencies. The expenditure which confirms community membership is slight; apart from food and clothing the heaviest expenditure is for ceremonies concerned with changes of status of the members of the household.

Differences of wealth in two villages are described.

Chapter 5: THE LARGER KINSHIP UNITS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The existence of localised clans is confirmed but ter Haar's notion of rings of clans in asymmetrical marriage relationship is not.

There are no clan emblems, totems or avoidances. Clan identity signifies only common descent. It is effective in the regulation of marriage, but in no other field.

Genealogical charts are uncommon. Most Mandailingers can trace their ancestry to a depth of only three to four generations. There is no grading of cousins according to genealogical distance. Generations from about the third ascending are coalesced. Hence the notion of being related as brothers is easily extended to all clan members.

Ideally marriage is not allowed within the clan.
However nowadays there are no agents to administer adat punishment and no strongly developed feeling that incest other than within the nuclear family is a crime. Intra-clan marriage is controlled by self-regulation; a man who marries a woman of the same clan identity cannot always obtain the new name given on marriage.

The subsidiary names associated with clan names are relict names which are now non-functional.

The ripe, clan segment within the village, functioned as an administrative unit. Owing to the statutory definition of ripe size there was a tendency for large clan segments to split and small ones to coalesce to form exogamous units of the appropriate size. Except for two villages ripe have now disappeared.

Intra-clan marriage now takes place both in intra-village marriage and inter-village marriages. 5.9% of all marriages are intra-clan.

Chapter 6: THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

Minimal, minor and major lineages are defined.

Persons in a sibling group are in marangka-maranggi relationship. On any generation level sibling groups the fathers of which were themselves siblings form a kahangi solkot or close classificatory sibling group; sibling groups
whose paternal grandfathers were siblings form a kahanggi or classificatory sibling group.

The ompu, lineage segment, is an important social unit. The word ompu can be used in different ways to refer to a minimal, minor or major lineage. The structure of the ompu pivots upon the ownership of inherited goods (harta) in common. Women are not usually allowed to inherit property. The jural unity of the lineage segment is maintained by not following Islamic inheritance law. Since irrevocable division of inherited goods usually takes place in the lifetime of the generation following de cujus the size of the unit owning property in common is small.

Social relations in the minimal lineage are described as a paradigm of social relations in the agnatic descent group. The relations are denoted as: indulgence-respect between the upper and lower generations, tension-respect between the upper and middle generations and respect-subordination between the middle and lower generations.

The position of women who have been accreted to the minimal lineage as wives is contrasted with that of women who are members by descent. Camaraderie among these women helps to maintain the lineage intact.

The analysis is extended to the minor and major lineages. The structure of the sibling group is analysed. The
command heirarchy is really effective only within each sex group. The older are responsible for the younger; younger brothers resent being ordered about unless their older brothers take on the role of father.

The analysis is extended to the classificatory sibling group. The relationship between the notions of ompu and kahangi is analysed; the former stands for common descent, the latter for real people who act together in ceremonial affairs.

Chapter 7: THE ASYMMETRICAL MARRIAGE SYSTEM

ter Haar's notion of a ring of clans in asymmetrical relations does not truly represent the modern situation. The units in woman-giving/woman-receiving relations are minimal and minor lineages. Woman-giving/woman-receiving relations which are not reinforced by further marriages become ineffective after a generation or so; hence the whole system of ties is constantly being broken down and reformed again. Since the size of the units in asymmetrical relations is small, asymmetry cannot become the organizing principle of the political order.

The old idea of woman-receivers as henchman, confidant and supporter of their woman-givers persists. Woman-receivers owe a debt to their woman-givers which should never be paid off. The number of marriages with matrilateral
relatives which occur shows that about sixty per cent of woman-giving/woman-receiving ties are not reaffirmed in each generation.

Mother-giving/mother-receiving and wife-giving/wife-receiving relationships are distinguished and described separately.

The rules about the relationships between a man and his brother's wife constitute what is termed the prohibition of duplicate affinity i.e. the occurrence of more than one marriage at a time between the males of one sibling group and the females of another. The prohibition separates affinal and matrilateral relatives and widens the spread of affinal and matrilateral ties.

Inherited goods are contrasted with sexual and procreative powers as focal points of group solidarity; like the lineage the former have potential immortality while the latter are ephemeral. Hence ties which rights in them engender can only be maintained by sentiments like the exaggerated respect which a man should show for his mother.

Some examples which show the range of variation in effective lineage, woman-giving and woman-receiving ties in the village are given.

Matrilineal ties are sometimes conceived as existing among women only (omitting men). There are strong ties
between mother and daughter and between sisters which en­
gender ties among men. But for a woman procreational
patriliny gives way before marital ties or accretion to the
lineage of her husband.

Chapter 8 : MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Marriage is the only recognized avenue to social
maturity; very few persons remain unmarried. Procreation
not sexual relations are the 'cornerstone' of marriage.

Mahr is a compulsory settlement which according to
canon law a man must make on his wife. It is presumed in
the contract of marriage. There are now two main adat
marriage payments, the great gold and the little gold. The
former remains as a debt of wife-receivers to wife-givers;
the latter is paid to the bride's father in cash. The
relationships between the woman-givers and woman-receivers
and the social position of the wife turn on whether one of
these payments is regarded as the mahr or the mahr is
specified separately.

If the great gold is specified as mahr it cannot
normally be paid because its monetary value is too high.
A woman therefore has a strong right to retain the use of
her husband's property after his death. On the other hand
she has to forgo her mahr on divorce.
If the little gold is specified as mahr part of a woman's mahr is spent on entertainment and the woman loses the insurance against divorce which an unpaid mahr represents.

If the mahr is specified separately the position of the woman depends on its value and whether it is paid promptly or not.

The great majority of divorces are between persons who are newly married. The mean duration of marriage among newly marrieds who are divorced is one year and five months.

In a sample of recent divorces sixteen were due to simple incompatibility, six to interference from outside the nuclear family itself and three to special causes.

If a woman wants a divorce she always has to relinquish her mahr or reimburse the man if the mahr has been paid.

If both want the divorce they often arrange it themselves, if one party only wants the divorce the case is settled by the kahangi of the two parties, the religious judge or the headman.

A woman can 'buy' a divorce.

On divorce property acquired during the marriage is usually divided equally. The children of a divorced couple stay with their mother while they are young and their father should contribute towards their support. When they are six
or seven they may join their father.

Chapter 9: MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

Marriages are rarely arranged by parents; a youth usually seeks a wife for himself. The usual ways of effecting a marriage are by proposal, abduction or running away. Whichever way is adopted the main adat marriage ceremonies are the same. Both parties are supported by their respective lineages and woman-receiving groups.

The ceremonies symbolize the social structure. Structurally the woman-giving/woman-receiving relationship is epitomized in the exchange of rights over the procreative powers of women for support; in terms of actual expectations it consists in the exchange of a pre-emption right in future females for the carrying out of certain tasks in adat. In practical affairs it is the lineage which is important. The members of a man's lineage organize the wedding and carry out the background negotiations. Sometimes they give or lend money to a youth so that he can get married on condition that he works for them later.

In relation to social organization the pre-wedding negotiations are like peace-making on a large scale.
Other precepts of interaction are demonstrated in the ceremonies.

Adat and Islamic elements in the marriage ceremonies parallel but do not entail one another; some of the adat ceremonies are omitted altogether; the rest are accompanied by prayers or incantations. In short the Islamic rite sanctifies the whole performance.

The larger ceremonies symbolize the social structure in general terms; the lesser ones concern the post-marital functions of the bride and groom and are expressed in kinship terms.

The Mandailingers conduct their ceremonies as if they represented the social order but demonstrate by their actions that they are not involved in them.

It is not possible to say that ritual actions are forms of symbolic statement about the social order unless it can be shown that the ritual statement means something, to whom it is meaningful and to what degree people care about it.

In modern Upper Mandailing there is a dissonance between the symbolic statements of some adat ritual and the facts of the social order.

Chapter 10 : THE NUCLEAR FAMILY HOUSEHOLD

Ideally a household consists of a nuclear family.
58.5% of all households have this composition.

A typical house is described.

The economic relations of a man and his wife are summed up in the equation maintenance in return for work. The idea of hukum kongsi, the law of co-operatives has become an integral part of man-wife relations.

A man and his wife are supposed to be partners for life.

Marriage should lead to parenthood. Women play on their husband's interest in the children in order to get their own way.

Children are socialized to a great extent by their siblings; they are taught the double behaviour standard of the adult world: the maintenance of a social face implying willingness and co-operation with an underlying motif of personal forcefulness.

Because of the cohesion of the nuclear family orphans find it difficult to achieve a satisfactory position in a nuclear family other than their family of orientation.

A man's domestic affairs are his private concern but his wife is quickly absorbed into the camaraderie of the women of his lineage.

In daily life the household is segregated as a social and economic unit. Its social status depends on the energy
and initiative of its members. Owing to the fragmentation of holdings little help can be expected from outside the household itself. Gifts are very rare. Status can be gained by giving large feasts at Ari Rajo, the celebration of the breaking of the fast; or by building up a pool of clients to whom economic privileges are given. The two principles of economic process which lead to structurally significant differences are: a debt which remains unpaid provides a social tie and the contribution of effort implies a right to share in the product. Membership in a household provides the maximum opportunity for achieving most of the culturally defined goals.

Re-examination of 'lineage structure' shows that a lineage consists of a number of condensed units which provide mutual support in adat ceremonial and sickness or mutual insurance for each other.

Households are linked as neighbours: a man's neighbours are his emergency help group.

Chapter 11: VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The work of households must be co-ordinated in order to meet the demands of hydraulic agriculture, crop pest control and equity in the distribution of garden land.
The organization of religious affairs in the village is in the hands of the religious judge, the prayer leader and recitation teachers. A paid religious teacher may be appointed. Committees are elected to collect religious tax and to care for the mosque.

Upper Mandailingers display little evidence of a sense of moral guilt. Moral judgements are not made by the community about the carrying out of religious duties by individuals.

Social control takes the form of a co-ordinated system of expectations, gain for one individual being balanced against that for another. Religion allows for the differentiation of public face and private forcefulness.

Criticism is a ubiquitous form of social control. Persons who do not fulfil their obligations are excluded from co-operative action; derision is used against persons who pretend to a status which is not properly theirs.

The dynamic relation between individual and group is described by tabulating the control of positive and negative individual action and positive and negative group action in relation to individual goals and group goals.

An elected committee often acts as the agency of community action. Communities are usually poor initiators because no-one likes to delegate authority and no-one will
assent to a course of action about which he has not previously been consulted.

Some examples of community action are given.

Chapter 12: VILLAGE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND COHESION

The social structure of the village community is summarized in terms of ideal, recognized and actual action groups. This three-fold notion is applied to the lineage, the household and the village community itself.

Apart from households co-ordinated for production in wet rice field and garden economically oriented groups are short-lived. The unity of the community focuses on equality of rights of access to village resources. Economic and neighbourship ties are important in daily life but relatively impermanent; the mutual support groups which constitute lineages are concerned with the critical matter of access to wet rice fields and are permanent.

Youth groups have their own social organization and structure. Older men tolerate the activities of youths but retain control of economic and political affairs in their own hands.

Islam emphasizes the segregation of the sexes. Women have a subordinate position in religious matters. Islamic ethics rationalize differences in wealth. The corporateness of the community is affirmed in Islamic rituals but Islam
offers little support to the lineage system.

The headman represents the involvement of the village in the Indonesian state and an external authority, the administration; but he also symbolizes the unity of the village. The role of headman is sometimes equivocal because it is being redefined. The role of the headman as a guardian of the peace has been supported by the administration: the headman is tacitly allowed to inflict small fines. He is sometimes asked to adjudicate in disputes. Criticism limits the power of the headman. A headman is not openly deposed; he is given the opportunity to resign.

The cohesion of the village depends upon three notions: village autonomy, the village as the-place-where-I-get-a-living and village superiority being unified. This is done in the notion of the village as a family.

Islamic ritual such as the communal nazar provides opportunities for affirming corporate identity. The dikir contributes towards community solidarity by allowing release of tension. While Islamic ritual is concerned with community cohesion adat ritual is concerned with the place of the individual in village society.

Achieving a compromise between adat and religion turns out to be an intra-lineage affair and is only of real importance in matters of inheritance. The integrity of the
community is ensured by maintaining some degree of outward concensus while at the same time allowing each individual some freedom of action.

While each village has the same calendar of religious events, each has a distinctive set of observances which mark it off from other villages.

Villages do not have a sense of negeri membership. Some examples of the relation of a village to its neighbours are given.
Appendix 1  CLAN IDENTITY OF HEADMEN
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STATEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY

This thesis is my own original work except for those parts for which acknowledgement is specifically made. The thesis is based on my own fieldwork carried out in Indonesia from February 1955 to December 1957 under the auspices of the Australian National University. I wish to express my gratitude to the Australian National University for the financial support which made this work possible.

Donald J. Tugby
April, 1960
Fieldwork

The major portion of the fieldwork on which this report is based was carried out in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan, a mountainous area in north-central Sumatra. The findings refer primarily to that Ketjamatan, but they are generally valid, as far as I was able to observe, also for the Mandailing portion of the population of the Ketjamatan Muarasipongi and the southern part of the Ketjamatan Panjabungan.

My wife and I arrived in Kotanopan in May, 1955 and left in November, 1956. For the first six weeks we stayed in the Government rest-house in Kotanopan, collected general notes on the area and made several journeys in search of a suitable field-station. We settled in a mountain village which remained our headquarters for thirteen months. During this period we visited other villages in our neighbourhood, Panjabungan twice and Kotanopan several times. We then acquired a second house in a valley village and from there made several journeys covering all parts of the Ketjamatan Kotanopan. Using the focused interview method comparative material was collected during these journeys in thirty villages in each of which
we stayed for two to four days. In the text this survey is referred to as the Thirty-Village-Survey. An economic survey was also made in Kotanopan secondary schools. Finally, we stayed for two weeks in the mountain village and three weeks in the valley village for checking of materials already gathered.

Before departing for the field we had only a few days notice of the part of Indonesia in which we were to work. In fact preparations were being made to work in a quite different part of Malaysia. We started fieldwork having had no opportunity to study the background literature on Mandailing. Once in the field it proved very difficult to get material and almost impossible to find time to read it. On our return to Canberra I found that a great deal of the relevant literature was not available in Australia and it took a long time to get it. In fact a copy of Dr. J. Keuning's valuable work Verwantschapsrecht en Volksordening, Huwelijksrecht en Erfrecht in het Koerijagebied van Tapanoeli became available only very shortly before final revision of the manuscript. The work was therefore an independent investigation in a quite special sense. I think this was an advantage - I had no preconceptions about the structure of the Mandailing social system or how it ought to work before I saw it and I was able to accept what I saw and write
about it with an open mind. It is therefore gratifying to find that allowing for the social changes induced by the Japanese Occupation, the Indonesian Revolution and the deposition of the radjas my findings accord quite well with what has already been written about Upper Mandailing.

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For other assistance I am grateful to the following scholars: Dr. J.D. Freeman who criticised my later field reports and gave me much useful general advice on thesis writing, Dr. Paula Brown who read and made useful comments on early drafts of Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4, Professor Dan Adler who read and commented on Chapter 10 and Professor Daryll Forde, Professor H. Th. Fischer and Dr. J. Keuning who made valuable comments on the whole work. Professor Barnes read successive drafts of all the chapters and made a large number of criticisms and suggestions; if the thesis is readable this is largely a result of Professor Barnes's criticism. Professor Fischer and Dr. Keuning favoured me with personal communications which are acknowledged in the text.

I am also indebted to the secretarial staff of the Department of Psychology of the University of Queensland, especially Miss Jean Hamilton and Mrs. M.E. Kooijman, who have typed the manuscript.

Finally I am indebted to my wife who helped to obtain information from women in the field and without whose fortitude both in and out of the field this work would not have been completed.

For the thesis in its final form and for any opinions expressed in it I alone am responsible.
Note on terminology

Both Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian language) and Bahasa Mandailing (the Mandailing language) are spoken in Upper Mandailing. The first time a word occurs in the text, if it is from the Indonesian language it is followed by I, if from the currently spoken Mandailing language by M, and if common to both languages by M,I.
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Mandailing is in the south of what Dutch scholars call the Gayo-Alas-Batak law area of Indonesia. This law area was characterised by the presence of patriclans inhabiting their own territory, small self-governing communities - sometimes single villages, sometimes a group of villages - a dominant clan in the community which supplied the community head (radja), and immigrant clans with representatives on the village council. Among the Batak matrilateral cross cousin marriage was preferred, the clans being asymmetrically organised so that each clan was related to a wife-giving clan on the one hand and a wife-receiving clan on the other. There was a division of society into nobles (radjas), commoners and slaves. Warfare was endemic, but not very destructive of persons or property. Religion and magic were Hindu in origin, belief in the tondi (M) or soul being a prominent feature. The Batak were divided linguistically into Karo, Dairi, Timur, Toba and Angkola-Mandailing speakers. It is likely that the Mandailingers spread southward from Lake Toba. They met the northward-

1 See Voorhoeve, 1955:9
moving Menangkabau at the southern border of Mandailing, and subsequently some 100,000 Mandailingers, in a total of about one million Bataks, were converted to Islam.

Geographically Mandailing is the southernmost part of the Propinsi Sumatera Utara (Province of North Sumatra). The northern part of Mandailing consists of a large trough flanked by mountains running north-northwest and south-southeast; in contrast, the southern part consists of a complex mountain mass bisected by the River Batang Gadis, which flows northwest into the trough (see Map 1). Although the inhabitants of the whole of Mandailing share the same general culture the type of economy in the two parts is different. When thinking of this difference the Mandailingers refer to the northern part as Mandailing Djai (M), Lower Mandailing, and to the southern part as Mandailing Djulu (M), Upper Mandailing. We may place the boundary at Aek Godang where the River Batang Gadis debouches into the trough. Most of Upper Mandailing is included in the administrative divisions Ketjamatan Kotanopan and the much smaller Ketjamatan Muarasipongi; a small portion is included in the southern part of the Ketjamatan Panjabungan.

The population of Upper Mandailing is approximately
47,000. Of this population about eight per cent are Ulu, about two per cent belong to some group foreign to the area, such as Javanese, Menangkabau, Northern Batak, Chinese, Indian or Pakistani, and the remainder are the people whom we shall call Upper Mandailingers.

The Upper Mandailingers are Muslims. Their main food crops are dry rice, wet rice and maize. They keep a few chickens, goats and buffalo, catch fish in the rivers and fish ponds and trap birds, but do little hunting or collecting. The area as a whole is not self-supporting in rice, and the Upper Mandailingers grow rubber, coffee, cinnamon, and cloves as cash crops and use the proceeds to buy extra rice, fish and meat. They live in villages of from twenty to five hundred houses usually situated near the flatter land on which wet rice can be grown. Upper Mandailingers are active people who are always ready to make the most of their opportunities. They like to become traders and usually do well in any capacity when they emigrate. Many important positions in Indonesian public life are occupied by persons from this area.

This study is, for the most part, about the social structure and social organisation of the Upper Mandailingers in Upper Mandailing during 1955-56 and it is not
about social change as such. But the Upper Mandailing
social system has changed considerably in the past 130
years and a brief historical introduction will help the
reader to place the present social structure in perspective.

When the ancestors of the present Upper Mandailingers
entered Upper Mandailing the area was already occupied by
the Ulu, a people having a simple technology who probably
existed, in the main, on a little dry rice and maize cul-
tivation, gathering and hunting. The defenceless Ulu
continuously retreated before the newcomers and their
modern representatives are found only on the steep, re-
latively waterless, southwest slopes of Tor Sihite and the
remoter mountains of the Ketjamatan Muarasipongi, both
areas unexploitable by current Upper Mandailing economic
techniques.

Contemporary Upper Mandailingers report their early
history in terms of the movement of clans and clan ances-
tors. According to majority opinion in Upper Mandailing
the clan ancestors of the two largest clans, Lubis and
Nasution, came from Padang Lawas to the north of Mandailing
some twelve generations ago. One story relates that a
Buginese was the founder of the Lubis clan (Lubis being
said to be a corruption of Bugis). This story is dis-
counted by Ypes (1932:38) on the grounds that a Lubis clan was the ruling clan in two regions near the Toba Lake (the heart of the Batak country), a status which would not have been accorded to an incoming stranger group. According to other stories, at least some Nasution clan members were descendants of a Malay immigrant from Menangkabau (Ypes 1932:55), the Rangkuti clan came from the continent of Asia (Ypes 1932:57) and the Batubara clan was descended from an Achinese ancestor. These stories are simply rationalizations for the denial of their Batak origin which is general among Mandailingers and which reinforces their religious difference from the christianized northern Bataks. It is probable, however, that the Upper Mandailing clans are segments which split off from clans of the same name - Lubis, Batubara, Daulai, Matondang, Dalimunte, Nasution, Siregar - in Angkola, Sipirok and Padang Lawas to the north of Mandailing. The first four named at least form part of the Bor-Bor complex, a series of related clans which is widespread in the Bataklands. The first entry of the ancestors of the present Upper Mandailingers into the area was at least 250 years ago; Dr. J. Keuning (personal communication) believes it very probable that they arrived 'many centuries ago'. By 1800 the Upper Mandailingers
were firmly established round Maga, Kotanopan, Hutagodang and Pakantan which are the best areas for growing wet rice, but probably there were few settlements elsewhere.

The Paderi Invasion

There is no evidence of Islamic proselytization in Mandailing prior to about 1810, when a part of the population were conquered and forcibly converted in the classic manner. The invaders came from Bondjol, a stronghold of the Paderi movement in northern Menangkabau. The Paderi movement was an Islamic revivalist movement initiated in Menangkabau by religious teachers who had visited Mecca where they had come under Wahabite influence. A civil war developed in Menangkabau fought between the religious, Paderi faction and the secular, radja-led faction. The latter requested military aid from the Dutch and this prompted the Dutch to penetrate into the interior of central Sumatra from their base at Padang. In Mandailing, Paderi rule, though strict and unpopular, was nevertheless effective in introducing a vigorous and crude form of Islam.

By the eighteen twenties, Paderi military expeditions had reached Padang Lawas to the north of Mandailing and
the Paderis were effectively occupying that area. These movements largely bypassed Upper Mandailing by utilising the parallel valleys to the northeast. To enable him to invade Upper Mandailing the Paderi leader, Tuanku Rao, built a military road, a forerunner of the later Dutch work, in the Kotanopan valley. In 1832 the Mandailingers effectively expressed their opposition to the Paderis by giving military aid to the Dutch. Dutch forces occupied Bondjol and called for the surrender of the Paderis in Mandailing. They received offers of help against the Paderis from Radja Gadombang of Hutagodang, a village in Upper Mandailing. During 1833 Radja Gadombang, occasionally accompanied by the radja of the nearby village of Pakantan, aided the Dutch at Fort Amerongen, near Rao, at least four times and, in addition, undertook expeditions to Angkola and Padang Lawas. In return for his help he was given the Dutch post of Regent, or local governor, of Mandailing and the areas immediately to the north.

The Mandailing alliance allowed the Dutch to introduce Northern Batak troops via Natal — later to become a point of exit for Mandailing products — and to fall

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1 There is much information concerning these incidents in Radjab (1954: 135-356).
back on Upper Mandailing when driven from Fort Amerongen. The Paderis gradually lost military strength and were finally defeated in Padang Lawas in 1838. Radja Gadombang was killed in 1835 and a Dutch civil authority (Controleur) was appointed in Mandailing in the same year. After the defeat of their military forces the Paderis concentrated upon spreading their ideas by teaching; by 1890 virtually the whole Mandailing population had been converted to Islam.

The Period of Dutch Penetration

Whatever the immediate aims of Dutch military strategy may have been their general policy changed from the use of the Kotanopan valley as a military base to the establishment of civil control over the whole of Mandailing. The alliances of the Dutch civil authority and the radjas prevented popular uprisings in Mandailing of the type which took place in Menangkabau in the next few years. The only rebel against Dutch authority was the successor to Radja Gadombang who became uneasy at the growth of Dutch hegemony, opposed it and was unseated for his pains. His area was incorporated for official
purposes in that of a neighbouring radjadom. The political order which emerged after Dutch control was established consisted in an over-ruling power based outside the area and essentially foreign to it - supported locally by a police force and maintaining control of local affairs by indirect rule. The general form of this system has remained the same until modern times.

The system of control hinged upon the Dutch-radja alliance. Before the Dutch entered the area the political order was conceptualized in terms of a series of linked mother-child villages. The mother villages were those villages from which the founders of the related child villages hived off - usually in search of nearby unused land. When the new unit had reached a size of about two to three hundred persons and upon a request being made to the mother village, a member of the ruling family of the latter came to reside in the child village where he acted as radja. He brought the adat with him. That is to say,

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1 This event is illustrative of the long arm of historical incident in Upper Mandailing: after the Indonesian Revolution of 1945 - 47 the Hutagodang area was once more made an autonomous unit and the direct patrilineal descendant of Radja Gadombang became an important Government official.

2 This is a brief reconstruction of the situation, sufficient for present purposes, from data gathered from old male informants and from Willer (1846).
he gave the new unit, formerly without jural personality, its legal being. But the ties between mother and child villages consisted in more than the kinship link between radjas. All the member villages had access to the land of the mother-child village complex; when a beast was cut in the child village a portion was sent to the mother village; and the heads of child villages together with the head of the mother village constituted a council which dealt with matters of common concern. In short, there was a complex of rights of an economic and jural nature binding the mother and child villages in a single jural-political system. Although there may have been alliances between village complexes in war, there were no other strong links between them. Within the village a similar order, with its complicated checks and balances, prevailed. The Radja was not a tyrant, but the chairman of a village council on which sat representatives of all clans in the village.

The Dutch required a system of a different type. They needed to maintain security and to 'open up' the country for trade. They needed to reach the heart of the country, both in the sense of organising the collection of economic products in villages distant from the
centre of control and in that of exerting their political influence there. In particular, they required an outlet to Natal—and this implied the organisation of a large quantity of labour. The mother-child village complex with its radja system resembled, superficially, an hierarchical political order and was suitable for transformation into a centralized administrative system. It was therefore accepted for this purpose, without extensive reorganisation. The head of each mother village, the Radja Panusunan, the collector, was appointed Kepala Kuria, official head of the village complex, while the head of each child village, the Radja Pamusuk, the sheath, was appointed Kepala Kampong, official head of the village. Each radja now performed two political roles: as Radja Panasunan the head of each mother village acted as an adat court of appeal in civil cases and had powers of punishment in criminal cases. Moreover, he was supported by the pomp and circumstance of ulubalang (M), warriors, slaves, periodic ceremonial gifts and service for the cultivation of his rice fields. His immediate family also had a high status and shared in the work of village government. As official head of the village complex, on the other hand, he represented the over-ruling power and was
solely responsible for conveying its orders and seeing to their execution. Having the ear of the Controleur he could manipulate the situation in his villages and bring to bear the sanction of Dutch power. As Radja Pamusuk the head of each child village was symbolic of its jural unity. In village council meetings he summed up the arguments of factions and gave the final decision. He was the arbiter of inter-clan conflict, and in matters of punishment his decision, together with that of the village council, was taken to represent the will of the community. He was the disposer of village lands and provided food for strangers. Continuity was assured by the inheritance of his position in the male line. As official head of the village, on the other hand, he was acting not on behalf of the community but on behalf of the Dutch administration. In this role he was the initiator of action rather than an arbiter among the actions of others. Moreover, his relationship to the higher authority was of a new type. Instead of a solitary relationship between men of one family expressed in terms of the mother-child kinship idiom, the new relationship was an hierarchical one involving the transmission and execution of orders. We do not know what models the culture may have provided for this new system.
Economic expansion took place pari passu with the strengthening of political control. In 1845 three thousand men worked on the construction of a road which crossed the western mountain barrier of Mandailing and linked the area with the River Natal and the coast. Collecting houses for exportable local products were set up in the Kotanopan valley. The population of the Onderafdeeling Klein Mandailing, Oeloe en Pakantan\(^1\) increased from an estimated 16,000 in 1846 (Godon 1862) to 22,601 in 1890 (Ris 1896). The latter figure includes 3,292 Ulu. If we may assume that the latter declined from an estimated population of 4,000 in 1846, or that some were absorbed into Mandailing society as slaves - as is not unlikely - this implies an increase in the population of Mandailingers in the area mentioned of some 7,309 in forty-four years. This increase was probably due to the cessation of local warfare and the expansion of economic activity.

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\(^1\) This area excludes the northern quarter of the present Ketjamatan Kotanopan, but includes the neighbouring, small Ketjamatan Muarasipongi. The population of the same area today is approximately 30,000.
Dutch policy had also its ethical and 'civilising' aspects. The slaves were freed by the payment of a price per head about 1870. Ris reports that there were none in the area in 1895. In fact, a few lingered on in the houses of heads of village complexes until the early years on the present century. Christian missions were set up about the same time, significantly enough, at Pakantan, the village of a radja who had helped the Dutch in the fight against the Paderis, and at Muarasipongi, the administrative centre of the Pakantan area. Although the sons of the radjas became temporary Christians for the benefit of the elementary education which went with conversion the missions were not generally successful. In 1895 there were only 100 Christians in the area, while the rest of the population professed Islam. A branch of the Pakantan mission at Hutagodang was patronised for the education it offered, but failed to make any converts and was abandoned after a few years. It is significant that radjas already desired secular education for their sons.

The Period of Expansion 1880-1940

The administration introduced coffee in 1878. This was a great stimulus to the area. Although the culture
system had been officially abandoned,\(^1\) each village was forced to plant a communal garden on the basis of so many trees per head of the population. A work roster and an inspection system were organised and a fixed price paid for the product. Crop yields were low and the project was quickly abandoned. But the period of forced planting effectively educated the Mandailingers in the growing and handling of cash crops. Left to themselves, individual growers soon increased production. This led to a search for better land away from the established villages in the higher parts of the area where, although extensive wet rice land was not available, coffee could be more successfully grown.

The Mandailingers now had the opportunity to accumulate capital which, in turn, enabled them to make the trip to Mecca. The pilgrims brought back with them two important cultural items: the model of the Mecca merchant and Islamic knowledge. The first made the merchant a religious figure, a shrewd profit-maker, inspired by personal ambition and yet strictly fulfilling his religious obligations. Under this stimulus trading

\(^1\) The culture system was introduced in the early 19th century; the villagers were forced to grow cash crops which they used to pay their taxes or sold to government agents at government-fixed prices.
as a way of getting a living increased in importance. Anyone who brought back religious knowledge from Mecca had a high status. Those who wished to become teachers set up small schools and pilgrimages were made to their villages. Although, no doubt, without standardisation, elementary Islamic education and knowledge became more widespread.

When new villages were founded as a result of the search for the better coffee lands, the Dutch created new village heads. But these were heads of a different sort - more official functionaries that the head of the adat-bound social order in the village. The new village heads did not own wide rice fields and economically were not a great deal better off than their fellow villagers. Their position was not sanctioned by long tradition, but depended on Dutch authority. The villagers, too, were different. Instead of comprising well-knit segments which moved out of, yet kept in touch with, the mother village, they were made up of more heterogeneous groups of have-nots seeking a livelihood. The homogeneity which formerly existed among the majority of villagers was replaced by variations in wealth and knowledge of a new kind. The administration organised the new villages in the same
way as the old. A *Kepala Kampong* was appointed as head of the village and a *Kepala Ripe* as the head of each clan segment of more than twenty-five members in a village. Their certificates of office were a significant symbol of the new source of authority.

The authority of the adat head of the village complex was also changed. His powers of judgement in criminal cases were transferred to the Controleur. The village complex and village councils were retained, however, with the village complex head and village head acting as chairman respectively. A new council, for which there existed no precedent in adat, was introduced in order to provide a body which could adjudicate in disputes between village complexes (such disputes were formerly settled by war). The cases brought before Upper Mandailing village complex councils from 1923-36 illustrates the competence of this adat 'court': ceremonial rights and precedence -11; divorce and marriage -14;  

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1 Reported in Adatrechtbundel 43, 1949, pp.8-334. The basis upon which these cases were selected for inclusion in Adatrechtbundels is unknown, and the number of cases of each kind may not, therefore, be a reliable estimate of the number of such cases which actually came before the court; nevertheless, the list does demonstrate the kind of cases which were heard.
inheritance and succession -23; land rights - 12; delicts, such as unlawful courtship, extra-marital intercourse and incest, -10. Adat remained koras (M), hard, so old men say, until the advent of Serikat Islam in 1917. But the system of indirect rule through adat heads had become tinged with exploitation. Serikat Islam, primarily an organisation of merchants, but also taking the form of a core of underground opposition to Dutch control, proceeded to undermine the whole system. The Islamic college at Purba was founded in this period.

The former alliance of Dutch authority and radja was now a system of joint control for mutual advantage. These heads of the village complexes and of the larger and older villages had lost most of their indigenous, adat powers of punishment and could retain some semblance of control over the situation in their villages only by identifying themselves with the aims of the administration. Many of them withdrew from effective involvement in the moral and social order of the village and imitated Dutch-western cultural models. This was not unrewarding. When they were first opened about 1914, the new elementary schools at Maga, Kotanopan and Tamiang admitted only the sons of members of radja families. Attendance at such a
school was a sure avenue to success. A man with a school certificate could obtain a job in the offices of Dutch shipping and import and export firms in Medan or enter the lower ranks of the Dutch legal and administrative system and of the teaching profession. A Dutch-speaking radja who became Demang or Asisten Demang virtually abandoned his role in his former village. Those radjas who stayed behind as the heads of larger villages made their new indentification visibly manifest. They built large houses after European models with big, double stone steps, wide balconies, tall rooms, elaborate wooden carvings and separate kitchens which were very different in size and style from the average Upper Mandailing dwelling.

Although soro (cultivation of the radja's wet rice fields by villagers) disappeared in the twenties, the radja's land was still cultivated by tenants who paid rent in the form of a portion of the crop. The system did not involve the reciprocal obligations of feudal service, but it gave the owner some control over local affairs through his power to grant and withdraw land. This was an effective way of creating a group of radja

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1 Grades below Controleur in the administrative system.
supporters since the supply of suitable land for growing wet rice by the contemporary techniques was already exhaus ted. The yellow umbrella, the ceremonial spears, the details of house decoration and the expensive gold ornaments of the wedding ceremony were still paraded. Their meaning, however, had changed. The ceremonies provided spectacles for the masses rather than symbolic expressions of a social order in which the radja, the village council and other village functionaries all played their part. The former caste-like distinction of radja and na_bahat (M), the many, had been justified in terms of a system of complementary obligations of both parties towards one another. This was now reinterpreted as a system of unequal access to new and old forms of status. The concept of radjaship was itself subject to this review. The radjas now exercised dominance rather than leadership and the symbols associated with their former status had changed their meaning. Thus older men of the present generation perceive adat mainly as a form of ceremonial associated with radjaship, not as a system of jural and social relations. The only exception is where adat touches the economic core of the social order, namely, the inheritance of land.
In order to rationalise the system of joint control the areas of competence were redistributed. When the number of villages increased in the late nineteenth century village heads competed with one another in order to become the official head of a village complex. This office was granted on the basis of the number of villages controlled by the applicant. Northwest of Kotanopan, the office alternated uneasily between the radja families in Rao-Rao Dolok and Singengu until the latter was allowed to retain it permanently, probably because Singengu was closer to Kotanopan. An official head of a new village complex was appointed at Tambangan. The large village of Tarlola was split up and its radja claimed an appointment as head of a village complex - a claim which his superior at Maga failed to support. The introduction of rubber in 1918 increased the pace of social change. The new crop could be grown almost everywhere and its effect was not, therefore, confined to one ecological zone as was that of coffee. The increase in spending power led to the growth of markets. There were new opportunities for merchandising and exporting and importing and the money economy associated with them penetrated into most aspects of village life. The regulation of rubber production and,
in particular, the introduction of the coupon system caused a proliferation of administrative functions. The administrative offices were redistributed in space in response to the new transport and communication needs. The offices of the official heads of the village complexes of Singengu and Sajurmaintjat were established in Kotanopan almost on the doorstep of the Controleur. The official head of the village complex of Tambangan moved to Laru (leaving the mother village) and of Maga to Maga Lombang; and the office of the official head of the village complex of Menambin was established near Kotanopan. This relocation was symptomatic of the increase in the administrative functions of the indigenous village heads and of the disturbance of the political and economic self-sufficiency of village life. The economy of the area now centred upon the main northwest-southeast artery of

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1 Each owner of a rubber garden was allowed to sell a certain quantity of rubber; a 'coupon' which gave him authority to do so was issued to him from time to time. Before the system could operate efficiently it was necessary to survey all the extant rubber gardens. Although new gardens were made in order to obtain coupons, in the long run there was a drop in production because the owners of gardens found that they could make a better income by selling their coupons to merchants than by producing and selling rubber.
communication through Kotanopan. The village of Tombang Bustak, for example, moved down to the roadside. New offshoots of villages appeared, often exercising only commercial functions, in roadside positions and markets bearing the names of nearby villages grew up straddling the road at Pasar Maga and Pasar Laru. Shoestring development along the road commenced in Kotanopan.

This increase in economic activity and the consequent redistribution of settlement escaped the control of the traditional authorities. Some of the new settlements were provided with a kepala, head, but he exercised mainly administrative functions; others were, in effect, small self-regulating commercial communities. Thus the redistribution of settlement duplicated the two roles of village heads as Radja Pamusuk, adat head, and Kepala Kampong, official head. The new official-bound, social order became identified with economic progress. Some old men praise the pre-World War II social system in comparing it with that of today not because it was more stable, but because they were, they say, economically better-off.

The internal order of the kuria, village complex, was also disturbed. In relation to the development of the economy it was expedient to construct pathways and roads which took the nearest route to the new markets and by-
passed the mother village, like the roads from Pagargunung to Kotanopan and from Si Banggor to Tanabatu. Moreover, with the improvement of communications, secondary centres of market activity developed within the village complex - as at Pagargunung, Pasar (near Hutanamale) and Hutapungkut - but away from the mother village. Lastly, the seat of the head of the village complex itself was liable to economic decline - in the case of Sajurmaintjat, Singengu and Menambin, for example, owing to the use of motor and bicycle transport which facilitated visits to the more attractive centre of Kotanopan.

At the same time there was a general re-orientation of the area towards Medan and the north. This had commenced in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the creation of the Afdeeling Padangsidimpuan of which the Onderafdeeling Klein Mandailing, Oeloe en Pahantan formed a part. As a result, the administrative officer next highest to the Controleur in Kotanopan was located in Padangsidimpuan to the north. The decline of Natal as a commercial outlet commenced with the rise in the importance of rubber as a cash crop. This geographical re-orientation was accompanied by the movement of people out of the villages. The early movements of members of radja families provided a precedent. Emigration of non-radja families from Upper Mandailing
commenced at the beginning of this century. At first the emigrants went westwards following the trade routes to the coast, or northwards to Lower Mandailing where more rice land was available only a short distance away. But the important and dominant movement - involving nuclear families as units - was to the area of Medan where satellite villages with a predominantly Mandailing population, like Sungai Mati and Gulugor, or urban enclaves of Mandailing culture, like Djalan Serdang, were formed. In the urban context Mandailing culture underwent a change. Men who visited their relatives in the north introduced new ideas into Upper Mandailing itself. As youths, the majority of men began to spend two or three years in Padangsidimpuan, Tebingtinggi or Medan. Some settled down there, but many returned.

Islamic teaching entered a new phase as economic activity increased. The cream of commercial society were the hadji merchants. The first aim of a man who wished to enter this group was to make the journey to Mecca. But, on his return, there were more opportunities for pious action in the endowment of mosques and schools. The local religious schools at Sajurmaintjat (founded 1931) and Hutanal male (founded 1932), with permanent buildings and a teaching staff trained in an Islamic college, grew in this way. Many minor village schools, sometimes with one teacher, were also
founded. The sons of the non-radja group could not easily gain entry to the few secular schools which provided more than three years of education, but they could be and were sent to the Islamic colleges in Purba, Medan and Malaya. Moreover, they often returned to the area where they became religious teachers or religious functionaries. The secularly educated, on the other hand, often left the area to take up jobs in Medan. As a result, religious knowledge spread more rapidly than secular knowledge.

This growth of religious knowledge had, of course, its political aspects. An attempt was made to control the activities of religious teachers by a system of government inspection of Islamic colleges, checks by security police on Islamic publications and regulations concerning the Friday sermon. Nevertheless, the teachers exercised an effective political influence in the villages. The schisms characteristic of Islam were introduced into the area. The Muhammadiya movement, for example, had high intentions - its supporters wished to purify Islam from superstition and draw attention to the social implications of religion. This induced a division into old and new factions, the former emphasising religious ritual, the latter a modernised version of Islamic ethics.

The radjas reacted in various ways to the growth in
the influence of religious teachers. The official head of the village complex of Tamiang encouraged an esoteric movement stemming from Sufism in an attempt to exercise control in his village by increasing the division in the religious group.¹ Usually, however, the situation was one of three kinds: the official heads of village complexes who were economically secure maintained their own faction and ignored the situation rather than attempted to understand it; they saw that the regulations were obeyed and relied on the power of the police. Less well endowed, but secure, heads of villages faced the difficulty that an alternative source of influence in their village - that of the religious teachers - represented; they nursed their own ambitions, which often included a desire to take up a job in the Dutch administration elsewhere, and exerted influence through kinship channels. Finally, a group of radjas, some of whom were more, others less, interested in religion, realised that religious observances might encourage social stability. They played a full part in Islamic ritual and, at the same time, used the religious system for the advancement of

¹ A similar situation has developed in the post-war era. A former head of a village complex, after a visit to Mecca, is attempting to regain influence by the teaching of esoteric doctrine. The teaching method used creates a strong psychological bond between teacher and pupil.
their own prestige and influence. Among present-day village heads these three reactions to the problem of exercising control over village affairs still exist.

Let me now attempt to outline the social and political order of 1940. Radjas were appointed only from radja families. For a member of na bahat, the many, there was no social avenue of entry into a radja family. Radja families generally married among themselves. However, it was possible for a man to become a quasi-client of a radja by marrying a woman from a radja family. Within the radja family itself, persons were selected for office in accordance with their education and competence. A radja who was official head of the village complex, or who owned wide areas of wet rice fields, lived with his immediate family at a much higher standard than the common villagers. In the newer villages, this difference, while present, was less striking. But economic differences also existed among non-radjas themselves, like that between the poor farmer and the wealthy merchant. Apart from the difference in the ascription of authority, then, the critical difference between the radja group and others was that the former had easier access to secular education and a westernized set of moral values. The greater amount of secular education in radja groups was not perceived as a mere difference of
culture, but as an advantage to which the radjas had no special ascribed right. Secular education was important, firstly because it gave access to the coveted security and status of white-collar work and secondly because it was the subject of differences in opportunity. The differences between radjas and others in the field of moral values was also important. The radjas subscribed to a Dutch view of interpersonal relationships which rationalized the new paternalistic form of radjaship. But this view was in contrast with the attitudes and values disseminated by the religious teachers. Some of the latter wished to organise a theocratic state. Thus, from two points of view, that of the average villager and that of the teacher, the 'privileges' of the radja had no moral support.

Members of the non-radja group could enhance their status only by trading or by attending the Islamic educational institutions. Very rarely, they might enter the lower grades of the Dutch administrative system and its technical agencies. A growing number of persons by-passed the local situation by emigration, either to better wet rice lands and an easier form of the traditional life, or to the different cultural environment and more expansive economic opportunities of the Medan area. Within the villages, adat functionaries were appointed, but as such
their political influence was slight. They served merely to give symbolic support to the radja. Judging by the number of chairs, tables, lamps and other household articles still to be found in old houses, the standard of living of the average villager was about the same as, and possibly a little better than, that of today.

The Controleur now exercised only minor judicial functions. He controlled, or appeared to control, the judiciary and the police. In a position above the wranglings of courts and the manipulations of village heads, he could be and was appealed to. In a case in 1932, a radja of an important village was deposed and gaol for striking a commoner, a case aptly epitomising the new distribution of power and demonstrating that the policy of paternalism had reduced the power of the indigenous heads still further.

The Japanese Occupation

Dutch control ended dramatically when the Japanese invaded Sumatra in 1942. The first Japanese forces to enter Upper Mandailing did so unimpressively in small units mounted on bicycles. Later larger numbers of troops came in trucks. The Controleur was questioned, publicly humiliated and later imprisoned. The symbolic significance of his deposition — it marked the end of an era — remained unperceived amidst doubts about Japanese intentions. The
latter soon emerged; and as Japanese action swung from 'freeing' of the area to organising its resources in support of their war effort, the committees to welcome the Japanese which had been formed in several villages were dissolved by common consent.

Two or three men from each village were inducted into the labour battalion, which was attached to the Japanese Army and known locally as the Heho, and taken to Medan and other places. Other men were recruited for work on Japanese military installations in Mandailing and nearby areas; they usually ran away and returned to their villages. A large lead mine near Pagargunung, a Dutch enterprise which had been abandoned in the nineteen-thirties, was re-opened. Many labourers were required for this work.

As the war progressed the Upper Mandailing economy declined. The Japanese demand for labour was less disturbing than was the cessation in the export of coffee and the dwindling in that of rubber. In the latter part of the period of Occupation, rubber was used only for making shoes and a distillate was sold to the Japanese for use as motor fuel. The coffee and rubber gardens were neglected. The Japanese collected rice from the villages and issued rations from a central depot. But this system worked only sporadically. The Mandailingers emptied their
rice barns and concealed the contents. They supplemented the food supply by growing more hill rice and maize than usual. In spite of the ban on its movement rice was fetched from the Panjabungan area by men who travelled at night on little-used paths. But these measures were insufficient to prevent a shortage of food. Most families in the area normally depend on cash crops for money to buy supplementary food supplies. The little money obtained from the Japanese could not make up for the loss of the cash crops. Moreover, the ban on the movement of rice prevented the purchase of large quantities of rice from Lower Mandailing. This is the normal way in which the economies of the two areas are adjusted to one another.

Both men and women turned to the gathering of forest products. Many people joined relatives, former migrants, in Lower Mandailing and other areas. Whole villages were abandoned. The former village of Pagaran Hutapadang, in the Hutagodang area, disappeared in this way. Owing to the need to conceal the movement of food the roads were abandoned. Old trade routes over the southwest mountain barrier into Natal were re-opened, mainly in order to bring salt from the coast. Stealing was not uncommon, but the Mandailingers guarded their rice well - the Japanese were the usual victims. Trade, often in illicit articles and
those stolen from the Japanese, was readjusted to the new conditions. The Japanese note issue was the medium of exchange. Trading proved to be one of the most viable parts of the normal social organisation. Some men even rose to a newly-found importance as merchants and founded a post-war fortune by buying up cheap land. Nevertheless, normal social relations were strained. The system of economic ethics encouraged the pursuit of individual gain and, in this period of shortages, the maintenance of this precept implied the loosening of other moral ties. For example, the needy were passed by and there was no adjustment of inequality by gifts. Ceremonies and feasts declined and those who asked their kinsmen for help were not always well received. In short, there was an accentuation of self-sufficiency and economic individualism. In Upper Mandailing reciprocity is normally maintained between the more and the less wealthy by a show of respect on the part of the latter who may then ask for gifts from the better-off. But this system broke down. Persons who had food kept it for themselves.

The Japanese did not actively interfere in village affairs in the sense of attempting to institute a new system of government. In some villages they appointed men who were supposed to keep them in touch with affairs and
and to recruit labour. Japanese patrols occasionally traversed the area. Some radjas collaborated with the Japanese and remained in office. But most of the radjas effaced themselves since they feared that, owing to their indentification with the Dutch, some form of retaliation might be made against them. Some radjas lived quietly in their villages, others left them to rejoin the wealthier families from which they had come. In spite of the lack of organised government there was little social disorder. The self-regulating properties inherent in the social structure of the village community and the fear of the villagers that, if anything untoward happened, the Japanese might interfere ensured that peace was maintained. In effect, the villagers governed themselves in terms of what had become the accepted community law. The Japanese applied sanctions only when their own regulations were broken.

The Upper Mandailingers judged the Japanese in terms of the knowledge which they gained about Japanese attitudes and values in personal contacts from time to time. The Japanese seized chickens and fish, sometimes grossly overpaying the owner, sometimes giving nothing. This was, of course, contrary to Upper Mandailing notions of how to effect a transfer of property and it led the Upper
Mandailingers to believe that the Japanese had no sense of monetary values. Some of the Japanese soldiers kept concubines, a practice judged by the Upper Mandailingers to be only mildly sinful, but, nevertheless offensive because done too openly. The Japanese forced the people with whom they were in constant contact to take part in their ceremonial life. The movements of bowing were reminiscent of those of Muhammadan prayer and the Japanese observance was perceived as being similar to the latter in intent. Nevertheless, it was regarded as idolatrous. At a late stage of the Occupation, the Japanese gathered a number of religious leaders together in gaol and, so the Upper Mandailingers say, threatened to execute them. But generally they did not interfere with religious life in the villages. The mosques were not desecrated. Individual Upper Mandailingers learnt as much as they could from the Japanese - even to their language. But much of what was learnt, by contrast, clarified and sharpened Upper Mandailing values themselves. Much of the behaviour of the Japanese was regarded as amoral, irreligious or stupid. In spite of their military victory, the Japanese did not displace the Dutch-Indonesian and Upper Mandailing models of the good. After their departure, they were almost universally summed up as *djahat* (M,I), wicked.
The Japanese did not, then, succeed in effecting any essential change in Upper Mandailing norms of conduct. But by their military victory they eclipsed the power of the Dutch and destroyed the pre-war framework of administration. It is significant that the buffaloes - an important symbol of radja status - were killed and that the adat ceremonies declined. The radjas 'owned' the adat. Had the ceremonies been a vital part of the culture some effort would have been made to carry them out. But, by 1940, the role of each radja as adat head had been virtually replaced by his role as administrator. The destruction of the framework of administration revealed this fact. In the interregnum, undergroup political organisations were active. Some of their members were allotted the special role of maintaining touch with the Japanese and the political organisations as a whole prepared to engage the radjas in the post-war fight for office.

The Occupation was a period in which the validity of the moral overtones of kinship was in doubt. The discoveries which emerged - that, in the field of economics, each man depends upon himself and that neither adat nor canon law prescribe that, in times of stress, one man should freely help another - may account, in part, for the sharpness of present day economic practice. Finally, the Mandailingers
found that they could govern themselves without the aid of
the radjas and this discovery, together with their experi­
ence of the Japanese, confirmed their suspicions of the
motives of any kind of administrator.

The Post War Period

The news of the Declaration of Indonesian Independence
on 17 August 1945 reached Kotanopan two days later. The
Indonesian flag was raised outside the main office of the
administration where formerly the Dutch flag had flown. An
area committee was elected comprised of teachers, merchants
and radjas, i.e. occupants of positions of high status in
the period of expansion. The members of the committee went
about from village to village in order to spread a knowledge
of the ideals of the Indonesian Revolution. A National
Committee was elected in each village. But some sections
of the population remained detached from the appeal to place
themselves under a new administration. They expressed an
attitude of 'wait and see' which is characteristic of
Mandailingers in relation to the announced ambitions of
others. Nevertheless, the returning Heho and persons who
had gained confidence in their contacts with the Japanese
kept the Revolution going. The revolutionaries maintained
a semblance of political authority and a monopoly of the
organs of propaganda. The radjas, especially the heads of village complexes, did not all submit gracefully to this abrogation of their privileges. At Tamiang, stones were thrown at the house of the village-complex head and a fight developed. At Maga the official head of the village complex intrigued against the revolutionaries and, at one stage, succeeded in having one of their leaders gaolèd. Whether the Dutch would return or not was uncertain. The revolutionaries themselves represented various factions - religious, socialist and communist. Nevertheless, the situation settled down. After a year or so, the National Committees gave way to village heads who were elected in accordance with emergency regulations issued by the newly formed Tapanuli area government at Sibolga.

In the villages, however, the economic situation was aggravated by the return of temporary migrants and by refugees. During the second Dutch Police Action of 1947 Dutch forces reached as far as Padangsidimpuan. Mandailing was not re-occupied, but many persons fled there from the north. The currency became vastly inflated and, here and there, barter was resorted to. The Dutch soon withdrew, but a substantial recovery of trade took place only after the transfer of sovereignty on 27 December 1949. At that time the Ketjamatan Kotanopan - the administrative unit on
which this study is centred - was established.

The social structure and the social organisation of village society in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan in 1955-56 is our main subject and we shall not concern ourselves further with social history as such. As a result of the social changes which have taken place in the last 130 years the social structure of the village community is quite different from what it was in the pre-Islamic period. At that time the basic social units both in relation to political authority and the ownership of wet rice lands - the most important means of production - were the clan segments. The radjas, as 'owners' of adat, were the dominant figures in the community. Conversion of the population to Islam allowed the religious teachers to challenge that dominance. Islam provided a new code of commercial ethics, a new system of inheritance and new ideas about marriage and divorce which emphasised the importance of the individual in contradistinction to that of the lineage and clan. In the twentieth century, modernism, an imitation of Dutch-western patterns of behaviour, further undermined the now Islamized indigenous social order. During the Japanese interregnum many old social practices and institutions were sloughed off and after Independence a new form of Mandailing-Indonesian democracy appeared of which the important
elements were the self-supporting nuclear family, the semi-independent village community and the independence of action claimed by youths, all expressions of the freedom, Merdeka, for which the Revolution was ostensibly fought.

The changes which took place in Upper Mandailing in colonial times are very similar to those which Benda (1958, Chs. 1-3) describes as having taken place in Java after the introduction of Islam. The pre-Islamic, clan-dominated social system of Upper Mandailing was very different from the pre-Islamic Hindu-Javanese states - it had, for instance, no centralized system of administration. But the Dutch proceeded to institute such a system and to provide the radjas with new roles which made them the equivalent of the ruling priyayi class of Java - composed of men who were never Muslims at heart but whose westernization was the key to their identification with the colonial administration and the maintenance of Dutch control. As the system of indirect rule evolved the events which Benda so well describes as having taken place in Java were paralleled in Upper Mandailing: the use of religious judges as advisers, the growth of a system of religious schools, the multiplication of independent conservative religious teachers, the differentiation of a pseudo-Middle-Eastern way of life lived by the hadji merchants (called the santri civilization by
Benda), the syncretic Islamic-adat practices of the villagers and the westernized social practices of the radja families and secular teachers. The validity of Benda's analysis and mine is, I feel, enhanced by the similarity in the general pattern of our findings. To understand the development of Upper Mandailing society after World War II, however, it is necessary to consider the particular local conditions in more detail. In the next chapter, therefore, we deal with the physical environment.
Chapter 2
The Natural Environment and the Pattern of Occupation

General physiography of the area

In Upper Mandailing the high, forest-covered mountains dominate the smaller detail of both landform and cultural landscape. Here and there, the eye finds relief in the different texture of alang-alang grass\(^1\) on the lower northwest-southeast mountain slopes. Elsewhere trees are the most obvious form of growth. Rows or clumps of trees line the main road which follows the valley of the River Batang Gadis through the middle of the area (see map 2). There is an opening in the valley in the Kotanopan area, which is hemmed in by narrow passes at either end. This is the only extensive area of near-flat land. The villages there are distinguishable from their surroundings only because they are fringed by clumps of coconut palms and situated on the patches of slightly higher ground. Each village is surrounded by a minutely divided mosaic of wet rice fields. In the major valley there are similar, but smaller, openings at

\(^1\) Imperator cylindrica: commonly known in Indonesia and Malaya as lalang.
Laru, Tamiang and Botung. Between Laru and Djambatan Merah, the road leaves the river and zig-zags over old lava flows. On the lavas the country is more open. From near Maga to the Batang Gadis there is a series of shallow, moderately steep-sided valleys which trend northeast and lead to the river. There are two high terraces on the southwest side of the Batang Gadis; below them the land drops steeply to the water's edge. From the opposite bank the limestone flanks of Tor Sihite rise sharply. Southwest of Maga, round Hutanamale, the topography is vigorous with large, step-like slopes. Interruption of the drainage by lava flows has caused a series of in-filled small valleys which are flat bottomed and fertile. Father to the southeast the volcano Sorikmerapi, 2145 m. in height, dominates the landscape. It emits occasional puffs of smoke and its hot spring waters are led to bathing places. The alternation of narrow pass and open flat which is characteristic of the main valley is replicated in the valley of the river Pungkut, a major tributary which flows northwestwards to the Batang Gadis, from the southeast corner of the area. The same feature occurs in the upper section of the river Batahan - but this river flows out of the Ketjamatan Kotanopan to the southwest. In the Pastap, Simpang Tolang and Menambin valleys small flats, on which villages are sited, are found at the break of the
slope. The valleys of these rivers - the Batang Gadis and its major tributaries - are the main avenues of communication in the area. The intervening mountains are of varied geological composition. Most of them are steep-sided and dissected by numerous streams. However, the area round Menambin is different. This is a low-lying granite batholith cut up by numerous streams which have small, rather steep-sided valleys. The granite extends to the north side of Bukit Pionggu where it is gold bearing. This area has been the subject of former mining concessions. The streams flowing off the Dolok Namaitait massif and those entering the river Batang Gadis on its northern side from Kotanopang to Muarasipongi have a steep profile and rapid flow. There are only very small patches of flat land along them with the exception of the river Patialo, northwest of Botung, which has larger flats in its higher reaches.

Physiography: economic and social correlates

In each region the distinctive physiography determines the relative position of wet rice fields, villages and gardens. For example, in the main valley the villages vary in size from 100 to 150 or more houses and are set in the middle of their rice fields or are perched on a marginal shelf and expand at the expense of the gardens at their backs; villages in either of these situations are compact
in form. In the minor valleys rows of houses - amounting to fifty to eighty houses - run parallel to the line of communication and are perched one above another at different levels along the steep hillside. In the Hutanamale area the villages are situated in the middle of a patchwork of rice fields and rubber gardens. Consequently, they may take what form they please. Usually they are square and compact, with about sixty to one hundred houses in well regulated rows. This we may assume to have been the modal form of the village in the early twentieth century.

The detail of physiography is important because it affects the production of wet rice. The Mandailingers have no method of raising irrigation water, and they do not construct terraces on anything but moderate slopes of up to thirty degrees or so - and then only as a marginal extension of the cultivation of flatter land. The two conditions, gentle to moderate slope and water which can be led to the site without being raised artificially, are both necessary for the growing of wet rice. Neither by itself is sufficient. For example, in the area northeast of the road near Maga the slopes are right, but there is a deficiency of water and cultivation is confined to a few patches in the valley bottoms. This situation is being remedied by the construction of concrete channels which will bring water
from a diverted stream higher up the slopes of Sorik Merapi. This example demonstrates, first, the limitations of the indigenous technique and, second, the overabundance of water in the higher regions. In the latter less flat ground is available and only minor streams are fully utilised.

In the narrow tributary valleys land slope is the important factor in wet rice cultivation. There is sufficient water, but away from the stream, where the slope of the ground increases, there is the problem of getting the water onto the land. This is easily solved in places like Pagar-gunung, Simpang Banjak Djulu and Hutagodang where a natural bar forms a temporary base-level and has caused the formation of a small alluvial plain. A brushwood dam is built at the upstream end of the plain. Water from this small storage flows in channels round the margin of the plain and can be released onto it at any point. Where this natural advantage is lacking, or where the slopes are steeper, more use is made of small streams entering the valley from either side. These are dammed and bamboo conduits are used to lead the water to appropriate places. The whole rice field is a complex of small bays each separated from its neighbours by low mud walls. Bays vary in size and shape according to the slope. Once released into this network water flows from bay to bay via depressions in the walls.
Soil as a factor of production

There is a scarcity of flat, irrigable land and where any such land is available it is made use of—soil differences receive little attention. Rice is a hardy plant which will survive under almost any conditions if provided with water. It is cultivated in Upper Mandailing on gritty, quartzitic patches which scarcely deserve to be called soil, and which give a thin plant and poor yields. Boggy patches are also used in which it is necessary to stand more than waist deep in mud in order to plant out the rice seedlings and where the grown rice has much green leaf but a poor head.

More attention is paid to soil in the cultivation of the two main cash crops—rubber and coffee. The latter prefers soil derived from limestone but will also grow on shales. These rock types are patchily distributed in the ranges flanking the main valley. The Upper Mandailingers know that really good coffee can be grown only in areas freshly cleared of long-standing forest. In such forests the weathering processes penetrate far into the ground and reduce almost any rock type to tropical laterite. With its upper layers enriched by humus such an area will grow any crop well. But in the period of expansion large areas of forest were chopped down and considerable areas of forest around
the higher peaks were enclosed by the Forestry Service. The boundary of the reserve probably represented the limit of land uncultivated at the time. But the use of these areas for coffee growing is still proscribed and long-standing forest available for clearing has therefore become scarce. In 1955 a whole village was penalized for illegal planting in the area reserved by the Forestry Service. As a result of the scarcity of long-standing forest, rock type re­asserts its importance since on soils derived from certain rock types coffee will grow successfully even if the land is covered only by bush before the garden is made. The suitable types are unevenly distributed and hence villages in upland areas differ in relation to the coffee carrying capacity of their lands. This difference in the economic potential of villages has become manifest since the Revolu­tion of 1945 and is related in turn to differences in cash income, the volume of trade, the re-growth of communications and markets and access to resources. For example, the cen­tral position of Pagargunung in relation to coffee­producing lands has enabled its merchants to reassert their function of middlemen between the local producers and the Kotanopan market. Income from newly planted coffee in Batahan has enabled two men to buy a pack-horse. Finally, some villages in the Hutanamale area are asserting their
right of access to unused coffee-growing land in any part of the area of the old village complex even though the land is known to have been formerly used by other villages. This claim contradicts the notion of village control of village used land. Land scarcity is leading, in some places, then, to inter-village tension and to attempts at re-interpretation of the laws concerning rights of access to land.

Rubber is less demanding in its soil requirements than coffee. If the temperature is not too low it will grow anywhere except in highly mineralized zones. These are fairly common, but they are small and localized. Generally speaking, it is possible to grow rubber over a wide area below 800 m. above sea level. The crop has proliferated and quite small areas are sometimes planted. Individually owned gardens vary in size from 100 to 1,000 trees; 300-500 is the usual size.

Soil type is indirectly taken into account by the Upper Mandailingers in the choice of a site for growing the major subsidiary food crops: dry rice, sweet potato and maize. The choice of site depends on the type and size of regrowth. If the population remains stable land is re-used after about ten years. The system is one of land rotation, rather than crop rotation.

The mechanical effects of slope are important. Soil
slip and slumping are common on the steeper parts and are clearly revealed when an area is newly stripped. The slumps produce a hummocky surface with small flats and steep backs. The latter are left uncleared. The soil is disturbed and variable and the productive capacity of the whole area is reduced.

Climate and Weather

The graph of average monthly rainfall in Kotanopan from 1884 to 1941 (Fig. 1) shows the maxima of April and October and the corresponding minima of February and July. The minima of February deserves only the description 'less wet'. It is a minor feature, though it has, as we shall see, its importance in relation to the agricultural calendar. The dry period of June–July is a well marked feature.

No figures are available for temperature and humidity. Temperature is lower in wet months and higher in dry. Humidity is higher in wet months and lower in dry. At no time are either excessive. Winds are never very strong; they usually come from the northwest along the funnel of the main valley. Frosts and hail are unknown. Mists formed by nocturnal cooling are frequent in the valleys; they commence to life at dawn, hang about the mountain sides and disappear in two or three hours.
Figure 1 Average monthly rainfall in Kotanopan from 1884 to 1941

Topographic differences modify this general picture. It is wetter and cooler at higher altitudes and the February period of lower rainfall is less noticeable. On the other hand, in Kotanopan the main dry season is quite marked. Rice growers in the Batang Gadis valley rely heavily for irrigation water on a rise in the river caused by rainfall at higher altitudes. In the mountains, on the other hand, there are many small constantly flowing streams. Owing to the differences in temperature and rainfall and to the greater cloud cover in the mountains, there is a considerable variation in the length of the growing period for rice from one part of Upper Mandailing to another. In
Kotanopan the growing period may be as short as five months, but in the highest villages as long as nine.

Weather conditions from time to time determine the details of social life, for example, the organisation of the work schedule. At higher altitudes more frequent rain modifies the diurnal range of temperature, but the nights are much colder and the temperature may fall to 50°F. The mountain people do not use extra clothing, but resort to sitting by the cooking fire to keep warm. This patterned form of behaviour - known as marsiduduk (M) - is facilitated by constructing low hearths surrounded by wide boards on which people can sit. In lower altitudes such hearths are less common and in some villages they are absent. They are replaced by hearths supported on stilts about a metre long. In these villages children make small fires out-of-doors round which they huddle to protect themselves from the early morning cold. Even in the rainy months rain does not fall every day. If there is rain in the afternoon it starts in the mountains about 2 p.m. and in the main valley usually about 4 p.m. But in the mountains local effects frequently produce morning rains as well. There is a difference in the daily work schedule in the two areas. In the mountains it is customary to break the day into two work periods, morning and afternoon, with lunch between; in the main valley work
continues from after breakfast until 3 o'clock. The un-
certainty of the weather - there are no means of fore-
casting - affects the planning of the day's work. In each
household tentative arrangements are made each night for
the work of the following day; but these arrangements can
be confirmed only at early dawn. Men seek a partner for
the day's work, should this be necessary, in the period
between early morning prayers and breakfast; at the same
time women arrange parties for gathering wood. If an early
morning shower occurs plans for a visit to the rubber
gardens must be cancelled since, when the trunks of the
trees are wet, the latex will not run into the collecting
cups. Mandailingers, particularly men, do not like working
in the rain. When a shower begins they stop work and seek
shelter in a nearby hut; if rain threatens, special small
shelters are put up before starting work. People will
continue to work in the rain only when they dislike the job
in hand and wish to get it finished. For example, the pre-
paration of wet rice fields is usually carried out by
women who dislike the work; when a shower starts the women
call out gloomily to one another, but they continue to
wield the hoe like a golf club and splash themselves from
head to toe in muddy water.
Solar time and the agricultural cycle

The cycle of agricultural activities starts on a specified day in the Islamic calendar, which has 354 days per year. Hence there is a dissonance between the cycle of agricultural activities and the solar cycle and, as a result, Mandailingers are confused about the seasons. The majority of villagers aim to harvest their rice just prior to the start of the fasting month (Rhamadan). They do so, they say, because they do not wish to do heavy work during the fast. There are, paradoxically, no anxieties about the basic food supply in this period. In fact the Mandailingers probably eat more food during the fast period than at any other time except the feast which marks its end. In addition to the evening meal at about 5.30 p.m. they have a second large meal at about 1 a.m. Moreover, because the stores are full preparations can be made for the feasts and ceremonies which mark the breaking of the fast and the celebration of Ari Rajo (M), great day, i.e. Idu'l-fitr, with the knowledge that it will not be necessary to work during the holidays in order to obtain food and that there will be plenty of rice for the visitors who normally come at that time of the year. The start of the cycle of agricultural activities is chosen in order to satisfy these social needs. As a result of the variation in the length
of the growing period for rice from part to part of the area, the preparation of the fields commences at different times in different places. But, to repeat, in any one place the starting date is traditionally associated with a date in the Islamic calendar. Consequently, there is precession of the seasons with respect to the agricultural cycle. Mandailingers distinguish two seasons: musim logo (M), the dry season, and musim udan (M), the rainy season. But they have difficulty in relating the seasons to the Islamic calendar or in relating the agricultural cycle to the solar cycle. For most men the passage of time consists in a sequence of ritual to which other affairs are fitted.

The properties of the rice plant are such that differences of climate do not affect the maturation rate of the plant in the early stages of growth; it is only in the later stages when the head is ripening that lack of sunshine and too much rain lengthen the period of growth and adversely affect the yield. Hence the less wet period in the climatic cycle is important because when the period of ripening and the main dry period are not congruent it allows, in some measure, for ripening to take place. If the method of production remains the same, at a precession rate of eleven days per solar year growing conditions change over a cycle of thirty-three years.
Some officials in Upper Mandailing are aware of this dissonance and take steps to correct it; scientifically determined times for preparing fields, planting and harvesting are published by the Peoples Agricultural Office each year in notices posted to buildings in the Kotanopan area, but, apart from minor exceptions, these times are adhered to only at the Agricultural Experiment Station at Maga. The precession of the seasons with respect to the agricultural cycle has other social consequences. First, the preparation of the wet rice fields and the planting and harvesting of the crop are fixed events in the agricultural cycle; other activities are fitted in when the labour force is free from the demands of wet rice cultivation. Hence these other activities are also affected by the changing relations of the agricultural cycle and the seasons. For example, men are free to work in the gardens when the planting is completed, but if this period coincides with that of heavy rain production is lowered. Second, there is some fear about the satisfaction of basic food needs. Certain aspects of Mandailing agricultural methods and economic attitudes, such as experimentalism in crop production, a low level of specialisation, and doubts about the efficacy of cash crop production as a means of getting a living, may be viewed as expressions of insecurity. And
this insecurity, we may say, is a result of an inherently unstable and inefficient relationship to the environment. Finally, it should be noted that the situation at any time is but one phase in a cycle - this must be borne in mind in assessing the reliability of our data of 1955-56.

Vegetation

Mandailingers have little love of their environment; variations in sun, wind and rain are seen as forceful and impredictable. Thunder is said to be a noise made by angels to frighten Satan when he attempts to enter Heaven; rainbows are inexplicable - they should have a head and tail and, it is said, persons who approach them hear a sound like that of a dog lapping water; the unclean nature of the dog is projected upon the rainbow because this seems to be the easiest way of rationalizing its place in nature. The elements are not believed to be manifestation of spirits (djihins, M, I.) or to have an entelechy of their own, they are simply the expressions of the Will of Allah and their capriciousness in relation to the aims of human beings is ascribed to fate (nasib, M, I.).

The vegetable world, however, while it has its strange forms such as curious outgrowths of trees and plants which apparently never age, is regarded by the Mandailingers as more familiar and controllable. There is an extremely wide
variety of plants. Plant growth is prolific; weeds grow very quickly and a large amount of woman-power is expended in pulling them in the gardens. Paths which are not cleaned for three or four months become choked with tall grass and periodic communal work is necessary in order to keep them clear. Bays in a wet rice field which dry out quickly become full of weeds which choke the rice plants and periodic inspections of the water supply system are necessary if losses are to be prevented. In short, the Mandailingers are faced with considerable competition for living space from the vegetable world; as one informant vigorously put it, "It is a fight with the forest".

On the other hand, vegetable products have a wide variety of uses in the economy. Trees, for instance, are used for timber for house-building and in plank production; rotan is used for building ties, clothes-lines, wickerwork and wherever things of wood are fastened together or stone is fastened to wood. Many plants have medicinal uses. Small trees are chopped up for firewood. Women who go to work in the gardens always bring back a load of firewood and a large stock is kept under each house. Wild fruits, plants and berries are used as food, especially by children. Plants which are used for the subsequent manufacture of dyes are collected and sold in the raw state. The parts of the
aren palm, which was formerly planted but now grows wild, have many uses: the inflorescence is tapped for the juice which is the raw material of the brown sugar industry; the fibre is used for roofing and to make rope and twine; the fronds to make shelters and the trunk as a source of food. The vegetable world is also a source of natural fertilizer. In mountain areas, where the growing season for rice is long, the ground is left fallow between harvesting and replanting. When the ground is re-prepared the weeds are chopped down and allowed to rot on the flooded field, thus enriching the soil. The trees and undergrowth, which are chopped down and burnt when a garden is made, have a similar function. But the trees which grow in gardens during the period of 'fallow' have other uses - they anchor the soil, and, after burning off, their burnt branches are used as a source of firewood.

Types of land

These resources are not equally distributed. Contrary to what the large size of some of the trees would suggest the forest is virtually all secondary growth - at one time or another gardens have been made almost all over Upper Mandailing. Primary forest is now confined to the odd patches on the tops of mountains on the western borders of the area which, together with the surrounding areas of what
is now old secondary forest, were enclosed by the Forestry Service in the earlier part of the period of expansion before the land pressures of today developed. Similar reserves were established on the eastern range. The reserves are surrounded by areas of old secondary forest which are a valuable source of timber and ratan; the latter are known as *imba* (M) or *utan* (M). Below them there are old coffee and rubber gardens which are being replaced owing to the regeneration of natural growth. There is much undergrowth in these old gardens and they are thorn-ridden and impenetrable; they are rarely entered. They are classified as *gas-gas na tobang* (M), old utilized land. Interspersed with them are gardens which have been out of use for only a few years and *ladang* on which a growth of young trees and shrubs has sprung up. Both these types of land are called *gas-gas na poso* (M), young utilized land. The settlements themselves are surrounded by a variegated patchwork of stands of old and young garden trees (coffee and rubber at higher altitudes, rubber only at lower), palms, stands of bamboo and cinnamon, *ladang* areas on which maize, rice and sweet potato are growing, areas of *alang-alang* grass and wet rice fields. The shoulders of the mountains which project into the valley

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1 Area used for shifting cultivation.
near Kotanopan, the granite area south of Tamiang and the area south of Maga are occupied by wide areas of alang-alang grass. These are the grazing grounds of the buffalo herds formerly maintained by the radjas. In the absence of the herds, the grass has grown long and the right to use the area is in dispute. These areas are known as djalangan (M), reserves.

In general, villages at higher altitudes control an area which includes large areas of old utilized land or young utilized land, while the land of villages at lower altitudes includes more rubber gardens and old grazing grounds. The latter villages are therefore doubly unfortunate because, in the area which they control, forest products are less abundant and land for the growing of dry rice, maize and sweet potatoes is more difficult if not impossible to obtain.

Finally, we may note that the first impression which a visitor obtains of Mandailing as an area with boundless resources in land and forest is qualified on a closer inspection; a good deal of the landscape is occupied by old gardens which are overgrown and useless. Some of the owners of these gardens have migrated and the right of those remaining behind to cut them down is in doubt. The expansion in the use of ladang during the Japanese Occupation and the Revolution disturbed the balance between the size of the population and
the amount of good land suitable for making gardens. The reserves which were used up at that time have not yet recovered sufficiently for re-use. The general picture is one of scarcity rather than plenty but, owing to the fact that emigration is still going on while the reserves mentioned above are becoming available for re-use, this scarcity will shortly be overcome and, in villages from which there has been heavy emigration, has already been overcome.

Mammals

Since the vegetation is prolific other organisms also flourish. Elephant and rhinoceros are now extinct in Upper Mandailing but monkeys and pigs are common and tigers, leopards, bears and deer are occasionally found. None of these larger animals except deer is hunted for food, but they are important as pests. Monkeys pull down branches in the coffee gardens and eat the berries and they pull up and eat half grown maize. They can be kept at bay only by the presence of human beings - if crops are to be saved it is necessary to organise a roster system of guards. Pigs root in vegetable and sweet potato gardens where they are occasionally shot. But many rifles and guns were lost during the Japanese Occupation and most of those that are left are old and unreliable. Spears are no longer made and the existing ones are not used for hunting. Blowpipes are used
only against birds. The pig population increased during the Japanese Occupation and there are still large numbers of pigs about, but pig hunting is not well organised since there is a taboo on the eating of pork. Deer are unimportant; occasionally they eat growing rice, but usually stay away from human habitation. Bears and leopards are rarely seen; occasionally the latter fetch chickens, dogs and goats from villages at night, but they do not attack human beings. Tigers are a menace. Like leopards they kill domestic animals; but, more importantly, their presence disrupts rubber tapping and the organisation of work in the gardens. In a period of four to five months during 1955, five persons were killed by tigers in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan. After the first death, men did not work alone to tap rubber - the normal method - but only in pairs. For several weeks, in villages which were thought to be specially threatened, no rubber tapping at all was carried out. There was a noticeable decline in the amount of rubber sold on the Kotanopan market.

Of the smaller mammals, only rats and tupai\(^1\) need be mentioned. Rats eat young rice shoots and ripening grain and after the harvest they follow the grain into the houses.

\(^1\) Sciurus notatus.
Traps, poison and cats are used against them, but a vigorous effort is not made to destroy the rat population. In some villages rats eat or spoil about ten per cent of the rice crop. Tupai are small, squirrel-like animals which eat coffee beans and fruits; they also attack ripe coconuts on the palm, eat holes in the shell and render the flesh useless. In some areas up to fifty percent of the yield of a small stand of coconuts may be destroyed in this way.

Sickness

The attacks of the intestinal parasites of man and other micro-organisms are of social consequence. In the absence of official statistics, the following notes on sickness are based on treatment given and observations made during field-work. Malaria is uncommon. There is a little malaria in Kotanopan and rather more in Panjabungan. Visitors to these places are liable to have an attack on their return home. Hookworm is rather common and probably important as a cause of death in children. Bacillary dysentery is rife; amoebic dysentery less so. Some immunity against dysentery appears to be built up in certain individuals but re-infection and re-attack are common in persons of all ages. Colds and tropical sores are the most important of minor ailments. Colds usually involve only a miserable day or two away from work, but tropical sores may become chronic and painful.
Eye infections and soreness of the eyes are common in women, owing to their habit of sitting close to the smoky cooking fire.

'Real' illness is regarded as a serious matter. Sick persons who can walk and who continue to work are not regarded as being really ill, but if they are unable to go to the gardens or their productive capacity is reduced their illness demands attention. Kinsmen and neighbours are the social channels through which help is sought. Curative powers are regarded as important and enhance the prestige and power of those who have them.

The Pattern of Occupation

So far emphasis has been placed upon those aspects of the environment which, in combination with other factors, limit production.

Reference has been made to the way in which the environment is used and perceived by the Upper Mandailingers themselves. In this section the general features of the present engagement with the environment, some aspects of history and the distribution of resources are considered in relation to one another in order to delineate the general framework of human activities and the variation in the ordering of its elements from part to part of the area. The sociological implications of this pattern of occupation -
as I prefer to call it - will then, I hope, emerge.

The effect of the introduction of cash crops

Upper Mandailing methods of wet rice production have changed little, if at all, in the past 110 years. In 1895, Ris (1896) noted gloomily that in the previous fifty years not one plough had been introduced into the area. None has been introduced since. The upper soil of the wet rice fields is turned over by means of the *tadjak* (M), an implement with an iron blade and wooden handle which is shaped and wielded like a golf club. Moreover, the areas of wet rice shown on the map of 1904 are, apart from government projects, almost precisely the same as those which are in use at present. Probably, by 1880, the unused areas of land suitable for wet rice growing were quite small. After that date therefore, it was not possible to establish new villages which depended solely on wet rice for their main food crop. In the long run the use of coffee as a cash crop benefited only specific areas in the higher parts, namely those having a suitable soil. But when coffee was introduced the search for these favoured areas led to some expansion. The power of the stimulus of coffee is demonstrated by the growth of Pagargunung from virtually nothing in 1880 to a population of 1,300 in 1941. On the other hand, the use of rubber as a cash crop benefited those areas below 800 metres. It
enabled the already large settlements there to support some of their increasing population. Rubber also encouraged the growth of a hillside type of settlement which relied on a very small area of wet rice and a greater proportion of ladang crops and rubber gardens than was normally found in the villages sited in valleys.

The uneven distribution of rubber gardens in the area results in an uneven spread of work opportunities for mobile workers. Unmarried men are the main source of labour for rubber tapping and youths from the higher villages, or from those villages which have few rubber gardens, move to where work is available. In rubber-rich villages there are small groups of these youths who although they work as rubber-tappers and sometimes court the girls do not take much part in village life. Occasionally, these youths lodge with villagers and may even share the family meal; more frequently they occupy a separate house sited on the fringe of the village and cook for themselves, thus typifying their exclusion. But this is only one expression of the exclusiveness of youths which is, as we shall see, a distinctive feature of the post-Revolution social structure.

Over the area as a whole a combination of cash crop and food crop production prevailed by 1940. This is also the case today. The seats of the heads of the village complexes
of Singengu, Tamiang, Menambin and Sajurmaintjat which are situated on, or near to, the more extensive areas of flatter land, retained their importance as population centres, and still do so.

The markets

Coffee was introduced by the administration, rubber by enterprising local farmers who had learnt how to handle the crop in Malaya. Their use as cash crops followed the pattern set by the sale of forest products. But owing to their greater power as money producers, the commerce of the area became oriented to their growing and handling. The expansion of the roadside markets has already been noted; that of what we shall term inland markets may now be mentioned. These grew at nodal points in the network of footpaths. They were connected to the main road by minor roads, some usable by pack-horses and others by both pack-horses and bullock carts. The area around the inland markets retained its rural character because the inhabitants rarely visited the larger centres and were not subject to the influence of 'town' manners and customs. The markets at Hutananmale, Rao-Rao Dolok, and Hutagodang still exert this effect. The weekly markets there attract merchants from the major centres and buyers and sellers of local produce from the nearby villages.
During the vicissitudes of the Japanese Occupation and the Revolution the market system did not change, but its functioning was affected by the disruption of communications. Owing to lack of attention, the roads became tracks, the horsepaths became footpaths, and the surface of the main road disintegrated. At the same time the horses, buffaloes, and cows which were used for transport disappeared. They are now being slowly replaced as capital becomes available, but the problem of broken-down roads and paths remains. As these are repaired and re-extended carriage along them becomes cheaper and the merchants take their goods farther outwards from the road. In short, the inland markets are becoming busy again. For example, the road has been extended beyond Hutagodang and a new market has been erected at its terminus.

The pattern of activities is the same in all the markets - the buying and selling of locally produced foodstuffs, cloth, medicine, fish, meat and a host of household articles constitute their main business. The roadside markets - Pasar Laru, Pasar Maga and Tamiang - also function as centres of wholesale trade at which rubber, coffee and cinnamon pass from the hands of local merchants into those of the representatives of Medan firms. These products are packed into lorries and whisked out of the area on the same day that they sold. From the point of view of the average villager this
adds a certain mystique to the higher level processes of the economy.

The roadside markets are also held weekly. Steady trade has led to the growth of ancillary services such as coffee houses, eating houses (which also provide overnight accommodation for the price of food), store houses and bus stations. Permanent shops, which are often the headquarters of merchants who travel elsewhere, fringe the market square itself. These units therefore have an atmosphere of their own. Their physical disorder contrasts with the neat rows of houses in villages. Order is expressed in them in terms of division of function rather than in terms of accommodation to living in common. In this respect they contrast with the village.

Kotanopan

Kotanopan deserves separate description. It is a roadside market on a larger scale with the added functions of an administrative and educational centre. Most of the shops are wooden structures of various shapes and sizes which also function as dwellings. Their fronts open to display goods in a similar manner to those of the roadside market. In addition, there is a row of shops on a raised concrete platform. This block has a curved roof built after the style of a Menangkabau house and achieves an air of
permanence and design. Single units are let to persons who live elsewhere. In other words, this block represents the distinction between business premises and dwelling, or commercial functions and family life, which is found in the town but not in the village. There is also an abattoir, several petrol pumps, a garage, a tennis court, a cinema, a large Government rest house, a jail, a court-house and two hotels which, unlike their counterparts in the outer roadside markets, charge for overnight accommodation. The offices of the representatives of several ministries and those of the local government officers are accommodated in a number of buildings and the officers themselves live elsewhere. The whole group of shops and service buildings is relatively compact in form and occupies about 200 metres of roadside. Behind the shops are the market and the mosque. The dwellings of teachers and officials, interspersed with small shops and the work places of minor specialists, are sited along the sides of the road to the south in a long line which terminates in a block of middle schools and police barracks. Still further along the road there is a group of glass-fronted pretentious houses owned by the wealthier merchants. Behind each of these houses there is a line of small huts which are occupied by school boys. This whole complex demonstrates the heterogeneous elements of
Upper Mandailing culture in juxtaposition with one another. There are four main foci - the school, the market, the administrative offices and the mosque - each representing the field of a different occupational group. We shall briefly describe these groups.

The teachers have a high status. They are variously recruited and trained, the older under the Dutch system, the younger under that of the post-Revolution period. This constitutes, perhaps, the only division in the teacher group. Some teachers are from Mandailing, others from Menangkabau and Java, but this difference in origin is, socially, of less importance to the teachers than their occupation as such. A few teachers who have a doubly high status - they are of local radja origin - have fleeting contact with village life: on the occasion of family ceremonies they are invited back to their villages. With these, and one or two other exceptions, however, teachers intervisit and gossip only among themselves; they read newspapers and books and visit the cinema in small groups. Their exclusion is warranted by the community at large, for whom teachers are a group specially set apart by virtue of their knowledge and function. This could not be otherwise; many of the sons and daughters of farmers aspire to this status - formerly the preserve of radja families. To dishonour the
status of the teachers would degrade the ambitions of the children.

Officials feel closer to the government scene; a number take an active interest in party politics. Those who are locally recruited return to their villages at holidays and many live in local communities. Most officials have contact with the public in the course of their duties, but this contact is of an ephemeral and discontinuous nature. From the side of the Mandailingers at large, officials are perceived solely as men of power from whom privileges are to be wooed or won, not as men who have a duty to perform and, therefore, upon whom demands can be made.

The wealthier merchants fall into two groups: the first consists of those merchants who follow the Islamic pattern of the hadji merchant (p.15). One or two own trucks in which they take and fetch goods in bulk from Medan and Padang. Some have a number of commercial interests which they farm out to sons or other close members of the family. They have worked their way up from the village and retain many of the characteristics of villagers. There is no difference in kind between them and the petty merchant in the village; they merely have a different place on a continuum of success. Although the wealthier merchants withdraw physically from the village, they do not do so from religion. On the
contrary, they have the appearance of being its most ardent followers; but the manner in which they support religion emphasizes a tendency to adopt an exclusive position. For example, they have piously erected a small well-appointed mosque on the roadside for their own convenience and close to their large houses.

The shop owners and lessees comprise the second group, whom I shall call the new merchants. These men are not interested in pursuing commerce because to do so is to follow a quasi-religious model of behaviour, but rather because it enables them to make money. They use modern shopkeeping methods - glass showcases and a carefully kept account book - and maintain a closer contact with officials who are their main customers. The new merchants are more concerned with the selling of imported manufactured goods than with the handling of local products.

The Police are marginal men. They live with their families in barracks. Many of them are Christian Bataks from northern Tapanuli and are, therefore, doubly set apart from the rest of the community, first, as non-Moslems and, second by occupation. The villagers generally prefer self-regulation to police action, which they fear because of its incorrigible nature and its time-consuming involvement. Police patrols are confined, except during elections, to the
main road and to Kotanopan itself. It is only in these places that the police actively search for crime or catch criminals on their own account. The police are thus a small elite, relatively well cared for, housed and fed, whose potential presence pervades all parts of the area.

A number of small occupational groups complete the picture of the working population. Men work for wages in hotels, the transport services, markets, schools, offices and on the roads. Casual labour is a source of cash income for some men who leave their families in the village in the off-season for wet rice cultivation and live temporarily in Kotanopan. On the whole this form of work is despised, it conflicts with the ideal-typical model of the self-sufficient farmer and indicates a poor inheritance. But all men do not share the dominant mores and some prefer to work in Kotanopan because there is more physical movement and a greater variety of social action there. In fact, one complaint made by the members of remoter villages is that such villages are not ramai (I), busy or bustling. Finally, there are a few craftsmen who cater to the local market - laundrymen, leather shoe makers, wooden clog makers, carpenters, and builders.

The schoolchildren form a distinct group. The four middle schools of Kotanopan, all erected since the
Revolutions, accommodate approximately five hundred pupils who come mainly from villages in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan. Mere attendance at these schools confers a unique status. The school represents modernism, 'real' knowledge, automatic progress both national and individual, and membership of the secularly educated elite. These are elements of the new, post-war Indonesian ideal pattern of life which contrasts with the ignorance, conservatism, hard work and dirt of the village. The assumption of this new pattern as a model for behaviour is expressed in dress. Schoolboys wear abbreviated shorts, which effectively distinguish them from other youths, and an open-necked shirt; girls follow teenage dress fashions in newspapers and magazines. In the middle schools, which are co-educational, the sexes mix with relative freedom but in the villages the sexes are segregated and avoid one another. In the religious school at Sajurmaintjat the village pattern is maintained. Boys and girls attend classes in different buildings, boys wear a palakat (I), skirt, shirt, and kopiah (I), black hat; girls a kain (I), long skirt, a long overblouse and a white hood which completely covers the head and hair and falls over the shoulders. The behaviour of the two sets of pupils is also different; pupils in the religious school are expected to behave soberly, move slowly and speak quietly; those in the
secular school are jocular, energetic, boisterous and noisy. The difference in the schools is a striking demonstration of the difference in spirit of traditional Islam and modern secularism.

Kotanopan has a number of associations centring upon economic, political, educational and cultural interests. It might be expected that the network of economic relations which spreads over Upper Mandailing, and the diversity of crops, would give rise to a number of associations focused on different points in the network at which a number of people had interests in common, such as producers, co-operatives, retailers' associations, small firms handling all aspects of business associated with a single product and so on. But this is not the case because of the nature of the network between traders and the limited view which any individual has of the economic system as a whole. In the smallest village there are petty merchants - in Kotanopan there are big ones. In between is a series of other middle-men who have varying amounts of capital invested in goods for trade. Each merchant believes implicitly in the possibility of mobility up or down the scale and each tries to move up to the top. Each is concerned with a number of activities involving different commodities; moreover, each believes that his efforts may be blessed. In other
words, in viewing the economic scene, each concentrates upon the transactions which he has in hand himself and pays little attention to the working of the economic system as a whole. Consequently, merchants with a similar status and functions do not see themselves as having interests in common and, in these circumstances, do not form associations. An informal association of persons who are at one level in the system is found, however, at the point where rubber passes from the hands of the indigenous merchants into the hands of the representatives of Medan firms. The rubber buyers of Kotanopan meet in the hotel for informal discussion before the weekly market. The discussion takes more the form of an exchange of information for mutual benefit than a definite fixation of prices; nevertheless, a general level is agreed upon. The next day, in the give and take of bargaining in the market, variations from this general level may occur and prices also change through time according to the amount of rubber brought in and the transport available. As far as I know, no sanctions are applied by members of this informal association to persons who do not keep to the agreed price level.

Political associations are not important. They provide no new alignments in the society at large, though disagreements concerning political matters give rise to feuds at the
higher levels of administration and amongst a few politically sophisticated villagers.

There is widespread interest in secular education. The earlier merchant interest in schools is imitated by associations for the setting up of secular schools. Wealthy parents, including merchants, contribute money for the first year's school fees of their children to a central pool. The capital accumulated in this way is used to build the school, and the government provides and pays the teachers. But the association continues in being, with an elected chairman and committee who influence school policy and provide extra equipment when the government is tardy. The first high school in Kotanopan was recently built by this means; the scale of contribution, Rupiah 1000.00, far more than the farmer could afford, points to the re-emergence of privileged entry to secular schools.

Modernism is also expressed in the formation of youths' soccer teams. There are four or five teams in the Kotanopan district which play one another and also make visits outside the area. A small committee manages the team's affairs; each player contributes money for equipment, but buys his own boots. Football teams are recruited on a village basis (except that of the police) and are found, here and there, throughout the area. In the outer areas they function
spasmodically and it is my impression that their number has recently declined. In Kotanopan there is also a jazz band, mainly recruited from young teachers, but led by an enthusiastic old one.

The majority of the members of the badminton club are police, though one or two junior officials also play. The tennis club, which uses the court formerly used by the Controleur, recruits its members from the senior ranks of officials and police and the wealthier new merchant group. The club is exclusive. A player's equipment is expensive and few persons can afford to buy it. Moreover the most important members of the club are senior in rank and one or two officials who would like to play feel that to join the club would represent presumption on their part. But from the point of view of the Mandailingers at large, the ability to join the club does not represent a differential distribution of privilege - it does not, therefore, create a new social class. The Mandailingers regard tennis playing and the other modernist activities mentioned as only play (main-main sadjo M), which is a fitting occupation, perhaps, for irresponsible youths, but not for grown men who should be about the serious business of creating their own opportunities.

The associations provide few additional ties between
the occupational groups; rather they are centred upon particular interests within the groups which thereby retain their exclusiveness. The interests-in-common of the representatives of law, administration and commerce are suggested only at the highest level. Informal associations must not be discounted, but there is no evidence to show that they provide any new alignments not suggested by their formal counterparts.

In this brief summary the major groups of Kotanopan society with the interests of each have been delineated. Each field of interest extends its influence outwards over the Ketjamatan in a manner peculiar to itself and has its representatives in the villages. There are links between village and town merchants and the potential power of the police is recognized throughout the area. There are teachers in village schools and the middle school children on holidays return to the villages from which they came. Islam is represented everywhere in Islamic congregations which are coincident with village communities.

The administration

The most general authority in the area is that encompassed by the Ministry of the Interior. This authority is represented in Kotanopan by the Asisten Wedana who is perceived as the head of the Ketjamatan. There is a similar
officer in the smaller Ketjamatan Muarasipongi. The former Kuria, village complexes, have been renamed Negeri (I), region. In the Ketjamatan Kotanopan a new unit of the same order, that of the Hutagodang area, has been added to the original six village complexes. A Kepala Negeri, region head, represents the general authority in each region. Each region head has an office and staff of one clerk. All the Negeri offices are now in Kotanopan or on the main roads. The region heads are provided with a uniform, but are poorly paid. They are a vital link between the administration and the people. All seven in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan are local men, six of them former merchants, the other a youth leader. All have been appointed by the administration. Their multifarious duties, formal and informal, need not detain us.

A Kepala Kampong, village head, is elected in each village. The smallest unit with its own elected head has a population of 120. Units below this in size are known as bandjar (M). They are usually units which have hived off from a nearby 'mother' village. Each has its own head, the Kepala Bandjar (I, M), hamlet head, who has not the authority of the village head of the 'mother' village, but represents him in the hamlet. One or two units of about twenty persons have no hamlet head but are under the authority of a nearby village head.
There is a system of distribution of what we may term religious authority which parallels that of general authority and which stems from the Kotanopan office of the Ministry of Religion. The appointees in this system are known as kodi (M), religious judges. Each should reach a certain standard in his knowledge of Islamic canon law. A religious judge may sanction ceremonies of marriage and divorce and must furnish statistics concerning them. In each region there is a regional religious judge and in most villages a village religious judge. The system is not quite so extensive in its official form as the system of village heads. Persons with the necessary qualifications are scarce and two or three villages sometimes share one religious judge. In villages or hamlets without a religious judge unofficial but trusted persons answer questions on points of law.

The post-Revolution primary school system with forty schools is designed to bring secular education within the reach of all children. In a few cases children must board away from their village.

No other government services are as extensive as these. There is a medical orderly in attendance at the clinics at Pasar Maga, Pasar Laru, Tamiang and Hutagodang on market days; the clinic in Kotanopan is open each day except Sunday. Persons go to the clinic when the village leech fails to
cure them. A weekly clinic service cannot cater for sudden illnesses and, besides, the journey to the clinic must be made and possibly a long wait there endured. A man who can walk and has no obvious defects no longer counts himself sick. Hence the greater volume of practice is in the hands of the leech, while the regular clientele of the clinic is drawn only from those living in its immediate vicinity.

In Kotanopan there are, in addition, the offices of a number of ministries of which we shall simply list those which are of importance to us with a brief summary of their functions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peoples Agricultural Service</td>
<td>Sells seeds, seedlings and fertilizer; provides agricultural information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>Promulgates official news and announcements; maintains a library; organizes celebrations on days of national importance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Provides relief funds in cases of fire, flood and distress; encourages and promotes co-operatives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Islamic educational institutions

The description of distribution of the non-official institutions for Islamic education completes this account. The college at Purba is just within the limits of the area
on the road out to the northwest. Its apparently remote position is belied by its social importance. The school near Sajurmaintjat serves the Kotanopan region, and that at Hutananmale the seven or eight villages nearby. The two schools are not part of an organised educational system in the strict sense but are an expression of local interests and local social organization. Their counterparts in other areas are one-man religious schools which function in the evening or in the afternoon after the secular schools have closed.

General characteristics of the population

Owing to their varied origins there is a wide variety of physical features among the Upper Mandailingers. The commonest type is a squarish face with flat, upright forehead, moderately deep-set brown eyes, slightly flared and forward-facing nostrils and well moulded and slightly everted lips. But some persons have longer faces and finer features and hooked noses and green flecked eyes are occasionally seen. Hair colour is always black, but the hair may be straight or wavy. In terms of the typology of Sheldon, there is a predominance of mesomorphy; mature persons are rarely obese or very thin, but thinness is often found in the aged. Skin colour varies from a dark brown, almost chocolate colour, to a light browny-buff.
There is little cultural elaboration of physical features. Plumpness in women is considered a sign of health; probably because the wives of officials and merchants in Kotanopan or market towns are much less active than the average village woman and, since they do not have to perform the unpleasant tasks of hoeing and wood carrying, are perceived as having a much more pleasant life which allows them to grow fat. Disfigurements - such as the loss of an eye, the loss of a finger, or a withered limb - are disliked and those who have them are acutely conscious of the fact. Such disfigurements are not referred to in public or made the subject of sobriquet - extremes in the range of variation of normal features are used for this purpose. Si Pondok (M), the short one, Si Mok-Mok (M), the fat one, and Si Lelang (M), the tall one, are common appellations used as terms of reference.

Mandailingers are concerned about their skin colour. It is desirable to have a light-coloured skin; dark-coloured children are referred to disparagingly by their parents as itom (M), or lom-lom (M), black; the skin colour of a newborn child is always a matter of concern. In a pretence of despair youths will ascribe their lack of success with the girls to the darkness of their skin. Both sexes like to marry a light-coloured partner.
We may note, then, that variations in normal features are socially distinguished, but reference to the abnormal is avoided. This is the case also in other contexts.

Variations in general physical features appear to be randomly distributed among the population as a whole with the exception of radja families. The members of the latter are generally taller and bigger in build than the average person but, perhaps more importantly, they generally have finer features and a skin colour of a lighter hue.

Normal male working dress in villages and gardens is a pair of cotton trousers (tjelana, M), originally brightly striped, but usually faded by the sun. These reach to a few inches below the knee and are tied at the waist by a cord. An old shirt (kemedja, M) is worn and a skirt (palekat, M), which is changed into before praying, carried over the shoulder. Women at work wear their oldest skirt (sari, M), well tucked up, but left loose at one side for freedom of movement, an old jacket (badju, M) tucked inside the skirt and a white headcloth (busaijon, M) wound into a bunch on top of the head. These are the basic items of dress. On holidays or visits to the market the additions are made which constitute dressing up - men wear a black cap (kopiah, M,I), leather belt and shoes and often a wrist watch and pen, and women, gold ornaments, fancy jackets and
sandals. Quality and style are indicative of status - young unmarried women wear a one-piece blouse, married women a jacket and older women, matrons, a three-quarter-length frock-coat. Girls not yet of marriageable age wear short dresses. The head cloth too, is of different quality and type according to the age and status of the wearer. Upper Mandailingers, in fact, love clothes and they form an important consumption item; each member of the family gets a set of new clothes at least once a year and the new clothes are worn for the first time at Ari Rajo. New clothes are associated with holidays and finery with freedom from normal care.

Outside the village clothes are also indicative of status. We have already noted the distinctive dress of the schoolchildren; teachers and officials distinguish themselves by careful attention to their coat, shirt and trousers which should be clean, new and well-pressed.

Finally, the white cap of the haji, quite common now in Upper Mandailing, is diacritic of a singular status.

The distribution of the population

The distribution of population is of importance because the existence of differences in the population size of different units implies that these units have different volumes of action. In turn, this implies that the problems
of social organisation and social control take a different form in different units.

The population units vary in size from hamlets of twenty persons to large villages of 2,071. The villages in the Kotanopan area are larger (see Maps 2 and 3), because there are larger areas of flatter land there. To the south-east of Kotanopan, ribbon development along the road links Tambang Bustak to Kotanopan. The larger villages of the lower part of the River Pungkut - Tolang (563) and Hutapungkut Djulu (1028) - are linked to Kotanopan by a bus service, fall within its market hinterland and are under the influence of its cinema and other modern institutions. Menambin (1192) the former seat of the head of the village complex of the same name retains its large size. Outside the Kotanopan area, in the river valleys, villages are of moderate size, for example Simpang Tolang Djulu (296). Higher up the valleys, and in the small pockets of flatter land in the valleys of the River Pungkut and similar rivers, there are smaller villages like Pastap Djulu (140) which represent the limit of human occupation in the valleys. The hillside villages, such as Hutapuli (115), Torrumbi (114) and Si Bio Bio (150), depend more on dry rice and are relatively small. Finally, there are the bandjar, hamlets, small units which are sited near tiny areas of wet rice
fields and are, usually, associated with a larger nearby village. Bandjar Silonging (28) is an example. This pattern is repeated in the market hinterland of Tamiang (2071). The latter is in a favoured valley position and retains its former administrative function and its size. The villages situated in the Hutagodang area are somewhat different in that they occupy narrow valleys and have no connection with Kotanopan by bus.

The pattern of the distribution of the population is similar in the Rao-Rao Dolok area to the north, but the area itself is smaller. As the road is repaired, the market at Rao-Rao Dolok is being replaced by the larger one at Pasar Laru. The small hinterland of Rao-Rao Dolok does not make it worth while for merchants to go there, and the inhabitants can travel down more easily to Pasar Laru which is a larger market. The area dependent on Pasar Laru adds no new features in respect of the distribution of its units of population. In the Pasar Maga area, however, the villages are generally smaller and less variable in size consonant with the more even distribution there of small areas of land on which wet rice can be grown. The villages of the Hutanamale area are rather larger. They utilize the small fertile valleys there for wet rice and make use of the possibilities of the area for the growing of rubber and
coffee. Villages in the northwest part of the area use the alternate outlet to Tanobato outside the Ketjamatan Kotanopan.

In summary, the important differences among villages are in altitude, situation (valley or hillside), size, and function (dominance of production or exchange). Kotanopan we may regard as a unique case representing 'the town'. The high villages are more distant from Kotanopan and therefore less directly influenced by the administration and by modernism; they are colder, have a longer growing season for rice and more resources in forest products and coffee growing lands. Low villages have the opposite characteristics plus more rubber growing lands. A high or low village may be situated in a valley or on a hillside. Valley villages have a better water supply and more flat land and therefore grow more wet rice; in hillside villages there is a dearth of water and more dry rice and maize are grown.

The idiosyncratic combination of minor features gives each village a unique character. I was struck by this fact when making the 30-Village Survey. Nevertheless, there are elements common to all villages - Islamic institutions, the general form of the kinship system, the system of economic ethics, and the formal characteristics of the political and administrative systems. Taken together these provide the
framework of a type of social structure and social organisation which is common to all villages including markets and which we shall describe in subsequent chapters.
The administrative units in Upper Mandailing, the Ketjamatan Kotanopan, the Ketjamatan Muarasipongi and a portion of the Ketjamatan Panjabungan, are formal divisions which are not socially real to the Upper Mandailingers themselves. The boundaries of the areas of competence of the various administrative departments are not coincident. Within each Ketjamatan economic affairs are organized around various foci and the links in the economic system cross the boundaries of the Ketjamatan. The latter are, then, weakly defined politically and economically and no one feels that he is a member of one of them. Language, religion and law on the other hand are used as a means for social identification.

Language

Two languages are used for normal discourse: Bahasa Mandailing (the Mandailing language) and Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian language). The former is the indigenous

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1 Bahasa Indonesia is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia; it is used in all official correspondence, for teaching and as a lingua franca throughout the state; it is the language of daily life in large cities and the medium of communication in newspapers, radio and films.
language of the inhabitants of the area; it is recognized as 'belonging' to them, while the latter 'belongs' to no one. The version used in Upper Mandailing differs little from that used in Lower Mandailing. The syntax of Bahasa Mandailing is only slightly different from that of Bahasa Indonesia, although in Bahasa Mandailing more use is made of particles, but the vocabulary of the two languages is quite different. It is impossible for a person who knows only one of these languages to understand a person who can speak only the other.

In the first flush of the Revolution there was a drive to make everyone literate in Bahasa Indonesia, but few course for adults are now being given; instead, every child is learning Bahasa Indonesia as well as Bahasa Mandailing at school. The Upper Mandailingers learnt Malay, the precursor of Bahasa Indonesia, prior to the Revolution through visits to Medan and by formal lessons in secular and religious school. Consequently, Bahasa Indonesia is generally known in Upper Mandailing as Bahasa Malaju. A knowledge of Malay was necessary in order to get a high status job in the city and also gave access to religious literature, much of which was written in Malay using a simplified version of Arabic script. Persons who had the opportunity to learn Malay were able to augment their
status by becoming religious experts. Once having learnt Malay the learning of the script was an easy matter. Because men were more mobile they were able to make more use of this avenue to higher status. The existence of new education media has, however, changed the picture. Most of the standard works are still written in old style Malay using the Arabic script but many booklets on religion are now published in Bahasa Indonesia using Roman script. Most old women and a few old men cannot speak or understand Bahasa Indonesia, some middle-aged women and most middle-aged men can understand it, though they cannot speak it well. Younger persons who have been educated since the Revolution and older ones who formerly attended school understand Bahasa Indonesia well, but vary in their power to speak it.

Bahasa Mandailing is the medium of communication in villages and markets. As far as the average villager is concerned, Bahasa Indonesia is potentially useful but is rarely used in daily life. Although officials, most of whom are local men, must use Bahasa Indonesia in official correspondence and government-sponsored meetings, they use Bahasa Mandailing in their ordinary contacts with the public and also amongst themselves in private. Hence
Bahasa Indonesia remains, strictly, an official language whose use is one of the esoteric characteristics of officialdom.

The learning of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia has brought the Mandailingers into contact with new ideas. Mandailing-ized versions of many words from these languages are in daily use, especially among younger men. The Bahasa Mandailing of the latter sounds quite different from that of the older men, although when talking about matters of daily life they completely understand one another. But many older men are familiar with concepts which are not known to the younger; for instance, some know the vocabulary of the datuk (M), village leech, and others special words used when expressing anger.

Dutch and English also are used in the area. The former is spoken by a few Dutch-educated schoolteachers whose private life follows an Indonesian version of a Dutch-western model. In their homes, for instance, they use a gramophone for entertainment, have large four-poster beds and eat Dutch style foods. They read Dutch language magazines and newspapers\(^1\). The use of English, on the

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\(^1\) The Dutch-educated intellectuals in the city, especially those working in institutions such as hospitals and universities use Dutch as the medium of discussion among themselves and regard the ability to speak it as the sign of real education.
on the other hand, is symbolic of the new order and is regarded as progressive. A knowledge of English is necessary to obtain high-level jobs outside the area and English is, of course, taught in secondary schools. Hence English, like Bahasa Indonesia, is learnt usually because it has potential use, but a number of people have taught themselves English only because they think that the ability to speak English makes them appear modern.

Religious judges who have been educated in an Islamic college are the only persons who can understand Arabic. Almost all males and the majority of females under twenty or so can read Arabic at sight but cannot understand it.

The vocabulary of Bahasa Mandailing differs slightly from part to part of Upper and Lower Mandailing. Native-born speakers of Bahasa Mandailing perceive themselves as Mandailingers in the broad sense but also as persons belonging to a certain locality. This is indicated by the use of Bahasa Mandailing by locally-born officials among themselves. Since Bahasa Indonesia and English are not used in daily life, the nature of Bahasa Mandailing as an element of local culture is emphasized. In fact, in the schools, Bahasa Mandailing is called Bahasa Daerah, local language. Finally, Bahasa Mandailing is not spoken by persons from Java and Menangkabau who are clearly identified as foreigners.
Village Islam

The manner in which Islam was adopted probably differed from village to village but the effect of these inconsistencies has disappeared. No doubt outlying villages remained for a time inadequately converted or unconverted, but at present there is no other formulated religion which has Upper Mandailing adherents. Apart from a few Ulu who are said to have entered Islam recently there is no record of conversion or apostasy in the last sixty years, and, as far as I know there are no Mandailing members of the Christian church in Kotanopan.

All Upper Mandailingers, it is taken for granted, are Muslims. There is no induction into Islam - no 'confirmation', no assumption of a role - all persons simply are Muslims by virtue of a fortunate fate, an example of pure ascription in the granting of a status. In Upper Mandailing the prohibition on eating pork applies to all Muslims and they all obey it. The Mandailingers see this practice as marking them off from Kaffirs (unbelievers) and especially from the Christian Batak who, they suggest, in addition to pork eat dog, another unclean animal. One man was afraid

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1 As Keuning (1953) points out, the social institutions of the Toba Batak and of the Mandailingers were, 100 years or so ago, very similar. Today, however, the Mandailingers do not regard themselves as Bataks; they equate 'Batak' with 'Christian'.
to visit a Christian family in Kotanopan because he thought that he might be given pork to eat without his knowledge; another, who had a persistent stomach complaint, ascribed his sickness to his having unknowingly eaten dog in Northern Tapanuli during the Japanese Occupation. The ban on pork therefore symbolizes that Muslims have a different state of being and a different relationship to God than have non-Muslims.

Islam penetrates all aspects of individual and social life. Canon law includes a system of rights concerning marriage, inheritance, family life and a host of other social and economic institutions. In Sufistic mysticism, asceticism, political party activity and the roles of teacher and hadji merchant Islam provides a variety of ways in which individuals can express themselves. Islamic moral and political ideas link the individual and the group to other persons outside the village or region. Upper Mandailingers think of themselves as members of a worldwide Muslim brotherhood. The agents of Islamic political parties and religious teachers stress this wide efficacy of religion; Islam has, they say, the answer to any problem.

Islam has no organised clergy although considerable respect is paid to well-known teachers. The social organisation of Islam centres on the mosque and its congregation.
The latter is, in most cases, coincident with the village community. But villages vary in their degree of economic development and so have more or less capital available for religious purposes. Other accidental factors have caused religious institutions to differ from village to village: the return of pilgrims with new ideas, an association with an outstanding teacher (there are memories to them in some villages), or the endowment of a religious school. The symbol of religious life, the mosque, exemplifies this variety. Apart from the provision of essentials—bathing water and praying space—mosques differ in every conceivable way within the limits of Upper Mandailing building practice.

Islam introduces a certain uniformity in world view by virtue of the belief in the omnipotence of Allah, the notion of fate and the concepts of Islamic brotherhood and of maknusia (M,I), a category including all human beings. But although it provides rules about a wide variety of matters and a number of different ways in which individuals can express themselves it does not present a definitive view of what is an Islamic way of life. The elaboration of special points of view by different groups leads to schisms founded on relatively trivial differences which are ill-understood by the people themselves. Nevertheless by
the widespread teaching of its rukun (I), pillars, and by virtue of its codified law and clearly expressed system of morals Islam does provide relatively clearcut models for behaviour, which pervade most aspects of Mandailing social life. But it still leaves undone the task of harmonizing the introduced Islamic system of law and ethics with the various parts of the social structure. This task is all the more difficult because the social structure of pre-Islamic times has only partially been brought into line with Islamic principles and this process is still going on. Islamic teaching, mystical, modernist and traditional is still being vigorously carried on. If anything the pace of Islamization has increased since World War II, in part due to the positive efforts of the Islamic political parties to combat secular modernism or to adapt Islamic principles to the contemporary world, but the problems of conformity and co-ordination have still to be solved by indigenous, village mechanisms of social control which are adaptations of pre-Islamic practices.

Modernism

Modernism is more like the imitation of a fashion than an attempt to follow a doctrine. Both in precept and in practice it allows for more individual self-expression. It is man-centred rather than God-centred. It has no
authorities but attempts have been made to codify it as *budi pekerti* (I), character. Modernism provides models for overt behaviour alternative to those of Islam, but it has no substitute for doctrine. Its spirit, epitomized perhaps in the notions of *merdeka* (I), freedom, and *madju* (I), progress, leads to negation of the past but provides no positive programme for the future. Modernists want material advancement — when they cannot get it the result is anomy or violence. Fortunately the last two have not occurred in Upper Mandailing,¹ but their protoplastic forms are visible in the aimless assertiveness of some youth groups, in the dissatisfaction of individuals with their 'life chances' in the locality, and in the almost total lack of attention to community matters in some villages. These are, I think, new post-Revolution phenomena.

Adat and Authority

Upper Mandailingers are conscious of sharing a single system of adat only when the system is spoken of in the most general terms. Upper Mandailingers contrast their own adat *djudjur* with what they call the adat *semono* of Menangkabau. The two systems are seen to differ in

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¹ This was written prior to the rebellion in Central Sumatra in 1958.
relation to residence pattern and inheritance. According to adat *djudjur*, a woman joins her husband's household, while in adat *semondo*, a man joins his wife's household; according to adat *djudjur*, inheritance is from a man to his son, but in adat *semondo* from a man to his sister's son. Upper Mandailing men deride adat *semondo* which they correctly perceive as contrary in spirit to the accent on patriliney which is characteristic of their own system. Upper Mandailing women do not talk about the matter in terms of principles, but imagine themselves in adat *semondo* situations and speak, for instance, of how ashamed they would feel if their husbands were to join their father's household. No distinctions are drawn between Upper and Lower Mandailing in these terms.

The Upper Mandailingers do not recognize the decisions of the Kotanopan court as embodying their adat. The practice of the court is simply the way that things are done there; the court is an agency to which one may or may not have recourse depending upon what one stands to gain or lose.

However, Dutch-Roman law, which is applicable in certain civil and in all criminal cases, is embodied in, and symbolized by, the court. Civil cases we may discount; they concern only the few. In criminal cases
theft and assault are the commonest charges. The court maintains its authority in the villages through the villagers' fear of the power of the police. The latter is seen as abstract and impersonal. The single system of criminal law engenders unity not by a feeling of equality before the law but by common opposition to police power. On the other hand, the characteristics of individuals who act out roles in the legal apparatus — the circuit judge, the chief of police and certain policemen — are studies to see what form legal action will take in practice. There is a sense of dependence in common upon a particular court with its particular personalities but not a sense of conformity to a single, Indonesia-wide legal order. I shall now turn from a consideration of principles of social life to describe the physical manifestation of these principles.

The problems of cultural variability within the village

Villages can be recognized from a long way off because they are surrounded by groves of coconut palms. One enters a village suddenly, passing in a few steps from the narrow paths of the wet rice fields with their openness and neat geometrical order into the village street which is wider than the path, but confined by the crowded houses on either side. The wooden, square, box-like houses are set back-to-back in rows. The streets function not merely for
ordinary communication but as promenades for youths, play grounds for children and drying places for rubber, coffee, rice and clothes. Water runs everywhere, unobtrusively where scarce, but otherwise in bamboo and concrete channels from house to house and pond to pond. Any small patches of ground on which there are no buildings are used for vegetable gardens, which are usually fenced to keep out goats. Banana trees and fruit trees are planted round the houses and sometimes a few flowers in front.

The whole scene is like a mosaic. Although the houses are all of the same general style, they differ considerably in detail. All are set on posts from two to four feet long. The windows and porches vary in size and shape; some houses have geometrical designs on their lower edges, some not. There are three kinds of roofing material – tin, aren palm fibre (idjuk M), and grass (alang-alang M), and four kinds of walls – plank, bark, split bamboo and woven bamboo lathe. There is a gradation in style from an old higher-set type of house with a steep, fibre roof and small windows to a modern low-set, tin-roofed type with concrete steps. The latter looks burgher-like and stolid. The addition of verandahs, a separate kitchen and glassed windows adds further variety. This variety is merely due to the idiosyncracies of past or present owners, it does
not indicate rank. The crescent-shaped roofs used only by radjas are no longer constructed. The last one was built in a remote village in 1946 and the house is no longer used. Some roofs of this type have been changed to the more normal flat-ridged form.

The village is surrounded by its rice lands and approached by paths through them or through the forest. Above and below the village there are large fishponds. The two points where water enters and leaves the village are known as djulu (M), upstream, and djai (M), downstream, respectively. But neither this distinction nor the street pattern express any social ordering. A man calls the persons whose houses are close to his neighbours, but neighbourhoods are not distinguished. Each house is occupied by a nuclear family with possible accretions such as a widowed parent of the husband, a child of the husband's close agnates, an orphan, or an unwanted child; there are no joint or extended households. Moreover the household is the production unit. Mandailing society is thus atomistic in that the nuclear family household is its basic unit from an economic production, administrative and, in many respects, jural point of view. Each household head is responsible for the welfare of his or her own household and the training of the children in it. A household head has, of
course, kinship, economic and village ties, but how far these are implemented and extended depend on the household head. The decisions which determine the constellation of ties which any household head will make are peculiarly his or her own. The direction and volume of decisions made by individual household heads determines the relations between the two units, the household and the village community.

Adat in the village

When the radjas became paid officers in the Dutch administrative system, as one informant put it, "the adat was sold". Now although formal powers in adat may have been 'sold', transferred, or otherwise removed from the village, the principles upon which the formal codifications were founded continued in use there. Such principles were and are embodied in concepts like the right of all persons living in the village to seek a livelihood there, the communal control of certain village resources, and the use of the proper formulae in the asking and giving of favours. Change in these ideas is checked by the strongly held concept of the biaso (M), the usual. A relatively trivial example of the use of this idea in daily life was noted above, i.e. the avoidance of reference to abnormalities in nicknames. The stress placed on 'the usual' as a guide to social conduct I shall call the accentuation of normality.
The biaso is a general guide to conduct but is not as rigid as a rule and allows for a certain amount of compromise with circumstances and constant redefinition of what is regarded as normal conduct. Now, in Upper Mandailing, the village community is the largest face-to-face corporate group. Religious ethics emphasize the equality of all persons, all adults have equal voting rights in the election of village heads and each person has equal rights of access to unused village land. Moreover, the village community is the largest group within which group decisions are made which are binding on the group as a whole; and finally, in addition to the accentuation of normality, there is a strong feeling in the village that the members of the community share a common adat. In fact this is almost always so - there are very few cultural enclaves in village communities. Hence the biaso, what is usual conduct, is redefined separately in each village community and social practices so redefined are valid solely within the community concerned. Thus small changes in social practices are constantly occurring, and since such changes are not necessarily in the same direction in each village, there is a constant accumulation of differences in social practices between one village and another. This process we shall call cultural drift.
Cultural drift is opposed by two other processes, Islamization and modernization. The former is longer established and more advanced than the latter; because it is founded on a codified law it encourages uniformity among villages. Modernization started relatively recently but is put in simple terms and is relatively effective. It has already caused a considerable difference in the organization of youth groups in villages near Kotanopan and in the mountain villages but effects village social life to some degree over the whole area.

Social structure and social organization in the village

There is no type of social group other than the village which forms a religious congregation, is an administrative unit and has its own adat. The small lineages within each village do not form separate congregations or administrative units. Nor are the lineages in one village strongly linked with lineages in other villages. The administrative unit next higher to the village, the region, does not have its own adat or form a congregation and there is little sense of belongingness associated with it. The village, then, forms the most distinct polity in Upper Mandailing.

Now there is no essential difference in household economy between households in villages which depend primarily on rubber as a cash crop and households in villages which
depend primarily on coffee. If the market price of one of these crops falls the households affected start to engage in other cash-producing activities. In all villages there are a number of such activities which can be substituted for one another. Fluctuations in prices on the world market affect total income in the village, but not the general structure of village economy. Furthermore, each household engages in a number of economic activities; by spreading its economic efforts each household insures against a large fall in the price of any one product.

There is overall uniformity then in the structure of village economy. Variations in social structure from village to village depend upon the way in which the conflict between adat, Islamic canon law and modernism, all of which provide models for behaviour in the same field, is resolved.

In any one village the existence of these three disparate frames of reference provides a major problem, namely the maintenance of the system as a going concern.

In order to show how this problem is solved we shall make a distinction between social structure and social organization. By social structure is meant a model of the consistent social relationships existing between persons or groups in a society. Such a model includes both ideal and actual patterns of behaviour. It is abstracted from the
data of empirical observation, the degree of abstraction varying according to the purposes of the analysis. In order to elucidate the meaning of social organization I shall quote Firth (1954:10); 'one may think of social organization in terms of ordered action. It refers to concrete social activity. This activity is not random; it is ordered, arranged in inter-related sequences. Such ordering implies not simply chance patterns, but references to socially-defined ends. By such co-ordinated, oriented activity a society is kept in being - its members kept in relation with one another. One may describe social organization then as the working arrangements of society. It is the process of ordering of action and of relations in reference to given social ends, in terms of adjustments resulting from the exercise of choices by members of the society'.

The points I wish to emphasize here about social organization are these: social organization is concerned with consistently recurring patterns of action built up from individual decisions; it is abstracted from empirical observations just as social structure is; and it is concerned with the problem of conformity.

Now in Upper Mandailing there is a flexible system of norms concerning social conduct derived from adat, Islam and modernism. In different villages elements from these
three sources are combined in different ways. Consequently, several bodies of data concerning actual and ideal behaviour which differed in content would be collected from different village communities. If each protocol were analyses according to the principles of Radcliffe-Brown to determine the consistencies in social relations between persons in analogous positions and the functions of each in the whole were demonstrated, we should find different 'social structures' existing in different villages in Upper Mandailing because, to repeat, the process of cultural drift leads to different social practices in different villages. This would, I think, be an inelegant and inaccurate description of Upper Mandailing social structure. We know that the general history of the area is the same and that the present patterns of behaviour are derived from institutions whose general nature was, I consider, the same everywhere prior to the impact of Islam and the economic differentiation of the last one hundred years. We must proceed under the assumption that such patterns of behaviour are not fixed, but are capable of exhibiting a certain range of variation - that they are, in fact, expressions of a single type of village social structure. The place of each village community within the social structure of Upper Mandailing as a whole is a different problem. The range of variation in the parts
of the pattern, what might be called their degree of freedom, is controlled by the existing social organization i.e. the process of ordering of action. Now if this process does not occur by chance, but is orderly and recurrent, we should be able to discover the principles of its operation, just as we can discover the principles of social structure. In Upper Mandailing I was able to find some such principles of social organization. I shall call them precepts of interaction. These precepts of interaction are axioms which the Upper Mandailingers apply consistently when behaving in social situations. They are the rules of the social game which apply to any social action and they are free of attachment to particular roles. I found them to be quite generally understood and put into practice throughout Upper Mandailing. These precepts are abstractions from empirical observations. Just as some informants are able to talk, at a certain level of understanding, about their own social structure so some Upper Mandailingers could talk about their principles of social organization. I began to identify and to understand these principles as I sought some meaningful clue to the way in which Upper Mandailing society functioned in the face of the welter of different social practices derived from adat, Islam and modernism. Then, as I learnt these principles, I was able to understand,
after the event, why some individuals acted as they did and finally, as I put these principles into practice in my own social contacts with the Upper Mandailingers, I found that I became socially acceptable to them. The fact that I was able to apply these principles experimentally and that they worked, for me, proved their validity.

In any particular situation these precepts do not provide a precedent for action in the sense of predetermining a specific response. They are not judicial precedents, but they do justify decisions. Hence they guide the process of decision making and limit the range of possible alternative decisions.

Precepts of interaction

We shall confine attention here to those precepts which are expressed in all, or almost all, fields of social organization, leaving those of less extensive influence to be described in the relevant context.

Tontu (M), certain

The concept of nasib (M,I), is central to Islamic theology and the notion of tontu is one aspect of it.

Since the future which is in the hands of Allah is unknowable it is impolite to make statements with an air of certainty about one's future plans and prospects; one's
fate is uncertain and so is the outcome of one's efforts, one's manipulations, one's attempts to learn and the reactions of other people. The Upper Mandailingers believe in uncertainty but they do their best to avoid it. Contracts are put in writing if possible and ambiguity is avoided by clear statement of quantities, times and places. News should be obtained from the mouths of the principals in an affair and gossip, even if well intended, not taken at its face value or acted upon. When goods or money are exchanged witnesses are used; any new venture is rarely started without seeking advice about a lucky day for it. The Upper Mandailingers avoid making promises. In the cinema in Kotanopan when a hero full of remorse for his past misdemeanours was promising to mend his ways the audience jeered and shouted 'Only a promise, only a promise'. Although the future actions of others are made as certain as possible by the use of contracts, witnesses, and so forth, nevertheless doubt about those actions always remains. The Upper Mandailingers make shrewd estimates of the likely actions of other persons but they have little faith that verbal statements of intentions and actual behaviour will be consistent. Hence in social relations there is sometimes an insistence upon punctilio which emphasizes the status of persons and thereby makes
their behaviour more certain. For example when an im­
tant village religious judge fell ill he found himself in
need of the services of his not-too-friendly rival, the
village leech. The relatives of the judge went to consi­
derable trouble to present to the leech certain articles
which were valueless in themselves but symbolized the high
status of the leech and the assumption of the 'doctor-
patient' relationship. This ensured correct treatment by
the leech. When the assistant village headman's child
fell out of the window and cut herself severely the same
leech made a courtesy call on the child's father who was
a relative of his, but made no effort to give treatment
since the correct ritual of request was not carried out.

Uncertainty then is a pervasive theme in Upper
Mandailing life and as a reaction against it every effort
is made to pin people down to their obligations. Before
carrying out any action in daily life it is necessary to
consider how the uncertainty can be reduced.

Djelaki (M), seek

All action is conceived as purposive and ends are
always implicit within activity. Once one has determined
on an end one seeks ways and means to achieve it. If one's
child is sick one seeks a doctor; if one wants to be a
pupil one seeks a teacher; men generally seek a livelihood.
The concept of purpose is expressible in one word - maksud (M, I), intention. One enquires of another 'What is your intention?' This makes certain the context of his action; intention is the man-determined aim, fate is the Allah-determined end.

Intention is the connecting element between thought and action. In relation to prayer, for instance, it takes a particular form - niat (M, I). The niat consists of words 'spoken in the mind' and occupies a particular place at the beginning of the prayer sequence. It has the general form: 'I intend to perform so-and-so many raka'at¹, constituting the prayers of such-and-such a period, to the glory of Allah'. This clearly reveals the intention of the worshipper and makes the matter certain.

Upper Mandalingers are almost constantly in a state of seeking something; they always have a serious intention close at hand. This does not mean that everyone is always physically active, far from it, but it does mean that activity of any kind is never idle activity, it is activity with an end in view; and that end is pursued

¹ A complete prayer sequence consists of the repetition of a cycle of movements, each being known as a raka'at. The number of raka'at, constituting the obligatory prayers of each of the five prayer periods into which the day is divided, is fixed.
single-mindedly and at times implacably. A Mandailinger is the complete antithesis of the happy-go-lucky person—
I never met a happy-go-lucky Mandailinger. Mandailing adults play very few games, rarely do anything just for
amusement and never do anything 'just for fun'.

What this means in the 'process of ordering of action
..... in reference to given social ends' is that each
person defines those ends for himself and seeks his own
advantage in pursuing them. Concensus as the basis for the
carrying out of action by a group is very difficult to
attain in the first place and equally difficult to maintain
when once established. Co-operatives, for example, are
very few in number in Upper Mandailing and usually short­
lived. Another aspect of the social process which is im­
plied by this notion of seeking is the need for rational
decisions in group action. This has been noted of the
northern Bataks - every group action must be thoroughly
discussed beforehand, the opinion of all the participants
must be obtained and a joint decision made.

Guno (M), use

To say of anything 'It has no use' is a highly pejora­
tive remark in Upper Mandailing. One may enquire about the
usefulness of almost any aspect of the culture - actions,
material objects, the aims of other persons. My informants
were always able to give a reply to an enquiry about the use of any particular cultural item. The prevalence of this attitude that things must have use does not imply that individuals are always materialistic, but, certainly, that they are pragmatic. There is no art for art's sake; in fact, properly speaking, there is scarcely any art at all. The decoration found on earlier style houses has almost disappeared and the clay modelling of children is regarded as main-main sadjo (M), play only, not as a serious form of expression.

As far as social organization is concerned this means that actions should take place in an instrumental context. Usefulness provides the link between ends and means. The Upper Mandailingers are concerned, not with the elegance of any action or the pleasure of carrying it out, but with what the action will achieve. They judge institutions in these terms. The office of the People's Agricultural Advisory Service in Kotanopan, for instance, is known as the Kantor Pupuk, (M,I) growing medicine office,¹ because the villagers see the selling of cheap fertilizer as its main function. Usefulness is used as a criterion for the

¹ Pupuk is an old Mandailing word for a magical substance for promoting growth, supposed to have been made formerly from the bodies of new-born babies.
dropping of old behaviour patterns and the adoption of new ones. Some informants criticised adat and Islamic ritual because it had, they said, no use. Social relations are subject to the operation of this principle, if they are of use they are implemented and maintained, if not they are broken off. Thus although we may be able to describe a model of the ideal social structure, the system of social relations which exists at any time is, as Firth says, the result of a multitude of individual decisions. In Upper Mandailing the decisions are made in the above terms. Tuk (M), sufficient

Tuk is a further expression of Upper Mandailing rationalism and pragmatism. While guno, use, provides the link between action and ends, tuk, sufficient, limits the quantity of action. Tuk gives the balance point between what is necessary and what is superfluous, but further than this, it allows a part to stand for the whole. Thus a gesture of hospitality may be an indication of the status of a person as a guest although, if he has this status, he should be given a complete meal; or payment of part of a debt may cancel the whole debt. One does not disburse more resources or allocate more labour than is just sufficient to carry out a job; a man does not spend more time in preparation of his rice fields than is just necessary to provide the yield he
aims at, or provide a meal for a funeral party which is more than just enough in type and quantity to express honour due to the guests or payment for their services. 

Tuk thus implies economy of resources, balance of effort and equation of means and ends.

Giot (M), like, want, wish

The Upper Mandailingers lack any clearly defined theory of human motivation. They substitute the simple idea that persons may like or not like to do something. Giot has an essentially all-or-none implication. Persons are allowed to want to do something, or not to want to do it - either of these alternatives is a self-sufficient explanation of their conduct. Parents treat their children in these terms. If a child does not wish to carry out an order and says so its wishes are often respected. Among adults the same principle applies. In one village at a village-wide meeting it was decided to start new gardens. After the meeting one or two people said that they did not want to make gardens. No pressure was put on these persons to conform. Of the only person in one village who carried out no prayers at all it was simply said that she did not want to learn how to pray; no-one had attempted to force her to do so.

This precept then rationalizes a certain range of variation in human behaviour and allows a choice of alterna-
tives, a basic condition for the study of social organization and social change. Moreover, the alternatives are simply seen as different ways of doing things, as representing different wishes, the one neither better nor worse than the other. Thus new patterns of behaviour can emerge, especially in groups partially separate from the majority of people (like youth groups), or variations can appear — like the very variable details of house form. One cannot, of course, cut completely across community interests, but the possibility of making a decision contrary to a majority decision and of this decision being respected allows for variety in social behaviour.

Although personal wilfulness justifies nonconformity when group interests are not threatened it is not allowed to run riot — other precepts come into play. For example a man cannot construct water channels in any position to suit himself on his rice fields, he must make _damai_, peace.

The lack of coercion applied to persons who simply do not want to do something draws attention to another, negative aspect of the precept; there is an implicit assumption that persons will not carry out actions which will coordinate with one's own, or enable one to achieve one's ends. Consequently there is a series of techniques to overcome this difficulty — the use of quiet persuasion, or
alternatively of surprise (more fully described elsewhere, Tugby: 1958) — used in the course of seeking one's own ends, as one manipulates persons and social situations to one's own advantage.

**Damai** (M,I), peace

*Damai* implies that the affairs of the community are well ordered and that there is a satisfactory balance of interests; there should be no overt expressions of conflict. Obviously in real life, there are often points of disagreement, conflicts of aims and divergence of interests; nevertheless the appearance of peace and harmony should be maintained, although there may be in fact an underlying lack of concensus.

There are a number of mechanisms for reducing and solving conflicts. In everyday life, smiling helps to do so. Smiles imply harmony and ease, lack of tension, willingness to co-operate, outwardness and impersonality; they are frequently used during bargaining, which sharply epitomizes divergence of interests. If a person scowls, on the other hand, this implies that he is thinking only of himself. This is contrary to the idea that behaviour should be socially oriented.

There are no individuals or groups in Upper Mandailing between who quarrels are expected. If a quarrel
breaks out some effort is made to mend it, often on the initiative of relatives.

In other than everyday matters, as in questions of boundaries, marriage payments or inheritance, peace is maintained by the use of intermediaries. Such a role may be performed by a group of agnates, the village head, the religious judge or an elder brother. The aspect of damai which is relevant in situations of this type is compromise. Persons are expected to achieve peace through compromise. Upper Mandailingers cannot live for long near neighbours or relatives with whom they quarrel. One man felt that his father favoured his younger brothers. There was no sign of overt conflict with his father, but the man refused to earn his living in the village although he maintained his house there. He was afraid, he said, that if he was always in the village he might quarrel with his father. One old man explained how disappointed he felt that his eldest surviving son did not come to live in the house next door; this would publicly demonstrate their solidarity. The son, on his part, said that if he lived next to his father he was afraid that he would quarrel with his father's second wife (who had replaced his dead mother). He achieved a compromise by living farther down the street. These examples show how the principles of social organization illuminate
the pattern of residence.

Biaso (M), usual

The use of the biaso, what is usual, as a guide to social conduct has already been mentioned (p. 107). I called this usage the accentuation of normality. The precept operates like the principle of homeostasis in biology - conditions within the organism are in a state of balance and tend to return to that state when disturbed. In the same way, if there is a disturbance in the community, the Upper Mandailingers refer to what is usual in an effort to solve the conflict and bring social conditions back to normal. But this precept does not work like an inflexible rule; it does not imply, for instance, that behaviour is completely rigid or that norms are quite unchangeable, since it operates in conjunction with and must be accommodated to other precepts. Thus, for example, where the usual solution is not acceptable to one of the parties to a conflict the need for peace may be overriding and some new solution, acceptable to all parties, will be found. But in the majority of conflicts the usual solution suffices, especially when propounded by an authority. Thus the accentuation of normality constitutes the conservative element in Upper Mandailing social organization, while the notion of allowing the individual to express his own wishes
and the maintenance of peace in the community are conducive to social change.

Conclusion

I shall now try to draw together the ideas put forward in this chapter and mention what is to come in later chapters.

A distinction is drawn between social structure, the description of the system of social relationships between persons in defined social positions, and social organization, the arrangement of action in sequences in relation to social ends.

It is pointed out that the village community is the most distinct polity in Upper Mandailing and that within it the household is an important social unit. The village community is the largest group which makes decisions binding on the group as a whole. The differences in social practices of adat, Islam and modernism are resolved independently in each village and within each community what are correct social practices is constantly being redefined. Consequently there is a process of cultural drift, i.e. the substantive social practices in one village come to be different from those in another village, although all villages retain a similar, underlying social structure.
Within each village community there is a strong feeling that the village should remain a single social unit, but that householders should be relatively free to make their own choice among possible alternative actions. There may be a considerable difference between generally agreed upon ideal patterns of behaviour and actual behaviour. I shall show later that these ideal patterns are expressed in adat ritual, but that the persons carrying out the ritual are not in fact involved in it (Ch. 9). From day to day the integrity of the community is maintained only because all householders accept certain axioms for the ordering of action. Some such axioms, here called precepts of interaction, were found by abstraction from many empirical observations. These precepts are used throughout the area. They are concerned for the most part with the relation between means and ends.

The next chapter deals with the way in which Upper Mandailingers get a living and in particular with the means of access to resources for production. The following three chapters (Chs. 6, 7, and 8) deal with inter-relationships among kin and the structure of the kinship system against this economic background. Marriages and divorce are described in Chapters 8 and 9; an attempt is made to show
that the symbolic statements of adat ritual do not accord with the social facts. The structure and social functions of the nuclear family household, a basic unit in modern Mandailing society, is described in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 deals with the way in which attempts by individuals and groups to reach goals is controlled in village society; and, finally, Chapter 12 attempts to summarise village social structure and show how the village holds together as a unit.
Chapter 4
The Economic Basis of Village Life

Getting a Living

The proposition that the economic, political, kinship and religious systems of a society co-vary is trite but true. It is necessary to give economics a place within a framework which enables the relationship between these four systems to be demonstrated. The constructs of social structure and social organization provide such a framework. In this chapter the transfer of goods and the rendering of services will be dealt with as complexes of rights and obligations associated with social positions. When there is a choice of alternatives in economic action this will be pointed out.

The use of this frame of reference is justified not only because it maintains the structural point of view which is used in other parts of this work but because it is parsimonious and has explanatory power. This frame of reference fits the facts. The Mandailingers are very interested in economics and are always talking about economic affairs. On the journey to the market they discuss likely prices for the day and on arrival they go about seeking at the cheapest rate those items they have deter-
mined to buy. They are keen bargainers; they calculate the cost of purchases among themselves and investigate the shopping bags of others. The likely price for a distant coffee garden, the current price for rice or the cost of mosque repairs are typical topics of conversation. When a man is opening a fish pond other people turn up not to beg fish or in expectation of a gift, but to buy them. Upper Mandailingers will buy any material object on which they conceive a profit can be made and they will not sell it again below the price which will give them the profit margin on which they have determined. These activities, which constantly recur week by week and day by day, are summed up in the concept of tjari kehidupan (I), seeking a livelihood. In its narrowest sense this refers to the provision of food, clothing and shelter. But in the wider sense it includes also fulfilling ceremonial obligations and thereby confirming statuses. A very few old persons live off their past activities in the sense that they are cared for by well-set-up sons and spend their time only reading the Koran. But, generally, the aged have some economic function in a household, even if they can no longer fulfill a political role in the village. The rest of the population have work roles in the agricultural
production, crafts, service, or exchange systems. To engage in getting a living is a moral imperative, an aspect of seeking. Hence economic activity is the basis of village life in several senses: it provides the means of subsistence, it is the activity upon which the greater volume of time, thought and energy is spent and it provides an important medium for role differentiation. Finally, it is an avenue to power, or control of the life situation, or to that desirable worldly condition which the Upper Mandailingers express as sonang (M), translatable perhaps as contentment, success or ego-satisfaction. Popularly this means having a large family and plenty of wealth. To have both at once represents complete success. But a man who has either is said to be kajo (M), rich.

The social significance of economic activities

Transfers of goods and services are not an important means of establishing or maintaining social relationships between groups. All rights and duties have, however, an economic aspect. For example, the physical help which a man gets from other villagers when moving his house and that given by his daughter's husbands when his son is married might be conceived in economic terms. But these are not everyday events - they are extraordinary events.
Moreover, they are countered by immediate payment in food. In the first example no further accounting of help given and food received is necessary; the helper has and always had the right to ask assistance to move his house simply because he is a member of the community. The second example - the giving of help by a son-in-law - is similar in that it is correct to emphasise the principle of recruitment and the entailments of recruitment not the content of the action. The recruitment to the relationship is in terms of kinship, the help given is considered to be a kinship obligation. In both examples the food given is a significant item in a man's budget. To provide it is one aim of his economic activities. In short, although economic actions and other social actions are analytically distinguishable, they are not distinguished by the Upper Mandailingers.

Each person conceives of himself as seeking a livelihood in the course of taking part in social action in a community. Each person who is accepted as a permanent resident in a village community is entitled to seek his or her livelihood in the village; but seeking a livelihood in the village entails accepting the responsibilities of community membership. Seeking a livelihood and engaging
in social action in the community entail one another.

For convenience of analysis, however, we may divide social relationships which are oriented to economic action into those which are implemented in production and those which are confirmed in expenditure. The two processes have a different type of relationship associated with them. In production the leader of the production unit, the household head, must get others to co-operate with him in achieving his own aims, while in expenditure he symbolically confirms his own status and that of others who may be dependent on or superior to him. The former context is primarily instrumental, the latter primarily expressive.

Production activities

The great majority of villagers in Upper Mandailing are farmers. The production activities of each household can be divided into those concerned with the production of food crops and those concerned with the production of cash. The important food crops are rice, maize, sweet potatoes and vegetables. With these staple foods the Upper Mandailingers eat fish, which they keep in fish ponds or catch in the rivers. Most households keep fowls for meat which is used as a part of ceremonial meals or meals
provided for house-guests. A few households keep goats for the same purposes. Cash is produced by growing cash crops, by practising a craft or by trading. The important cash crops are coffee and rubber. Cinnamon, cloves and tobacco are also grown as cash crops and the juice of the aren palm is made into brown sugar for export. The important crafts are plank making, carpentry, tailoring, ironsmithing, basketry, mat making, cake and drink making and making up betel into wads for chewing. There are two types of trading: selling of imported consumption goods and handling the export of local products. Finally, there are a few persons who work as labourers. Some of these activities demand cooperation between households but most of them can be carried out with the labour force available in the household or by individuals working alone. The methods of production vary in the degree to which they allow a greater output to be achieved by extra effort. Hence methods of production are important in determining the choice made among different possible economic activities by persons whose economic needs vary. We shall describe the main methods of production then with these points in mind: co-operation induced between households, definition of the social positions of persons and channelling of economic activities.
Table 1  The production cycle for wet rice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of cycle</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Persons carrying out the activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Repair main dams and channels</td>
<td>Household heads whose plots depend on the dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-15</td>
<td>Slash weeds and grass</td>
<td>Women of each household on own household plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>Hoe seed bed</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-28</td>
<td>Roll up rotted material and build walls on seed bed</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Prepare seed</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sow seed</td>
<td>Women of each household on own plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-90</td>
<td>Main hoeing; roll up rotted material; build walls</td>
<td>Women of each household on own household plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men may help on first day or so; unmarried girls over 11 take part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>Transplant</td>
<td>Women and girls pull the seedlings; men and youths plant on their own household plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Youths return to the village to plant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continued over.....
Table 1 continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Worker(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>130-140</td>
<td>First weeding</td>
<td>Women of household on own household plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170-175</td>
<td>Second weeding</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-275</td>
<td>Guard ripening rice</td>
<td>Old women and children on own household plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Reaping of first planting</td>
<td>Woman of house for own plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>Main reaping</td>
<td>All members of household on own plot helped by households of brothers and household head. Plots of brothers reaped in turn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Threshing</td>
<td>All members of household for own plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279-290</td>
<td>Winnowing</td>
<td>Women of household for own crop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Carry crop home</td>
<td>Household head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1. The cycle shown in the table is for a variety of rice with a growing period of eight months. Different varieties vary in the length of their growing period. The length of the
The growing period of any one variety varies according to the altitude at which it is grown. In Upper Mandailing the growing periods of different varieties vary from about five to nine months.

2. In any one village two or three main varieties are usually grown whose growing periods may differ by three or four weeks. The time of sowing is adjusted so that all varieties may be reaped together.

3. The attributes of the rice plant are such that a particular variety always has the same length of growing period if it is grown in the same place. If the conditions during growth are unfavourable the seed cases form but they have no seed inside them. Mandailingers call this condition *kurang isi*, without content.

Wet rice

Rice is regarded as an essential item in all meals. It is grown in two ways - by planting in dry fields or by planting in wet fields. The latter is the most efficient and therefore the preferred method. In most villages wet rice fields are in short supply. The production cycle for wet rice is shown in Table 1.

The following points may be noted about Table 1: each household cultivates its own plot or plots and by far the greater amount of work is done by women. Cooperation among households is required only when household
heads jointly repair the main dam and channels, but the households of brothers may form a single working group for the reaping of the plots of the households of each in sequence. Sons may help their fathers; those without close agnatic kin their affines. The working group share a joint meal on the rice fields and, in the evening, a meal at the house of the person whose crop has been reaped that day. Youths often return to the village for transplanting and households lacking males request their help in return for a meal. This function enables youths to retain their place in the social economy of the village generally and in that of their households in particular.

Ladang cultivation

Ladang cultivation is a type of shifting agriculture in which an area of ground is cleared and used for three years or so. It is then allowed to revert to bush or forest while the cultivator clears and uses another plot.

The crops grown by this method in Upper Mandailing are dry rice, maize, sweet potatoes and vegetables. The Upper Mandailingers themselves use the term kobun (M), garden, to refer to all areas on which vegetables, rubber and coffee are grown. The term perkeladian (M) is used
for areas of sweet potato. In this account all these areas are called gardens.

Dry rice, maize and sweet potatoes are grown to supplement the yield from wet rice fields. They are grown only when the yield from the latter will not last for the whole year and the deficiency cannot be made up solely by buying extra rice with money obtained by growing cash crops. This happens when the amount of wet rice fields available is small, as in hill villages and some upper valley villages, or when yields from the wet rice fields have been abnormally low at the previous harvest. Because these situations are due to general conditions which affect everyone supplementary crops are planted by almost all the households in a village at the same time.

The decision to clear land for these crops is usually made jointly after a general meeting of household heads. The day and time for clearing are fixed at the meeting. When the men arrive at the chosen spot each picks out his own site and chops down the trees on it. There is no argument about choice of sites; closeness to an agnatic kinsman is not the deciding factor, but vegetation cover, closeness to the road, and situation near a water course
are borne in mind. The last to arrive take what is left.

It takes two or three days to clear a plot. Women help with the undergrowth and chop up the smaller trees for firewood. After a period for drying out, the area is fired in small patches and then left for a week or so. The remaining wood is pushed into heaps and used to mark the boundaries of the plots. Each man erects a small shelter on his own plot. Planting is carried out by both men and women. A pole (ordang M) is used to make holes in the ground, two to three inches deep, into which the seeds are dropped.

The further work in the garden includes weeding, guarding the growing crop, chopping firewood, and collecting the produce. In sweet potato gardens, which are usually near to the village in order to keep pigs away, all this work is done by women. To guard maize and rice a roster system is necessary since at certain states of growth a large area may be stripped in a day by monkeys or birds. Each household in turn provides guards.

Land for coffee growing is cleared in a manner similar to that for dry rice and maize. The new plants are bought or requested from the owner of a garden in
which there are a number of young trees suitable for transplanting. A man prefers to make his request for plants to an agnostic kinsman but may make it to any person in the village. A widow is likely to make a request to her sister's husband; she goes with her sister to the garden and in return for a little work in clearing or collecting is allowed to take away what plants she requires.

For the first two to three years the coffee garden is kept fairly free of weeds and especially of alang-alang grass simply by weeding every four to five months. When the trees begin to bear and visits to the garden become more frequent a small shelter is erected there and a vegetable garden started nearby. Both men and women collect from the gardens; a man and his wife may go there together, the man to care for the coffee trees and the woman the vegetables and the children. Because the gardens are close to one another it is easy to find a companion for a journey there and the presence of two or three people helps to keep the pests away from all the gardens.

In processing coffee the berries must be dried in the sun and pounded twice in a mortar. This work is carried
### Table 2 Major cash-producing activities of villagers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Persons engaging in the activity</th>
<th>Duration of the activity</th>
<th>Average weekly income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rubber tapping</td>
<td>Men and youths</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp.20-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Falls off in the wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar making</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plank getting</td>
<td>Small cooperative of 3-4 men</td>
<td>2-3 months once a year</td>
<td>Rp.30-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry: contract building</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp.90-120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry: odd-jobbing</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Sporadic</td>
<td>Rp.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring: shop</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp.30-120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring: odd-jobbing</td>
<td>Men, women girls</td>
<td>Sporadic</td>
<td>Rp.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 continued......

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iron-smithing</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
<th>Rp. 35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Especially active before cultivation cycle starts. Requires a smithy and assistants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin-smithing</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Sporadic</td>
<td>Rp. 5-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketry</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Sporadic</td>
<td>Rp. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not a regular means of earning an income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matmaking</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Sporadic</td>
<td>Rp. 5-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porterage</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Sporadic</td>
<td>Rp. 10-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pot making</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp. 7-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Confined to one village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cake and drink making</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp. 5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirih making</td>
<td>Old men and women</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp. 5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable selling</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Rp. 5-10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
out by the women of each household for the produce of their own household.

Cash-producing activities

The major cash-producing activities of villagers are shown in Table 2. Most of these activities are elaborations of ordinary skills or are easily learnt. Contract builders, however, have usually been to a trade school and tailors who have their own shop have completed a training course. In Kotanopan courses cost Rp.200.00. All the activities except plank-getting and iron-smithing can be carried out by an individual working alone.

Plank getting

Plank getting is carried out by a small co-operative (kongsi M,I) generally three or four men who share the proceeds equally. The most expensive item of equipment is a large two-handed saw which is bought by one man in the co-operative for Rp.250.00 or hired by the co-operative from a merchant. There is an understanding that all the planks produced will be sold to the saw owner, who thus takes the middleman's profit. New teams usually last for two or three months and then break up - there are no permanent ones. The members are usually brothers or
Table 3
Production, costs and income of a three man plank production co-operative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week (four working days)</th>
<th>No. of planks produced</th>
<th>Price per plank in Rp.</th>
<th>Cost of hire of saw in planks</th>
<th>Average income per working day per man in Rp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Two days spent in neighbouring village learning plus two days selecting and setting up tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average income per working day per man over whole period of six weeks with four working days per week ............. Rp. 8.86

Average income per man per week ...... Rp. 35.44

brothers-in-law. Teams may re-form each year as the need for cash arises and plank cutting can be fitted in with other pursuits.

Table 3 illustrates the typical life course of a co-operative consisting of two brothers and their classifi-
catory sister's husband.

The saw owner, after paying carriage charges of Rp.2.00 per plank to Kotanopan and tax of 27 cents per plank, sold the planks at approximately Rp.2.00 profit each, i.e. his profit over the six week period was Rp.164.00 plus the hire charge of ten planks worth Rp.110.00 - at least half of which may be regarded as profit since the saws last well. His total profit was Rp.219.00, a return of 87.6% on the capital represented by the saw in six weeks, or an average income per week of Rp.36.50.

The plank cutters received about the same per working day as they would have got had they tapped rubber as sharecroppers with an equal division of the yield between tapper and landlord. This was an inexperienced co-operative; a more experienced one would do better - it is safe to assume that the income per day from plank getting is generally higher than that from rubber getting. But to achieve their production the above co-operative worked both morning and afternoon, while a rubber tapper usually finishes by midday. Hence, in terms of return per man hour of labour, rubber tapping is the better job. Nevertheless, plank getting is attractive because of the possibility of producing a high
income by a burst of effort over a short period, the situation represented in the fourth week of Table 3. This cannot be done by rubber tapping without over-cutting; moreover it is not possible to obtain access to good-yielding rubber gardens for a short period, since such gardens are usually taken up by other sharecroppers or are used by the owner himself.

The short life of the above co-operative is typical of that of co-operatives in general. Each man wants to be a member because he is sharply in need of money - the plank getting co-operative remains in existence as long as any one member does not feel satisfied with the money he has already got or is dissatisfied with what he is getting. The co-operative is difficult to keep going because production fluctuates, there is no defined leader and the only reason why any person continues as a member is that he wants money in certain quantities. There is no feeling of attachment to the co-operative as a social group.

Ironsmiting

Ris (1896) mentions that ironsmiting was flourishing in Pagargunung in 1895. In 1924, there were twenty-four
smithies, in 1932, eighteen, and in 1940, fifteen; the decline is said to have been due to better yields from gardens. After the Revolution, four smithies continued in operation. Formerly the implements from this village were exported to Panjabungan and Pakantan and the iron came from Natal. Today the implements compete with importations into Upper Mandailing from Menangkabau and the iron, mostly old car springs, comes from Kotanopan. People who carried iron in from the coast took knives back with them and the Pagargunung smithies still retain much of the Natal trade; one or two smiths even emigrated to the Air Bangis area; others went to the market towns in Upper Mandailing and are established now at Sajurmaintjat, Pasar Maga and Hutanamale.

Men were usually succeeded in the craft by their sons or other close agnatic kinsmen, although some lines of smiths died out and new ones began. The implements, mostly knives or hoes, are made by heating the iron in a small furnace fitted with a hand bellows and beating it into shape with hammer and anvil. The implements are tempered, finished off by filing, and fitted with wooden handles. There are therefore a number of roles in the smithy: tukang bopbopan (M) bellows man, tukang toko (M) hammer man,
tukang titip (M) the directing smith, and tukang ihir (M) file man. When the smithy is working under full pressure separate persons perform these roles. The directing smith controls both materials and personnel. The hammer man is often the son, daughter's husband or sister's son of the directing smith. The two share the profits, usually equally; other non-kin members are paid a wage of about Rp.15.00 a day. Non-smiths may provide the handles or even just cut wood for making them, others carry the products to market. The smithy therefore provides odd-jobs, a day's work here and there, for a number of people. As a corollary the directing smith is influential in the village.

As Table 2 shows, men in their traditional occupations can usually earn more than women in theirs (mean weekly wage for continuously employed men is Rp.45.60, for women Rp.11.50). When employed as casual labour women also earn less than men. This makes it difficult for widows to support a family and consequently some of them have taken up rubber tapping, traditionally a male occupation.

The occupations in Table 2 differ in social status. Those of high status are tailoring, carpentry and iron-smithing, all jobs which enable a man to give work to others. In the town the shop-owning male tailor may have
two or three assistants. Some hadji tailors sit cross-legged on the counter of their shop in the manner of Arabia and have a status comparable with that of merchants. Among the male jobs porterage has a low status. Clever merchants sometimes bind porters to them by prepayments for the following week's work in rice and coffee shop owners do the same by giving an allowance of drinks.

Professions

There are certain professions: midwife (bidan M,I), village leech (datuk M) and religious judge (kodi M) provide services in the village but their jobs are not regarded as mata pentjarian (I) 'bits of seeking'. The midwife functions as an expert in ritual. She gives advice about safeguards prior to and during birth, but is responsible for physical delivery only in cases of unusual and difficult births. She washes the newborn child. She receives an invitation to a meal and a public expression of thanks at the child-naming ceremony at Ari-Rajo, the fast-breaking celebrations, when she is presented with a fowl together with some rice and vegetables. The midwife is given the child to hold, the mother the gifts; after a short speech of thanks the mother hands over the gifts and receives the child in return. The gifts are called 'the hand washers'
because the midwife has had contact with ritually unclean matter, mucus and blood, when handling the newborn child and possibly the afterbirth. Any married woman may become a midwife, but she must be clever (malo M) in order to become a recognized performer.

Some leeches make love philtres, forecast lucky days, and make charms - but the main business of all leeches is the diagnosis and treatment of sickness. Almost all leeches are men; the few woman leeches are not practitioners in a big way and usually they treat only the diseases of women. As a relative, neighbour or fellow villager a leech may visit the house of a sick person, but he will never begin treatment unless specifically requested to do so; sometimes it is necessary to make a formal visit to his house with betel before he will treat a sick person. If the sickness is cured, the leech is invited to a meal together with a few close kin of the patient and formal thanks are expressed. Some leeches are expert in paligion ari (M), foretelling lucky days, some in the divination of theft, others in the cure of certain diseases. A number of people know how to treat everyday hurts like bites, stings and cuts, but to become a leech proper it is necessary to become the pupil of an experienced practitioner. There are
traditional presents to the teacher - a knife, cloth, money and a dish of a particular type of fish; the pupil-teacher bond continues after graduation and the newly-fledged return to the master for advice. Leeches tend to form an esoteric order although there are a number of persons, not leeches proper, who have picked up a knowledge of how to use one or two formulae from a relative, usually their father. A leech is not paid in money; his role is oriented to considerations of status and power and not to material possessions.

Officially, any villager with a required minimum of knowledge may become the village religious judge if he is elected by his fellows and confirmed in office by the Kotanopan representative of the Ministry of Religion. In practice, the villagers always elect the person with the longest period of formal religious training and the candidates are always confirmed by the Ministry. As a minimum requirement the religious judge is expected to give decisions in disputes involving the canon law of inheritance and to perform weddings. He is usually expected also to teach the law and to accept some responsibility for the religious welfare of the village community. When the religious judge performs services directly for individuals
or small groups he is paid by them only in food. In common with other religious officials, he receives a portion of the collected annual religious tax (zakat M,I) and is therefore paid from funds which belong jurally to the mosque. The relation of the religious judge to the community at large and to other persons is therefore slightly different economically from that of the leech, but the role is, like that of the latter, oriented to achieving status and power.

Household and village economy

In the house a man's wife is responsible for cooking, wood-chopping, water-fetching, mat-making and sweeping. All the women of the household over the age of eleven help with these activities. A man who has no wife or daughter will buy wood rather than fetch it himself, although widowers do fetch water and cook. The women of the household look after the fowls; men sometimes help. Youth have no responsibilities in the house. Men take care of structural repairs and make wooden kitchen utensils.

Every member of the family over the age of about eleven years contributes to wet rice production. The women do most of the hard labouring work and most of the magic; the household head looks after the more technical matter of the water supply; and youths help only with the transplanting
and harvesting. In supplementary food crop production the household head does the hard work of clearing, but the women of the household care for the garden. Coffee and clove production is carried out jointly by the household head, his wife and his daughters, though the women do most of the processing. Rubber and cinnamon productions are carried out by men (with minor exceptions). Cash produced in other ways by men is used for general household maintenance. A man handles the selling of his household's produce such as coffee, cinnamon and cloves and is generally responsible for the household finances.

Apart from their contributions to the general household weal, members of the household over the age of eleven or so often have their mata pentjarian (I), little bits of seeking, i.e. minor cash-producing activities the proceeds from which they keep for themselves. The cash-producing activities of women are of this kind. (Unless the woman concerned is a widow with small children when she takes over the responsibilities of a household head.) People change their cash-producing activities from time to time in response not only to the effect of the seasons on cash crop production, but to the exigencies of the market and their own personal needs of the moment. Thus a woman will take
up cake-making for a month or so in order to buy herself a new piece of clothing.

For normal household maintenance and for a labour supply on the rice fields and in the gardens a man cannot do without a wife. Most widowers without daughters over the age of eleven in the house re-marry. Female labour is an important factor of production and is the economic basis of the relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

The normal household is a self-supporting economic unit whose economic efforts are adjusted to the general village economy. In a village of moderate size, say one of seventy to ninety households, persons who engage in the following activities are normally found:¹

1 part-time ironsmith
3-4 leeches
1 religious judge
2-3 carpenters
3 basket makers
3-4 merchant exporters
3-4 retailers
1 coffee shop proprietor

¹ The figures given are based on the findings of the Thirty-Village Survey.
2-3 tailors
3-4 porters
3-4 fish sellers
1-2 midwives
1 clitorectomy expert
3-5 cake sellers
8-10 vegetable sellers
2-3 tailoresses
40-53

In addition, in each village there is a prayer leader and a group of part-time religious teachers who receive a small wage paid from the annual religious tax. The elected village headman and his assistants (usually one or two) are paid a small wage by the administration.

Apart from the persons more or less regularly engaged in the above activities, persons in other households sell vegetables, fish, fruit, or eggs whenever there is a small surplus over and above household requirements. Almost every household utilizes the village community as a market for its produce or talents, but there is no regular system of exchange between particular households.

The main social relations of the household oriented to economic affairs are a function of the engagement of the
household head in the economic system or his jural position in respect of access to resources for main food production. Other relationships oriented to economic affairs are ephemeral or otherwise less important. For example, all the specialists except ironsmiths work alone and have no problem of relationships with employees. Their employer pays them in cash for the exercise of their special skill. The relationship is contractual and has no further entailments; these specialists are regarded as of value to the community, but have no special say in village affairs. Ironsmiths, however, because they can offer casual work are more respected. For the same reason, and also because they are more wealthy than the average man, merchants are usually influential in village affairs. Merchants sometimes make small loans or, if they are retailers, give credit. There is no large scale indebtedness of this kind in Upper Mandailing, but there is a tendency for men to pay off their coffee shop debts in rice after the harvest. Since the ruling price for rice at the harvest time is low the merchant benefits; he keeps the rice and sells it again when prices rise. These relationships of convenience are impermanent - they change as men change their economic efforts - but, simply because a man is never too sure to
what he may next turn, a merchant or an employer of labour always has potential usefulness to him. The wealthier man, then, is generally respected and at any one time has a group of clients around him consisting of men who are currently indebted to him in some way.

The more important relationships oriented to economic production, however, are those which turn upon access to resources and especially to resources for the production of wet rice. We shall now turn to this topic.

Types of land

We have already noted three categories of land: forest, old utilized land and young utilized land. Three others must now be added: rubber and coffee gardens (kobun M), wet rice land (saba M) and land within and near the village which is used for dwelling sites and fishponds.

Access to wet rice land: inheritance

Wet rice land may be inherited in accordance with customary law (adat) or Islamic canon law (hukum firait). In practice it is inherited patrilineally by males. Brothers inherit in common rights of use in the wet rice land of their father after his death. If the land is irrevocably divided among them each brother has the right to dispose of
his share by sale, loan, sharecropping, pawning, rental or gift. Temporary division among a group of brothers for use only and involving no other right of disposal may, however, be made. Brothers who leave the village retain their rights in undivided land, but the brothers remaining in the village have rights of use in the whole inheritance. Nowadays they may also consider themselves to have a right of disposal by sharecropping or rental. Undivided land cannot be disposed of by sale, pawning or gift without the common consent of all brothers concerned, both those who have emigrated and those remaining in the village. The desire of a brother to sell his share is usually the stimulus to irrevocable division and land nowadays rarely remains undivided for more than one generation. Irrevocable division cannot, however, be effected while the mother of the group is still alive.

We may call the siblings who remain in their father's village a use-rights group since they have the right in common to use all the wet rice fields of their father. The male members of the sibling group as a whole form an ultimate-disposal-rights group all members of which have an equal right to a share in the land when it is irrevocably divided or sold. The father of the group retains control
during his lifetime and he can dispose of it in any way he wishes. Should a man die without sons, full rights of ultimate disposal in the wet rice fields revert to his patrilateral kinsmen, but the widow and unmarried daughters, if any, retain rights of use. Extreme fragmentation has not taken place - only rarely is a plot so small that the yield from it is sufficient for the average family for only three months - mainly because successful emigrants have made gifts of their shares to their brothers remaining in the village.

Access to wet rice land: sharecropping and rental

Frequently there is insufficient wet rice land in any inheritance for the support of more than one family. After a man's death the land is often worked by his widow and one of his sons. The latter supports his widowed mother in her old age. Other sons remaining in the village have to seek land elsewhere. They usually enter into a share-cropping agreement with some other person who has wet rice land he cannot work himself. This involves the transfer of one third of the crop, known as bagi tolu (M), an arrangement used in areas of low yield, or one half of the crop, bagi duo (M), an arrangement found in areas of high yield, to the landlord.
Sharecropping arrangements are verbally agreed to and last for one season; usually it is tacitly understood that if both parties are satisfied they will continue. In areas where wet rice land is scarce they give rise to relationships of a client-patron type. The influence of some former radjas continues to be maintained owing to their 'owning' large areas of wet rice land. An agreement is not renewed if the landlord feels he has been cheated in some way, perhaps by removal of the harvested rice from the field before it had been properly divided, and advantage is taken of such excuses to dispose the fields to more attractive lessees. A kinsman of the landlord who makes a request may be felt to have a prior claim; a landlord therefore disposes of his wet rice fields in a manner which maximises support and yield for himself.

Absentee landlords may be paid in money or rice. Payment of a predetermined rent in money is felt to be usurious in principle and is infrequent. Absentee landlordism conflicts both with the village view that village land should be under village control and with the government view that all the land is owned by the government and should be available to anyone who wants to use it. But the government view is not, in fact, recognized by the Kotanopan court
which accepts adat as the local law of the land; and the village view is qualified in respect of wet rice fields because labour is conceived to be an integral part of them. Thus as long as the check banks are visible the wet rice fields are said to be owned by individuals. This attitude has been strengthened by Islamic canon law which accentuates individual ownership. Hence a person who defaults in the payment of rent to an absentee landlord would be criticised as a cheat.

If the absentee landlord is a close kinsman of the lessee the arrangements for payment are fluid; only a portion of the rice due may be transferred or a token only sent so that the kinsman can 'taste the rice of his village'. Thus his rights in the land are recognized while his restraint is for him multi-purposive - it maintains kinship bonds, keeps a more trusted worker on the land and pays the owner's religious tax. Gifts to poor relations count for this purpose and if paid in rice are the more correct in canon law since they are both accountable and paid in the main crop of the country.

Wealthier persons, usually merchants, buy as an investment a portion of wet rice land which has undergone irrevocable division. They have more wet rice land than
they can themselves use, and let portions to other persons within the village on a sharecropping basis. This practice results in a certain cumulative inequality, but so far it has not occurred on a scale large enough to cause objection to it in principle.

A small amount of wet rice fields, usually amounting to two to three per cent of the total wet rice fields in any village, is alienated from the control of any person and is the subject of a trust for religious purposes (wakap M, I). This land is controlled by a small committee within the village and disposed to suitable applicants on a sharecropping basis.

Access to wet rice land: migration

Internal migration to a better endowed village is now rare and I recorded no recent case of it. Such a move is difficult to make. Apart from the pre-emption of the best wet rice fields, incorporation into a new social unit is not easy to achieve. New persons enter a village as 'strangers': they must find patrilineal kinsmen there who will sponsor them and with whom they can act in agnatic kinship group relations. But with the reduction in the effective range of reckoning of patrilateral ties, such persons are not easy to find. A few moves took place
during the Japanese Occupation, but they were between adjacent villages and where the necessary kinship ties already existed. A second possibility is for a small group to move from a village and found a new hamlet nearby. This was formerly the way in which the land pressure problem was solved; it resulted in the occupation of the upper reaches of minor streams and the formation of hillside villages. A third form of internal migration involves a man's moving to the village of his father-in-law and working wet rice fields owned or controlled by the latter. Normally the patrilineal principle is dominant in inheritance and the pattern of residence, but in one or two villages this apparently new alignment is emerging as a result of the scarcity of wet rice fields. I do not know with what frequency this form of internal migration took place in the past, but the ideal-typical patterns of the culture provide no warrant for it. The villages concerned are precisely those in which, owing to a variety of factors, a local surplus of wet rice fields has arisen recently.

To seek wet rice fields outside the area has long been an alternative when access to them could not be gained locally and emigration so motivated is still going on to Lower Mandailing and to the Medan area.
Although the population has increased by about thirty-three per cent since 1890 the increasing use of coffee as a cash crop and the introduction of rubber has enabled much otherwise unproductive land to be utilized. As cash income increased the size of the wet rice plot necessary to maintain a single nuclear family household decreased. Fragmentation has followed this change in the economic situation. Many emigrants wanted their relatives in the home village to remain economically satisfied and secure. The emigrants were thereby absolved from some of the responsibility for the support of the parents (who usually remain in the home village) and were provided with relatives upon whom they could fall back in case of need. Economically successful emigrants often gave or sold their share in the wet rice fields to their close agnates on irrevocable division, and the plot remained intact. The outcome is that all households, whatever their composition, normally have access to wet rice fields within the village of their male founder, always provided, of course, that the latter is or was not himself a migrant. Even if he was, the possibilities of sharecropping or rental or the buying of land are always open to his successors.
Access to garden land: inheritance

The inheritance of gardens is similar in principle to that of wet rice fields, but owing to their different economic status they are differently disposed. Gardens are a source of ready money. Coffee gardens mature in two to three years, but they become eventually old and useless. The useful life of a coffee arabica garden is ten years; coffee rubusta gardens last longer, up to fifty years, it is said, but the older gardens yield poorly. Rubber takes longer to mature—ten to fifteen years—and it is also subject to ageing and the entry of disease which reduces the number of yielding trees; overcutting and poor cutting sometimes prevent re-use. Nevertheless, the longer waiting period for a return on capital makes a rubber garden more valuable than a coffee garden.

It is possible to replace gardens, but not wet rice fields. The planting of each garden creates a new piece of heritable goods; this is impossible in the case of wet rice fields which are fixed in limited quantity, in perpetuity as it seems, and therefore, a focus of interest of groups organized on the principle of genealogical descent. Gardens are individual creations, individually worked; they are regarded as personal property. On the death of a man
his gardens may be divided irrevocably among his sons while his wet rice field is divided among them for use only. Normally, each garden remains intact, one person having full rights of disposal in it; only very large gardens are divided.

If there are too few gardens for each son to receive one intact an arrangement is reached whereby sons who do not receive gardens are indemnified in cash or kind by those who do. Again, disposal in these terms is qualified by the rights of women. The mother, and less frequently daughters, receive gardens of a type normally worked by women, namely, in the higher areas, coffee gardens, in the lower, clove.

Access to garden land: sharecropping

Sharecropping of rubber gardens takes place along lines similar to that of wet rice fields. Clearing, tapping, treatment and marketing are usually carried out by the lessee. For clearing a very overgrown garden, the lessee is allowed free use of it for a period of two or three months, otherwise the division of the yield is made in accordance with the bagi tolu or bagi duo arrangement depending on the yield obtained. The costs of treatment and transport are met in the same proportions. Many of the
tappers are youths who leave their own villages and live temporarily in villages where work is available. They usually require money for specific purposes such as buying a watch, some clothes or a trip to Medan. Agreements often do not last longer than three to five months and gardens may be idle for a period. Illegal tapping may take place when an owner is away. Consequently it is difficult for absentee owners to effectively control their gardens and would-be emigrants usually sell them if irrevocable division has been arranged. Landlord-tenant relations arising from the use of rubber gardens usually arise then between wealthier householders and youths and change frequently.

Sharecropping arrangements are not made for coffee gardens since any household head can make a garden for himself and obtain a yield from it in three years. He gains access to garden land by virtue of membership in the village community. Women can also exercise this right of access. Consequently, when a group decides to clear land for gardens, widows who are functioning as household heads often join in.

Access to garden land through village membership

New coffee and rubber gardens are normally planted on
old utilized land. Such land is defined, first, in terms of type of growth, and second, in terms of ownership. The former determines the latter. Where the area is clearly overgrown or supports secondary forest of some years standing the matter is not in doubt - the area is out of effective use and reverts to the village reserve which can be drawn upon by anyone who wishes to clear the land. Clumps of cinnamon, aren palm or bamboo which were planted near the former garden and which are still usable may confuse the issue, but the presence of the planter or of his representative in the village will determine it. Even where the clumps of useful trees aid memory in recalling the name of a former user and add strength to the claims of his representative the surrounding area of land will be regarded as available for re-use. A similar principle to that which allows the use of wet rice field owned in common by a group of brothers to those brothers remaining in the village is applied. The current needs of the community determine how the land will be used.

Access to garden land and wet rice land outside the village

The administration maintains the principle that land within the region is available for all members of the region to use. This is the nearest approach which can be
made consonant with history and local feeling to the notion of state ownership of all land which is the substance of extant central government decree. The maintenance of the principle of regional ownership allows new wet rice fields made under government projects to be used by men from more distant villages rather than only by men from villages close to the project. Nevertheless, the latter feel that they have a prior claim. In other than the Maga region, where such a government project for opening new wet rice fields is being carried out, there is a feeling that only members of a village should be allowed to use land controlled by that village. In the new-found village autonomy of the post-war period some village heads tacitly agreed upon boundaries between their villages. These boundaries are not marked, nor are they officially recognized by the administration. Nevertheless, their existence has led to men in one village being refused permission to use land within the boundary of another by the head of the 'owning' village.

Access to forest land

Forest outside the Forestry Reserve has the status of a free good. But while each member of the village has a right to collect natural forest products for his own use,
these cannot be sold in the markets. The right of each member to satisfy his needs and to receive his share in village resources is recognized, but the community retains control of community resources and prevents their exploitation by one to the disadvantage of others.

Access to house land

The principles determining the inheritance of gardens apply also to land within and near to the village used for house sites and fish ponds. The use of the house of her late husband is usually allowed to a widow during her lifetime; a younger son will stay with her and it is not unusual for him to inherit the house and site. Ultimate disposal varies owing to considerable differences in house site values from part to part of the area. In Menambin, a large old village near the main road, a house site near to the access road is worth Rp.1,000.00, but in a mountain village the best site is worth only Rp.50.00. If a house is relatively valuable and one member of a sibling group wishes to inherit it the others will expect to be indemnified.

A newly married man requires a house in his father's village. Usually he borrows one from a kinsman or erects a small box-like structure three to four metres square from
local materials on land similarly borrowed. Outside the Kotanopan area or roadside markets it is unusual to charge rent paid in money for a house or house site. If possible an arrangement is made whereby half the yield from crops grown round the house is transferred to the landowner. These arrangements express a social aspect of seeking a livelihood – the right to exist somewhere to get a living and to form part of a community. The transfer of money is felt to destroy the solidarity implicit in this idea.

Economic ethic and the exchange system

Gifts between households are rare. If a man has a stroke of luck, such as capturing a large bird, everyone in his household would participate in eating it and he might be expected to give a share to his married brother or sister if they were living in the village. Other than gifts of that type and in that direction there is no system of gift exchange in the village. Households dispose of their surplus produce to fellow-villagers for cash.

For men trading may become an important, lucrative and full-time occupation. Trading should be carried on in accordance with hukum djual-beli (I), the law of buying and selling, which is quite widely known in Upper Mandailing, being reprinted in cheap little kitab (M,I),
books, which are utilized in religious schools and found in the houses of teachers. Its main features are as follows: both seller and buyer must make clear statements of their intention; both must be in their right mind; the thing sold must be in good condition; it must be possible for the goods to be transferred to the buyer; the seller must have legal control of them; the appearance, condition, behaviour, size and quantity of the goods must be known, the size and quantity being determined by measures or scales. The sale should be arranged on the spot. Goods of like kind may be exchanged, for example, gold for gold, but things of unlike kind may not, for example, beans for rice.

In buying and selling there is a concept of a price which is pantas (M), fair or biaso (M), usual. This price is not legally defined, nor is it entirely a function of 'supply and demand' or 'the state of the market', but depends upon the kinship relations of the persons concerned, their supposed wealth, and their common origin from the same village. In the process of bargaining, which accompanies every transaction, these factors are borne in mind, or taken advantage of by both parties. There is a balance of the precepts of interaction peace through compromise.
(damai) and seeking (djelaki). There is an attempt not to cause a disturbance of interpersonal relations, to have both parties satisfied and to maintain the status quo.

Bargaining is the organizational aspect of the structure of economic relations, a process in which each tries to maximise his advantage. Occasionally, attempts are made by a seller to arbitrarily fix a price and stick to it in conditions where a temporary monopoly has been created or accidentally occurs. Men travelling to market with goods adopt this tactic with would-be buyers whom they meet en passant. Such practices are unpopular but regarded as shrewd; there is some respect for the hard clever businessman. Sometimes, having fixed upon the profit margin he wants, a man simply will not sell below it.

In bargaining, each party uses what tricks he can to obtain the price he wants: the seller places a high value on his goods, the buyer a low one, both change to other goods in a play of indifference or impossibility, the seller shrewdly estimates the buyer's interest and declares in relation to any actual offer that he will be rugi (M,I), suffer loss, obviously a condition which the buyer could not impose upon him. The buyer on the other hand, sorts out, say, six fish, bargains for the worst of them and
then attempts to take all six at the same price.

Finally when the price has been agreed to and the goods and money change hands, the legality and finality of the transfer is expressed in the idjap dan kobul (M,I), offer and acceptance formula, which in this case takes the simple form of saying the words 'tabusi' (M), sold, and 'nigadis' (M), bought, by seller and buyer respectively.

The minor merchants found in the village are of two types, first, the seller of consumption goods such as manufactured foods, bottled and soft drinks, white sugar, dried fish, kerosene, and salt and, second, the buyer of production goods - rubber, coffee, cinnamon, eggs, fish, vegetables, rice and plants. The former buys wholesale in the market town and sells in the village at slightly over market town prices. The latter buys in the village at less than market town prices and sells to a big merchant in the main market. Between them the two types reduce the effective purchasing power of the villager's income. There is, therefore, a balance between the prices which a village merchant can charge or give for goods in the village and the effort to the villager of going to market.

The role of village merchant must be balanced against that of fellow villager, with its implicit values of
damai, peace, and living in common. To obtain too much profit would be to make exploitation obvious or imminent. A mosque official and merchant who had bought a quantity of rice dirtied by rat droppings from the mosque had the rice cleaned, but could not sell it in the same village. S, who bought up a large quantity of rice just after harvesting at a low price, became unpopular when he charged too high a price on reselling it later. In another case, D, who sold sweets and biscuits, told me he had to give a large amount of credit which he did not expect to be repaid. To expand his business the minor village merchant utilizes the market or production possibilities of neighbouring villages. A stall in the nearest inland market is next foreshadowed, followed later by permanent residence there. Finally, the merchant who has completely divorced himself from the moral order of village life settles along the Kotanopan fringe or migrates to Panjabungan or Medan. There are plenty of local success stories of this type.

Of the itinerant merchants of non-indigenous origin, those operating on a small scale penetrate to the inland village market, those operating on a large scale deal only in Kotanopan. These men concentrate chiefly on the
selling of luxury lines such as clothes, jewellery, and books.

To the village merchant, trading is a part time 'bit of seeking'. He is never quite sure what fate has to offer and is anxious to maximise his opportunities; he therefore often dabbles in a variety of lines - the general merchant is the paradigm of Mandailing practice. Nevertheless, there are some specialists who trade in goods (such as dried fish and tobacco) which originate from a specific source. Large wholesalers of such goods sometimes create a monopoly - one man for instance, controls almost all tobacco sales in Kotanopan market.

Persons are expected to buy goods at the cheapest price offering. There are no regular customer-supplier relationships. Nor is it expected that the villagers will necessarily buy from the merchant in the village or sell their products to him; his position in village society is not institutionalized, but depends solely upon his continuing to be willing to buy and sell. The volume of business of all types of merchants fluctuates from time to time. To the merchant his good or poor profits from week to week appear to be fortuitous, or, rather, a matter of fate. The only institutionalized position which a
merchant has is that which accrues from his accumulation of wealth and a variety of investments. As a result of the latter he is able to give people work and hence to provide cash income. It is for this reason rather than because of his wealth as such that the merchant is accorded respect. The contacts of merchants with one another change from time to time as each tries to make the best bargain. Each village merchant concentrates on his own affairs in his own territory.

Patterns of expenditure

Each head of a nuclear family household is responsible for good clothing and shelter for all members of the family, and must also meet the following annual commitments: payment of religious tax, and costs of a prayer service for dead parents. The obligation to pay religious tax is one of the five foundations of Islamic religious practice and everyone in Upper Mandailing recognizes the obligation to pay the tax. But, in practice, a number of persons attempt to pay it in a way which brings a corresponding advantage to themselves, e.g. by paying it to a relative (see p.443).

The main religious tax is paid in rice at the rate of ten per cent of total income in rice if that income
amounts to 100 kalings or more, i.e. about enough to feed the average family for a year. There is also a small tax which in 1956 amounted in most villages to about Rp. 6.00 per household or about one third of the yield of a day's work on rubber tapping. Neither of these taxes is onerous. The cost of entertaining visitors and the *Ari Rajo* prayer service which is held in almost every household is about Rp. 70.00.

The contingencies which a household head must meet from time to time are: costs of birth (Rp. 25.00 to Rp. 100.00), child-naming (about Rp. 50.00), sickness (about Rp. 40.00 per year), circumcision and clitorectomy (Rp. 15.00 to Rp. 25.00 each), attendance at weddings (about Rp. 5.00), attendance at funerals (about Rp. 5.00), son's wedding (Rp. 200.00 to Rp. 1,000.00), daughter's wedding (Rp. 50.00 to Rp. 200.00), and contributions to school building funds and mosque building funds (about Rp. 2.50 each per year). It may also be necessary to contribute rice for the wedding feast of a close agnate's son. The cost of a new outfit of clothes for a family of five is approximately Rp. 700.00. The annual income of the average farmer is about Rp. 2,000.00 a year and of a small merchant about Rp. 3,000.00 a year. Income other than that used to meet
the obligations and contingencies mentioned above is used to buy extra food (mainly rice), household necessities such as soap and oil and extra clothes.

It is apparent that the costs of participation in actions which confirm the membership of a man in the village community at large are light. Apart from food and clothing the heaviest costs are those connected with change of status of members of a man's nuclear family and, in particular, with the marriage of his children.

All the activities which a man's kinsmen carry out on his behalf must be backed up by food which he gives to those kinsmen in return. Each householder must aim to have a surplus in order to back such actions. The visits made by relatives on the occasions of births, child-naming, marriages and deaths signal the social position or positions of the individual householder, but the kinsmen come as guests who must be fed. Because rites de passage involve a change in the status quo they require the widest acknowledgement and hence are the most expensive ceremonies to arrange.

Ideally, a father is responsible for the cost of his son's wedding. Formerly the type of animal which a man could use for his son's wedding feast was a function of
his rank in village society. Only radjas, for example, could use buffaloes. This rule no longer holds, but, nevertheless, a man's standing in the community is indicated by the scale on which the wedding feasts of his children are carried out. A number of merchants are said to have used animals for their children's wedding feasts to which they are not entitled by descent. Another way of expressing social importance is in expenditure on housing. For the average villager a new house costs about Rp.3,000.00 to Rp.4,000.00, but some merchants have erected houses near Kotanopan worth Rp.40,000.00.

In effect each household head in turn re-affirms his social position and thereby that of his household at each household ceremony. At Ari Rajo the whole complex of relationships is re-affirmed in a short space of time by invitations to such ceremonies which are held first in one house and then in another throughout the village. Moreover, on these occasions the relationships of the host to the guests are, as it were, made once more ideal by the host asking for and receiving forgiveness for any sins committed against his guests in the past year. Because the scale upon which a wealthy man can conduct such ceremonies is larger than that of the average man he has the oppor-
tunity of maintaining a larger volume of kinship ties than the latter.

There is a wide range of variation in wealth in any village but wealthy men have no ascribed position in village society. There is no sharp division into social classes based on economic position. The net income in rice of different households in Batahan Djai and Hutapungkut Djai is shown in Figure 2.

Batahan Djai relies predominantly on coffee as a cash crop, Hutapungkut Djai on rubber. The number of households with gardens of these types is shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Ownership of coffee and rubber gardens in Batahan Djai (40 households) and Hutapungkut Djai (random sample of 28 households)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of households owning gardens of different type (as per cent of total households)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>own coffee only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batahan Djai</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutapungkut Djai</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Batahan Djai

No. of Persons

![Histogram of rice income in kalings]

mean = 104.9
n = 40

Hutapungkut Djai (random sample)

No. of Persons

![Histogram of rice income in kalings]

mean = 60.9
n = 28

Fig. 2 Net income in rice in Batahan Djai and Hutapungkut Djai
In Batahan Djai the mean net income in rice per annum is 104.9 kalings and the range in income is 0 to 380 kalings; in Hutapungkut Djai the corresponding figures are 60.9 and 0 to 130. This difference is due to the fact that Hutapungkut Djai is a much older village in which fragmentation of holdings has proceeded further and in which more people get a living by trading and practising a profession (the number of persons with no gardens is greater in Hutapungkut Djai than it is in Batahan Djai as Table 4 shows).

The most wealthy and the least wealthy persons in any village are in the relatively impermanent patron-client relationships mentioned on pps. 157, 167. Wealth provides a man with some power of control over village affairs through these relationships and through the wide circle of kinship ties which wealth enables him to maintain. In addition there is a tendency to elect such a powerful man to the position of village headman (see p. 504).

Nevertheless the function of trading as an avenue of social advancement is not explicitly recognised by the Upper Mandailingers. To them the accumulation of wealth is a means of becoming personally sonang, content, not a way
of climbing a social ladder. Theoretically, complete social mobility is possible. The fathers of many small merchants were not themselves merchants, but if a man wants to become a merchant it certainly is an advantage to have a wealthy father who will provide some capital. A number of the most successful merchants who have left their villages and live in Kotanopan got a start in this way. As we have seen (p. 175) some control is exercised by the community over the activities of village merchants. Wealthy persons who do not want to leave their own village sometimes withdraw from village life and do not try to become socially powerful figures in the village. Wealthy persons do not usually lead a separate group life in the village although in Sajurmaintjat and Hutapungkut, for example, a number of merchants with religious interests meet regularly together in the mosque.

Merchants do not attempt to co-ordinate their activities; each concentrates on his own economic affairs. As a rule wealthy persons do not try to strengthen their economic position by marrying women from wealthy families. In modern Upper Mandailing society as we shall see a man is under no obligation to economically assist his father-
in-law or his son-in-law.

According to the villagers, emigrants generally are not economically better off than their brothers who stay behind to work the patrimonial land, but they do enjoy the prestige of living in large towns or cities in which there is always something to see or do. When a man emigrates he is said to be seeking his fortune and not permanently moving his residence (pindah M,I). Since 1947 very few emigrants have returned to their villages. It is regarded as shameful to come back and admit failure in the outside world.

In summary, I shall point out again the social groups oriented to economic affairs in the village. The most important groups are those consisting of brothers who have rights of use in wet rice fields. This important resource provides the economic basis of lineage structure. The social position of women largely turns upon their links to the members of these sibling groups as wives and as daughters and the fact that the labour of women is an important factor of production in agriculture. The labour of a married woman is available only to her husband, while he and he only is responsible for the maintenance of her
and her children. This is the jural basis of the nuclear family household as a production unit.
Chapter 5

The Larger Kinship Units of the Social Structure

In his lucid discussion of 'social organization' in Indonesia ter Haar (1948:65-66)\(^1\) says:

"The independent communities of the Batak are typical of the fourth type of social organization, 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. However, there are almost always some residents in the community who belong to other clans. But these clan aliens never enjoy full rights, and the community chief can never come from among them. They cannot hold full native proprietary rights

\(^1\) ter Haar's work was published originally in Dutch in 1939 and translated into English by Hoebel and Schiller in 1948. It is based on the many works of van Vollenhoven and publications of Dutch adat law jurists and ethnographers. Publications on the Batak law area (in which Mandailing was included) which are listed by ter Haar in the bibliography of his work are those of Vergouwen (1933), Haga (1930) and Boemi (1925). ter Haar makes no explicit reference to works on Mandailing, but he probably consulted Willer (1846), Ris (1896), Boerhanuddin (1922) and Adatrechtbundels."
in their agricultural or house lands. And yet, they do enjoy such possessive rights as to entitle them to be counted as members of the community: the 'isi ni huta' as the Bataks call it. They frequently have representation in local government through the ranking personage among their relatives. They can generally maintain separate villages of their own within the regional community of the dominating sub-clan, and as a result of a long-continued relationship, they hold a firmly established position in the scheme of things."

This is an authorative and scholarly statement of the ideal structure of Upper Mandailing society as it was conceived in 1939. It suggests two problems in relation to the structure and function of patriclans at the present time, namely, clan localisation and territorial rights and political functioning of clans. We shall examine these matters using for the moment the notion that a clan has an area of dominance in which the ruling heads (radjas) of villages come from the dominant clan. In Upper Mandailing there are two areas of dominance: that of the Nasution clan and that of the Lubis clan.

Clan territories

The clan Nasution was the so-called dominant clan or
sub-clan in the former *kuria* (village complex) of Maga in the area to the northwest, while the clan Lubis had the same status in the rest of Upper Mandailing, (with the exception of an unproductive area round Muarasipongi in which there was no dominant clan, this area being assigned as Ulu territory). The distribution of persons who at present indentify themselves by a particular clan name shows that localisation of clans still exists. There are more persons of clan Lubis in the southeastern part of the area than in the northwestern part, while the reverse is true of persons identified as Nasution. (See Map 3 ). This finding accords with the positions shown in the clan 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 four or five clan names. In most villages in the Lubis area of dominance there are more persons of Lubis clan identity than of any other single clan identity; in the Nasution area of dominance there are more persons of Nasution clan identity than of any other single clan identity. The few villages that are exceptions have histories of unusual migration. For example, in the Lubis area of dominance of the village of Botung it is said that a radja of Nasution origin led a
group of migrants from the northwest, past Kotanopan through territory already occupied by Lubis, before being allowed to settle in the present position of Botung. The Botung area is now an enclave of Nasution dominance within the Lubis area of dominance. After the Revolution many members of the radja family in Simpang Banjak Djulu left the village so that now there are more persons of Batubara clan identity there than of any other clan identity. Batahan Djai was formed by emigrant malcontents, mostly of Batubara clan identity from the Lubis-dominated village of Pagargunung. In Pangkat in the Nasution area of dominance the number of persons of Lubis clan identity is greater than the number of persons of Nasution clan identity because contrary to the usual practice a number of men from outside have married women in the village and come to live there. The present-day distribution of clan identifications supports the notions of clan territories and the mixture of clans in any territory - but what of dominance?

The essential cleavage in the structure of authority in the 1930s was that between radja and commoners. By the 1930s, clan dominance had been replaced by radja dominance. Radja families distinguished themselves from the common herd, who were simply na bahat, the many. There is no trace today
of unequal rights of access to land or of different 'proprietary rights' by virtue of clan identity; such rights have been subsumed either to the rights of persons as individuals or to their rights as members of the community at large. Today there is no clan land. Each person is a member of one patriclan and has no other clan identity; but access to land is not gained by virtue of clan membership.

Clans and political authority

Single village heads elected by universal franchise have replaced representatives on councils and ascription of headmanship. The new heads are not elected only from the supposedly dominant clan. In a sample of twenty villages in the 'area of dominance' of the clan Lubis there are twelve heads from Lubis clan and eight heads from other clans; in a sample of seven villages in the 'area of dominance' of the clan Nasution there are four heads from Nasution clan and three heads from Lubis clan (Table 5 p. 193 and Appendix 1, p532). 1

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1 According to Keuning (1948:61) in 1934 of fourteen villages in the kuria Maga (Nasution area of dominance) twelve heads were from Nasution clan and two heads from Rangkuti clan. My informant said that Siantona, which is in the kuria Maga, was founded by a Rangkuti man. In 1934 it was probably an enclave of Rangkuti dominance and had a Rangkuti radja; in 1956 it had a Lubis village head. The percentage of village heads of Nasution clan in the rest of the kuria Maga decreased from about 91% in 1934 to 66% in 1956.
Table 5  Clan identity of elected village headmen in a sample of villages in two 'areas of dominance' in the Ketjamatan Kotanopañ in 1956 (for raw data see Table 17 Appendix lp.532)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan identity of headmen</th>
<th>'Area of dominance'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubis</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasution</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasibuan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batubara</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daulai</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The social meaning of clan membership

We must now enquire how far people feel that they belong to a clan and how this feeling affects their social conduct. There are no clan emblems, totems or eating avoidances, clansmen do not have special forms of greeting,
address or reference; even the term dongan (M), associate or person in special relationship, is not used in reference to clans. Although the Upper Mandailingers speak of dongan sa djodo, meaning persons of the same age and dongan sa amang, born of one father, they do not speak of dongan sa marga. The absence of a notion of membership is correlated with the absence of group behaviour and functions; there are no clan meetings, no clan ownership of ritual, no ascription of duties within the village community to clansmen as such. Moreover within the sections of clans within villages, formerly known as ripe, no-one aspires to become the section head; this is an historical role like Kepala Kuria.

Yet every Mandailinger knows his clan identity. In villages there are a very few persons who do not have a clan identity, usually Javanese women, but the great majority of strangers have adopted a clan name. In the past this was a formal matter and a case which occurred in 1932

1 Eggink (1936:71) translates dongan as: 'kamaraad, metgezel, vriend; ook: familielid uit dezelfde marga' (comrade, companion, friend; also: relative of the same marga). The first three translations are acceptable with reference to current usage, though 'friend' implies a type of relationship which strictly speaking is not found in Upper Mandailing today; but I have not heard dongan used in the sense of 'fellow-clansman'.
(the last remembered) was pointed out to me. People do not adopt a clan name nowadays, simply because no stranger settles in a non-roadside village, unless he is a specialist, such as a religious teacher or a carpenter who intends to stay only a short while and does not seek incorporation into the community. In Kotanopan and the roadside markets which are job-functional rather than familistic in orientation, the specialist who is not a Mandailinger can remain relatively anonymous. It is precisely in these places that clan names are used to express individual identity. The occupants of big houses announce their ownership and presence by metal plates which are fixed near the front door and bear a name of which the clan name forms the second part;¹ school children are learning to use a clan name to identify their books and other personal possessions. Some strangers such as northern Bataks use their own clan name, not a Mandailing one. The clan name is used in this way to give the individual a place in the world at large; an individual identity, which is merely the identity of a name,

¹The use of names with two parts is, I believe, an imitation of the western practice of using a Christian name and a surname. Indigenous, older Mandailing personal names do not have this form, they are simply Sangiberani or Djamalaju. The clan name is used as the second part of modern names precisely because it is a ubiquitous and readily available identity.
and has no further social reference. In village registers clan names are omitted; for purposes of tax collecting and head counting it is of no consequence to what social group a man belongs. In this manner modernism, which is associated with registering people and keeping records, emphasizes individuality. In the one case the clan name is emptied of content, in the other, it is omitted because it does not 'count'. This omission is a pointer to the function of the clan name and clan identity in village life - they signify common descent.

Clan identity implies strictly patrilineal descent from a common named male ancestor. Many Upper Mandailingers are aware that such descent is fictional. They know that many strangers and Ulu slaves were incorporated into the society. They emphasize the descent aspect of clan identity, first, because it is all they are left with for the definition of the clan concept. The term *marga* cannot be used to refer to a group, which acts in unison in social, ceremonial or political life; it must be referred back to its structural principle of patrilineal descent. Second, almost the sole function of clan identity is the regulation of marriage according to descent criteria. Upper Mandailingers invariably say that a man cannot marry a woman of the same
clan identity as himself, but that otherwise he can marry whoever he likes. Modernist Upper Mandailingers who still have some knowledge of the old culture remark that clan exogamy is the only remaining viable part of Upper Mandailing adat. Neither of these points of view is strictly in accordance with the facts for as we shall see, intra-clan marriages do occur. Nevertheless, these views are not approximations, but abstractions signifying the function of clan identity.

Space and time in relation to clan identity

Most Upper Mandailingers can trace their ancestry in the male line to a depth of three to four generations; a few, with the aid of a written genealogical chart (torrombo M) to a depth of twelve or more generations, i.e. to the clan founder himself (an example of a torrombo is shown in Appendix 3 p.534). No great stress is placed on long ancestry. There are no prayers to ancestors and no stories about outstanding personalities of the past other than the clan founders themselves and occasionally fathers or grandfathers. Persons of and above the second ascending generation are often referred to teknonymously as ompung (M), grandfather, of so and so. When a Mandailinger examines a genealogical chart he points out the distribution of clansmen in space and
uses the chart as a guide to the way in which extant distributions of persons arose through migration. He refers to space and time simultaneously, but not to clan segmentation. Units on the ground are not linked strongly to particular individuals in the chart and consequently, there is no translation into the kinship idiom of the various relationships of geographically discrete units. Cousins are not graded according to genealogical distance — there is no social distance scale which employs the collateral dimension. The generations from about the third ascending are coalesced, so that all persons equally represent the principle of descent from the clan founder.

This allows a simple extension of the notion of being related as brothers to all persons of like clan identity. With a known genealogy of three to four generations depth, the extension of the idea of relationship as brother to patrilaterals is easy — its further extension beyond the range of known relatives is facilitated by the coalescing of generations. Hence girls, when asked why they do not marry someone of the same clan identity as themselves, simply say that this would be like marrying one's brother.

Regulation of inter-clan marriage

Upper Mandailingers pay little attention to history
but concentrate their attention on current social relations. They live in the present. They express their social identity in practising social manipulation. In Upper Mandailing social organization there is no reference to history as such; the past is referred to only when using the precept of interaction biasco, the usual, which is itself largely a matter of practice rather than precept. Persons of like clan identity are prevented from marrying by current social consequences rather than by the internalization and extension of values concerning family life.

Although persons of the same generation and of like clan identity are perceived as classificatory siblings this does not prevent the marriage of two members of the same clan. There is no strongly developed feeling that incest other than within the nuclear family is a crime. At the present time there are no formal adat punishments for incest.¹ A man and his adolescent daughter should not be in the house alone together. It is regarded as possible for a man to try to have sexual relations with his daughter and this eventuality should be guarded against. A case which

¹ Keuning (1948:20) points out that in 1933 the adat court of the kuria Pakantan Lombang fined a young man of the Lubis clan a cow, twenty-five guilders or an equivalent amount of gold because he was found to be courting a girl of his own clan.
happened in Panjabungan recently was quoted as an illustration.

Earlier in the century, persons who married within the clan were heavily fined, though the marriage was not dissolved. Today such marriages are largely controlled by self-regulation. A man who marries a woman of the same clan identity as himself cannot always obtain the new, second, name normally given to persons on marriage. The adat marriage ceremonies - as distinct from the Islamic ceremonies - are not carried out on his behalf; relations are not called to the wedding; there is no beast cut; agnatic kin are not asked to help; the couple do not sit up before the assembled multitude; and there is no 'news' (hobar M) of the affair passed from the kin of one party to the kin of the other. In short, the whole matter is not socially sanctified. The calling of the relatives and the adat speeches constitute the 'telling' of the wedding, without which the matter is not tontu, certain. The second name (gorar paduana M) shows that a man is married and has assumed a new and quite different role in the community.

Nowadays there is no general uproar if persons of like clan identity marry, but there is some gossip and mild ridicule. In a conservative mountain village a girl who
married a man of the same clan within the village was made the butt of her young companions' humour. No formal action is taken because the precept of *giot*, like, allows the individual to choose his own course, and take the consequences of his actions. No blame is attached by the community to the kin of persons who marry within the clan, it is the parties themselves who are held responsible. Whether the marriage takes place or not depends upon how involved the would-be-married couple are in the life of the village; if they value its ceremonial symbols, and want to 'do the right thing' they must do what is normally done, i.e. follow the course of the *biaso*, the usual. The head of an important school, a respected and important figure in Upper Mandailing who represented a modernist viewpoint, married his father's brother's daughter (the preferred marriage according to Islam). As far as I could see there are no serious post-marital economic or social consequences of an intra-clan marriage. The immediate agnatic kin of the parties share the general concern for the biaso and may be angry at the time of the match but their anger usually dies down. I did not find in any inter-clan marriage that the couple remained on bad terms with their kin for several years.

Even the married name may be bestowed on the man di
tonga dalan (M) in the middle of the road, i.e. casually. This happened to Amat, a religious teacher who was married in accordance only with Islamic canon law but who was popular because he could chant well. A group of men, mainly his age mates, gave him a married name in a joking manner on their way to market.

The marriage of persons of like clan identity is encouraged by Islamic canon law which prefers the marriage of patrilateral parallel cousins and by modernism which encourages the precept of giot, the expression of individual wishes. In eighteen villages in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan 6.3% of all marriages were intra-clan marriages. Clan exogamy is therefore not always observed in practice although it exists as an ideal. The statistics represent the summation of a large number of individual choices guided by a concern for the biaso. There is no rigid rule about not marrying within the clan - there are exceptions to the rule and contrary models of ideal behaviour.

The concept of marga (clan) has been emptied of content - it is a term standing for a species rather than a symbol of a living body of persons. Clan identity is significant in relation to only one matter - marriage within the clan, and has become sociologically irrelevant in other contexts.
The principle of patriliny operates at the level of kinship rather than that of clanship, consonant with the loss of the political functions of the clan.¹

Clan divisions

Subsidiary names are associated with the clans Lubis and Nasution in some villages; they are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan name</th>
<th>Subsidiary name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lubis</td>
<td>Godang, Dolok, Lombang, Kotanopan, Singasoro, Singengu, Hutapadang, Hutadangka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasution</td>
<td>Panjabungan, Lantjat, Djoring, Mangis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lubis Godang (godang M = great) is a name used in some villages for members of the radja family. The names Lubis Dolok and Lubis Lombang are applied to persons whose ancestors came from Menambin, a former Kuria seat. The other subsidiary names associated with Lubis, are names of

¹ Keuning (1948:35) implies that even prior to World War II apart from the exogamy rule and the unity of the name the marga had little further meaning for its members.
places. These names all refer to former political units, the 'regional communities' of ter Haar. They point, in other words, to place of origin rather than to genealogical descent, to territorial communities rather than to clan segments. The interpretation of the words *dolok* (M), hill, and *lombang* (M), valley, is less certain. A likely hypothesis is that they refer to different parts of the village of Menambin which is built on a hill. They probably represent a convenient division of one large group into two groups, each of which was represented on the village council.

The subsidiary names associated with the clan Nasution are not all of the same type. Panjabungan is a place name; the others are the names of fruits. I have no information about the origin of these names.

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1 His (1896:35) mentions that Si Langkitang and Si Baitang, two sons of the mythical clan founder, were the forefathers of the 'marga' Lubis Kotanopan and the 'marga' Lubis Singasoro respectively. Keuning (1948:20) describes the Lubis clan as being split into two sub-clans.

2 Ypes (1932) divides the clan Nasution into six divisions: Lantjat, Djoring, Mangis, Simangintir, Tangga Amberg, and Borotan. The last three do not now occur as subsidiary names in Upper Mandailing. The subsidiary name Tambengan mentioned by Heyting (1897:245) and Adatrechtbundels (38:214) does not occur in Upper Mandailing today.

3 Keuning (1948:23 ff) gives a useful summary of the mythology and history of the clan Nasution.
The subsidiary names are relicts of the former political structure. They are absent in some villages, persons being identified simply as Lubis or Nasution; in others, persons have difficulty in remembering them. They are not used in the regulation of marriage. These subsidiary names appear to be non-functional at present, their only possible use is to identify a person's place of origin, but it does not follow that two persons having the same name are necessarily of common descent.

The ripe

The concept of ripe has been mentioned above (p. 194). This unit was described as a clan segment within a village but although apparently recruited in terms of descent, it did not have other descent-bound attributes such as inheritance in common or common ownership of land - it was simply an administrative unit.

Officially, this unit was defined by the Dutch as consisting of at least twenty-five male household heads of the same clan identity (including the other members of the household this would be a group of about 130 persons). In practice the number of persons in a ripe varied about the statutory minimum. In Rao-Rao Dolok there are still seven ripe in a population of approximately 500. The number of
persons in each ripe is approximately 120, 100, 100, 60, 40, 40 and 40 respectively.\(^1\) Prior to World War II Pagargunung had six ripe of unequal size in a population of approximately 1,300 and Patialu had two ripe of almost equal size in a population of approximately 300.

The formal definition of ripe size, the use of the ripe as an administrative unit and, in practice, the tendency for ripe to vary in size about the statutory minimum led to large clan segments being split and small ones from different clans being coalesced to form units of the appropriate size. In Rao-Rao Dolok the seven ripe bear clan names viz. Lubis Godang, Lubis Hutadangka, Lubis Hutapadang, Nasution, Parinduri, Siregar, and Batubara. The ripe Lubis Godang consists of members of the radja family; the two subsidiary names Hutadangka and Hutapadang are the names of villages near Kotanopan from which the ancestors of the members of the other two Lubis units are said to have come; persons of the clan segment Matondang, which elsewhere may form a ripe in its own right, are counted with the ripe Batubara and in a similar manner the clan segment Rangkuti is included in

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\(^1\) This is the ratio of the distribution of persons among current ripe; there has been little emigration from Rao-Rao Dolok and the pre-World War II ratio was probably similar.
the ripe Parinduri and the clan segment Munte (a curtailed form of the clan name Dalimunthe) is included in the ripe Siregar.

Originally, the division into ripe was probably based upon the division of the village community into exogamous clan segments (the ring of clans of ter Haar). The ripe remained an exogamous unit even after the inclusion of smaller clan segments with larger ones in the same ripe. The situation varied from village to village. In one village marriage was allowed between clan segments not included in the same ripe, but in another village was not allowed between clan segments of a different clan name but included within one ripe. This confusion eventually

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1 The inclusion of one clan segment with another in the same ripe was probably based upon the extant mora-boru relationships; thus if both clan segment A and clan segment B took women from clan segment C, they were likely to be brought together in the same ripe, thus preserving but simplifying the existing social order. There is no case material available with which to test this hypothesis but it is tenable because the children of two sisters were not allowed to marry. Hence men of segment A could not marry women of segment B or vice versa.

2 Keuning (1948:19), quoting Ris, notes that intermarriage between the clans Batubara, Matondang and Daulai was allowed in some villages but not in others. He suggests that this indicates that these three clans were formerly part of a larger whole (the Borbor complex); but this situation could have come about because in some villages segments from these three clans were fused with a single ripe while in others they were not.
disappeared - the smaller clan segment became 'fused' with the larger in a ripe; the smaller segment dropped its own clan name and adopted the clan name of the larger segment. For example, the village of Botung was founded by men of the Nasution clan. Some men of Pasaribu clan who arrived there three generations later called themselves Lubis-Pasaribu (Adatrechtbundels 43:347). Today there are only Nasution and Lubis in the village. Two stages in this process of re-identification are demonstrated in Rao-Rao and Patialu. In the former persons who have different clan segment affiliations and who are in one ripe can be pointed out, but there are not intra-ripe marriages. In the latter persons identified by the clan name Nasution are said to have belonged formerly to the clan segments Nasution, Batubara and Parinduri. 'Formerly' probably means prior to 1900 since at present persons in this village are identified as either Lubis or Nasution, and there are no extant intra-clan marriages.

In Tamiang, a large village which is the ex-seat of the head of a village complex, there were two clans, Lubis and Nasution, organized in four areas in the village each known as a huta (M, normally means village). All incoming persons of a clan other than Lubis, including the Ulu slaves, were
classed as Nasution.

In the area of dominance of the clan Lubis, from the point of view of radja families, there were two divisions in the village known as bajo robung and bajo djambu. The former included the clan Lubis and the latter clans receiving women from the clan Lubis. The important women of Lubis radja families normally married men of the clan Nasution. In terms of this radja model all clan segments other than Lubis could be classed as Nasution, i.e. as actual or potential women-receivers of the radja, thus placing them in terms of the mora-boru, woman-giving/woman-receiving, relationship in a position of relative subservience. Usually one clan segment among the clan segments other than Lubis was in a woman-receiving relationship to the radja. This clan segment occupied a special privileged position in the village — it was of the executive of radja orders. Where women of the radja family were received by a number of clan segments within the village, the clan segment which was the original and main receiver of radja women, the goruk-goruk kapinis (M), occupied this special executive position. Nevertheless, to maintain the dichotomy of bajo robung (Lubis) and bajo djambu (Nasution) all clans other than Lubis were sometimes coalesced in the clan Nasution. This
was the situation in Patialu. Moreover, in Simpang Duhu Dolok it is stated that prior to the Revolution of 1945 clans other than Lubis could not inter-marry. But, first, in this century as far as the political order within the village is concerned the woman-giving/woman-receiving relationship was important only to radja families and, second, prior to 1930 the way in which women were transferred between clan segments appears to have been the same as it is today, i.e. exchange of women was possible between all clan segments. Hence a regulation prohibiting clans other than Lubis to inter-marry may have been intended to ensure sufficient women within the village for the especially large Lubis clan segment or, vice versa, sufficient men for the marriage of the Lubis women. The latter arrangement would have the added virtue of providing a subservient unit in the village. The situation and the rules made to meet it would vary of course, from village to village and in any village over time as the relative numbers in the clan segments in the village changed. But from several points of view - the formation of administrative units of relatively large size, the application of the bajo robung (Lubis)-bajo djambu (Nasution) model, and the provision of husbands for the women of larger clan segments - there was a tendency
for the fusion of small clan segments into larger exogamous units.¹

Finally, the radja families in the area of dominance of clan Lubis avoided placing themselves in the subservient woman-receiving position in relation to any other unit within their village by marrying only Nasution women from physically distant villages, usually those situated in the Panjapungun area.

The socially accepted meaning of the concept ripe rationalizes the fission and fusion noted above. The members of a ripe are said to be persons of one way or members of one collective body, but the active male members of a ripe need not necessarily be in kahangi, classificatory sibling relationship. In other words the concept ripe connotes primarily a group acting in common in the political affairs of the village - this is the meaning of persons of one way. Each ripe was represented on the village council by a Kepala Ripe, ripe head, who was a married male member.

¹ There was probably also a tendency for very large units to break down into smaller ones. At an adat court meeting in Panjapungun in 1896, it was decided that marriage was allowable between a man said to be of marga Nasution Lantjat and a woman said to be of marga Nasution Tambangan. The court decided that the name Nasution did not belong to the two margas which should simply be called Lantjat and Tambangan (Adatrechtbundel 38:213).
of the ripe chosen by the ripe members.

Nevertheless, the ripe is also conceived in terms of the agnatic kinship idiom. We have already noted that the criterion for the formation of a new ripe was the existence of twenty-five male household heads of like clan identity; the ripe is thought by some informants to be the same as the marga or clan; occasionally the Kepala Ripe, ripe head, was alternatively titled Kepala Marga, clan head.

But further, the ripe is sometimes conceived not in terms of principles of kinship structure, but in terms of collective interrelationships, namely, as a family. The members of a ripe may be thought of as persons of one household. One can speak of dongan sa ripe, persons in special (friendly) relationship in one ripe. In enquiring about the social placement of a woman one asks "Ripean ise?" "To what ripe does she belong?" The correct response is to give the name of the woman's husband. Formerly, the ripe was probably a territorially localized group within the village, the village equivalent of what ter Haar refers to as the localized, exogamous, patrilocal sub-clan. In one village in the Thirty-Village Survey, Hutapungkut Djulu, the ripe

1 Willer (1846:153) describes a ripe as a district with households of the same class.
areas within the village were pointed out to me; some of these areas were marked off by waterways and low brick walls. If the ripe is envisaged as a family this implies increased face-to-face contact, a high rate of interaction and give and take among members in daily life. This, together with the notion of persons of one way, represents the idea of living in common which is associated also with other currently functional units of the social system, such as the sibling group and the village community.

The ripe was conceptualized according to political, descent and familistic criteria. The place of women is the key to the way in which these three ways of looking at the ripe can be harmonized. Unmarried women were members of their father's ripe by patrilineal descent; on marriage a woman was transferred from the care of her nuclear family to that of her husband who was primarily responsible for her food and clothing. But care meant also protection of her person in both a physical and social sense for which the agnatic kin group of the husband as well as the husband himself were responsible. This responsibility was held primarily vis-a-vis the agnatic group of the woman; the latter on the other hand had to see that her behaviour in her husband's village conformed to rules valid for members
of her husband's village at large. In other words, in respect of her jural person within the village of her husband the woman was identified with her husband's agnatic kin group and hence with the ripe of which that group formed a part if not the whole.

The primary principle of recruitment to the ripe was agnatic descent. The jural unity of a ripe in relation to other ripe within the village was ensured by the notion of group responsibility, or at least of responsibility of the agnatic kin group, for the wives of its members and probably for one another. But the cohesion of the ripe depended upon its three structural requirements, political and jural unity, tight family bonds and agnatic descent all being met simultaneously. If two agnatic groups whose members claimed a different clan identity were included in the same ripe the solidarity implicit in the notion of common patrilineal descent in the two groups had to give way in order to preserve the political and jural unity of the whole ripe which was epitomized in the single head. The notion of clan and hence ripe exogamy was extended to a group ofagnates newly counted with a ripe but of different clan identity when the new members acted with the old members of the ripe in social life and adopted the clan identity dominant in the
ripe. By allowing some variation in the numbers in any ripe about the statutory minimum the division into ripe could be accommodated to the social situation in any village.

I have no information about the distribution of power within the ripe. Old informants say that all members had equal rights. The ripe head was chosen from among those best qualified in terms of education, experience and ability in council. The office was not hereditary.

Prior to World War II in one village in the Thirty-Village Survey there were ripe-linked organizations which gave money to bereaved members to pay for funeral expenses. Such organizations, where they now exist, are organized on a village-wide basis.

There appears to be an extant ripe system today in only two villages of the Thirty-Village Survey - Hutatinggi and Rao-Rao Dolok. The system is fully functional only in the latter where it is utilized for administrative purposes and each ripe is represented on a village council. It probably still exists there because the elected village headman is a member of the family of the former radja and has a lively interest in adat and history. The title Kepala Ripe, ripe head, has been abolished since the Revolution in 1945,
instead there is the title Kepala Bandjar;¹ all the seven ripe representatives in Rao-Rao-Dolok are titled Kepala Bandjar. This title does not appear to mean more now than 'assistant village headman', but it is an apt title to apply to the representative of a unit which formerly consisted of a group of agnates occupying a recognized section of a village. At present, however, in the majority of villages all persons of like clan identity do not live in one section of the village. There is, therefore, some confusion about whether a Kepala Bandjar should represent an agnatic descent group, a small community which is an offshoot of the village or a local section of the village itself. Generally, he represents one of the two last, or is regarded simply as an assistant to the village head.

A man cannot marry within his own clan segment within his village. According to the same rule of clan exogamy he cannot marry persons of like clan from outside his village. If the cohesion of the clan segment is greater than that of the clan as a whole we would expect in a sample of villages of different size and social isolation the percentage of marriages which contravene the rule of clan exogamy to be

¹ Bandjar means a small community, usually an offshoot of a larger village, and, formerly, without its own radja.
Table 6  Intra-clan marriages and other marriages in inter-village and intra-village marriages. Pooled data from eighteen villages in Ketjamatan Kotanopan

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-clan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% intra-clan</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 For data by villages see Table 18, Appendix 2, p. 533
smaller in intra-village than in inter-village marriages. The relevant figures are given in Table 6. Of intra-village marriages 6.6 per cent are intra-clan marriages, but of inter-village marriages 5.4 per cent are intra-clan marriages. The difference is not statistically significant, but is in a direction contrary to that expected. Hence the solidarity of the clan segment within the village as a marriage group is contra-indicated - clan segment identity has been subsumed to clan identity.

In the majority of villages the ripe has ceased to function as an administrative unit, its political and jural unity has disappeared and its other functions have been abrogated by the village at large, the neighbourhood, or the small agnatic descent group. In such villages persons of like clan identity do not form a corporate group.

The clan segment within the village is also losing its identity as an exogamous unit. The process of rationalization which consisted in the fusion of clan segments to form ripe has stopped. Instead the society is becoming simpler in structure as households and lineages of small span increase in importance.
The notion of the unity of the sibling group depends on the idea of common descent from the same father. In accordance with this patrilineal principle there is conceived to be a strong link between two nuclear families whose male heads are brothers, say g and h in Figure 3. In contrast with this link, the link between i and j on the one hand and h on the other pivots upon the transfer of a sister of the men in nuclear families i and j (and what we may designate as sibling group ij) to h, i.e. it is a mora-boru, woman-giving/woman-receiving, relationship.

The links between nuclear families arising from the common memberships of the wives in those nuclear families in a sibling group are relatively unimportant and we may for the moment ignore them.

Nuclear families g and h are linked by the common membership of the men of these two nuclear families in a sibling group. The patrilineal descendants of the father of the sibling group constitute what we shall call a minimal lineage. In the same way the nuclear families e and f form
part of a minimal lineage. The two minimal lineages are linked by the common membership of their progenitors in a sibling group to form what we shall call a minor lineage (efgh). In the same way the nuclear families a, b, c and d form a minor lineage. These minor lineages are linked by the common membership of the (dead) grandfather of the men in nuclear families a, b, c and d and the (dead) grandfather of the men in nuclear families e, f, g and h in a sibling group. Taken together the linked minor lineages form what we shall call a major lineage.

Minimal, minor and major lineages, then, consist of agnatically linked kinsmen, but this statement should not be allowed to obscure the nuclear families and sibling groups which constitute them.

Sibling groups

The nuclear family, - a man, his wife and their children - is an important unit which normally forms a separate household, sa bagas (M). The children are in marangka-maranggi (M), sibling group, relationship. The man and his wife are, of course, members of their own sibling groups as well as members of their family of procreation. This double membership is of special significance in the case of a woman who is conceived as being transferred from the
care of her own sibling group and family of orientation to that of her husband while nevertheless retaining her former membership. Nuclear families are linked by the sibling group relationships of men and their wives, but consonant with the notion of transfer of women, the linkages between nuclear-families which depend upon the common membership of two males, of a male and a female and of two females in a sibling group are different.

The sibling groups on any generation level are linked together by their inclusion in two further units, the kahangi solkot (M) and the kahangi (M). Sibling groups the fathers of which were themselves brothers form a kahangi solkot; we shall refer to this unit as the close classificatory sibling group. Sibling groups whose paternal grandfathers were siblings form a kahangi; we shall call this unit the classificatory sibling group. In Figure we have shown kahangi ab...h, the classificatory sibling group of which all the men in nuclear families a to h are members.

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1 Keuning (1948:36) says that the patrilineal descendants of a great-great-grandfather regard themselves as being in solkot, very close, relationship, and that the notion of agnatic relationship falls off gradually until the borders of the concept of lineage are reached. Nowadays the range of kin who are regarded as solkot is usually less than this and the effective lineage is smaller.
Classificatory sibling group affiliation cuts across minor lineage affiliation and links the living members of two minor lineages.

When the male children in any nuclear family grow up, marry and themselves have children, for the latter the minor lineage of their father will become their major lineage. For them persons outside this major lineage will constitute distant patrilateral kinsmen if the connection is remembered at all. If it is not, and it may be noted again that remembered genealogies have a depth of three to four generations, they may be merged in the large group consisting of persons of like clan identity.

The *ompu*

The notion of strict patrilineal descent from a common male ancestor which is implicit in clan identity is made explicit in the *ompu*. The *ompu* consists of the patrilineal descendants of one 'grandfather'. The word *ompu* can be used in three ways: in its primary meaning it refers to the patrilineal descendants of an old man still alive who is then regarded as the *ompong*, grandfather of the unit (this we have called a minimal lineage). Secondly, *ompu* can

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1 The word *ompu* is a shortened form and the exact equivalent of *ompong*, the kinship term for grandparent.
refer to the patrilineal descendants of an old man and his brothers whether alive or dead (this we have called a minor lineage). Thirdly, it can apply to the patrilineal descendants of an old man's father and father's brothers (this we have called a major lineage). The minor lineage is the largest descent group whose agnation can be traced through living persons (except in the rare event of their being living representatives of four generations). The agnatic links between the living members of a major lineage can only be traced through the recently dead. We are now approaching the limit in depth of most Mandailing genealogies.

Genealogical charts are common in radja families because of the importance in the past of hereditary offices but are not common among the rest of the population. In Pagargunung, a village of sixty households, only one or two people have charts. For the majority, grandparents form a source of genealogical knowledge of limited scope, but are infrequently referred to; there is, therefore, a constant loss of genealogical information. Apart from the rare case when all a man's relatives in his major lineage have died a man has no need to trace agnatic linkage beyond the span of the major lineage. The social function of agnatic kinsmen
beyond the span of the major lineage is scarcely distin-
guishable from that of persons of like clan identity and
they tend to be identified with the latter. The neglect
of genealogical relationships and the lack of a definitive
sociological function of the group to which they refer
go hand in hand.

amang tobang/anak or paompu duduk

ompung/paompu or anggi

amang/anak

EGO

Figure 4. Kinship terms used by males in direct patri-
lineal line.

The kinship terms applied to males of the agnatic
descent group alternate in ascending generations. Father
is referred to and addressed as amang (M), father's father
as ompung (M) and father's father's father as amang tobang
(M, old father or father's elder brother). Son is re-
ferred to as anak (M), son's son as paompu (M) or anggi (M),
younger brother, and son's son's son as anak or paompu
duduk, little grandchild (see Figure 4). Some Mandailing men say that, in theory, ompung, grandfather, and amang, father alternate as terms of reference for males in alternating generations above the third ascending generation, but, in fact, persons above the second ascending generation are referred to as ompung si..., grandfather of so and so. In other words there is no method of referring to persons above the fourth ascending generation when ego is a member of the lowest generation of the three living generations of any minimal lineage. In genealogical charts the second names of males given on marriage are usually used (women rarely appear on the charts; for further details see Appendix 2). But charts are uncommon, and, in speaking, the names of all persons of ascending generations are avoided. For the living members of any minimal lineage the generations above the fourth ascending generation are coalesced (p. 198).

Moreover, the fourth ascending generation is precisely the generation level of the male ancestor of the major lineage. The coalescing of generations above this level allows other agnatic kinsmen to be identified as merely persons of like clan identity or, to put the matter another way, prevents the formation of agnatic kin groups of wider span than the major lineage. When we apply the minimal lineage frame of
reference to the living, then, we arrive at the agnatic kin group of widest span other than the clan itself which is commonly recognized and has a social function in modern Upper Mandailing society.

Property and the lineage

We must now consider more closely the meaning of the concept ompu. A pivotal idea is that of arta (M, = harta I) possessions. In the literature on Indonesian customary law harta is often divided into individually owned property, harta pentjarian, and property owned in common, harta pusaka. This division is applicable also in Upper Mandailing. The former consists of things made or bought by the individual, usually household articles, ornaments and rubber or coffee gardens, and the latter of things which are inherited from generation to generation such as wet rice fields. When considered as inherited things both types, harta pentjarian and harta pusaka are called simply harta. The most important items of harta are barang kekal, fixed or relatively indestructible property, such as adat ceremonial gear, gold and land. Houses are not usually regarded as barang kekal. The distinction between harta pentjarian and harta pusaka becomes obsolete on the death of a legator, the legatees exercising rights to both according to their lawful shares.
in the *harta* as a whole. *Harta pentjarian* therefore becomes *harta pusaka* on the death of the *de cujus*.

According to adat, males have inalienable rights in common to the *harta* of their father. A man cannot disinherit his sons.¹ Moreover, males inherit their father's rights even if their father pre-deceases their grandfather. These rights are inherited per stirpes. The inalienability and presumption in the rights of male descendants in relation to *harta*, guarantee the continuity of the agnatic descent group as a *harta*-bound unit. As far as inheritance is concerned the males of the agnatic descent group form a universitas personarum. The parallel between the ascriptive nature of descent and the continuity of *harta* is strengthened by emphasis upon relatively indestructible things as the most significant part of the latter. The most

¹ According to the older writers (Willer, Ris and Heyting) with the concurrence of his patrilineage and the village council a man could disinherit his son if the son repeatedly conducted himself badly or married within the *marga* (Keuning 1948:147). This should be interpreted as a right of the group which inherits in common to exclude a member from the inheritance. But nowadays the political instrument through which this decision was made effective - the village council - has disappeared. A man may be forced to leave the village by pressure of public opinion but he does not lose his right to inherit. Nowadays a man is not disinherited because he marries within the *marga*.
important item of harta is wet rice fields. The persons who opened wet rice fields are often referred to; a plot may be said to be that of ompung si..., grandfather of so and so, an illustration of the coalescing of generations, since the 'grandfather' may in fact be in the second or any other ascending generation. It is said that formerly some persons wanted to be buried in or near their rice fields; the people know that in working the rice fields year after year they are stepping in the footsteps of the ancestors. But these ancestors are not the patrilineal ancestors of the married women who do the major portion of the work and these sentiments of continuity and of association between lineage and wet rice field are counterbalanced by sentiments which spring from the importance of wet rice fields in seeking a livelihood. The expansion of the wet rice field area has not kept pace with the growth of population in the last sixty years. Since the nuclear family household is the normal unit of production each married son is in competition with his married brothers for the use of this scarce resource. Although the rights in common of sons to the use of this item of harta are partible, the integrity of the plot and the lineage segment for which it stands is respected and excessive fragmentation even for use only is rare.
For example, Djalayu emigrated from Pagarguning about 1949. He became a successful merchant in Panjabungan, while two of his brothers remained in Pagurguning where they became petty merchants. Djalayu's father and mother were dead and the lineage land was divided. Djalayu paid his religious tax in an unusual way— he presented his share of the land to his brothers in the village. The daughter of one of these brothers went to live in Djalayu's household and acted as reliable cheap labour in his shop.

Sometimes, however, maintaining the integrity of the lineage segment means merely excluding others, while the members of the sibling group argue furiously among themselves about what should be done with the land. One of two brothers from Sajurmaintjat emigrated while his father was alive. The other brother used a family plot which had been turned into a large fishpond until his father died and for several years afterwards. Then the first brother returned to the village and demanded payment in lieu of his share in the plot. This was refused, the second brother feeling that he should be allowed to use the undivided plot. The brothers could not agree and they asked the village headman to arbitrate between them. The headman suggested two solutions, first, that each brother should keep a different kind of
fish in the pond, and second, that the brothers should have the use of the pond in alternate years. Neither of these solutions was accepted by the brothers. Two years later in 1956 the pond was unused and in disrepair.

Usually difficulties of this kind are solved by compromise (damai) bearing in mind who among the lineage segment members has to support a nuclear family or has other commitments. A de facto situation is often recognized in the division of an inheritance which, it will be remembered, may be irrevocable or for temporary use only—thus a married man who is using the major portion of his father's harta may be allowed to retain it when his father dies although there are other claimants. For example, Djaputih, whose father was dead was having an argument with his father's brother, an emigrant, who claimed a share in undivided land which had belonged to Djaputih's father's father and was now being used by Djaputih. Djaputih's father's brother wanted the land to be divided irrevocably so that he could present his share to the community as wakap, religious trust property. In spite of this the general opinion in the village was that Djaputih was right in refusing to agree to the subdivision.

Implicit in our discussion so far is the notion of the
maintenance of the continuity of the lineage and of its relationship to harta through males. This emerges explicitly in the adat law of inheritance. Although females are members of the lineage segment by virtue of descent, apart from trivial items they cannot inherit harta from their father. Pro forma recognition is accorded to Islamic inheritance law by the allocation of shares to daughters. But these shares are almost always given immediately by females to their brothers. Failing sons or son's sons the nearest male agnate (usually father's brother) acts in their place.

The jural unity of the lineage segment is maintained by not following Islamic inheritance law. The notion of Koranic sharers\(^1\) is completely ignored; hukum firait (Islamic canon law) is commonly interpreted as being concerned only with providing shares for daughters (and possibly for wives) as well as for sons; and the right of a legator to bequeath one third of his property to persons other than those who would inherit the property were he to die intestate is not recognized except in respect of property made

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\(^1\) The Koranic sharers are a group of heirs, mainly women, among whom a certain part of an inheritance is divided in proportions specified in the Koran. They take precedence over all other heirs.
wakap (M, I, a trust for religious purposes). There is no exclusion by degrees as in Islamic canon law, e.g. if a man dies leaving a son and a son of a predeceased son the latter is not excluded by the former, but takes what would have been the share of his father (i.e. inheritance is per stirpes). On the other hand, a living man excludes his son from a share in the harta of the man's deceased father.

Although by these arrangements women are usually excluded from the inheritance it is my impression that the number of women who inherit property is increasing. Women are becoming aware of their rights under canon law. I heard of one dissatisfied widow - she wanted a share of her late husband's property - who had taken her case to Kotanopan court.

Jural unity and the lineage

So far we have spoken of the agnatic group in general terms without specifying its size. The inheritance of rights in harta takes place from one generation to the next succeeding generation. Irrevocable division implies the right of the recipient to do what he likes with his share. Clearly the size of the unit which may be said to possess jural unity depends on the generation level below the de cujus at which irrevocable division takes place. There are
two models for this process, that of adat, and that of Islamic canon law. The former implies the division of harta among sons with an individual right of use only. This system generates a group of male agnates each of whom has rights of use in harta created or obtained by a common male ancestor; ultimate ownership and any rights in the land other than that of access for use are held by all in common. The notion of ultimate ownership of the harta by the agnatic group in perpetuity is implicit in this system. Islamic cannon law, on the other hand, implies that after the payment of debts and funeral expenses of the de cujus, all the harta will be immediately divided among the legal heirs (sometimes called waris M, I). This system generates no harta-holding groups; it implies the fragmentation and dispersal of the harta according to an uncompromising system among individuals, some of whom are not agnates. We have noted the compromise which is usually effected between these two systems in relation to the shares of women, here we are concerned with the timing of irrevocable division. A would-be migrant said that he had been urged to claim a right of access to wet rice fields in a village from which his ancestors came, a claim which would imply the recognition of an agnatic link just beyond the span of the major ompu and the
non-division of the land for purposes other than use through five generations. On the other hand an old man divided his wet rice fields according to the Upper Mandailing interpretation of hukum firait among his three sons and two daughters with the implication that this arrangement would continue as an irrevocable division after his death. The two daughters were dead, but the parts allotted to them were still spoken of as their shares, although they were worked, together with the portion of an absent son, by the married son who lived with the old man in the latter's house. A third son in the village worked his own portion. The old man himself half worked what would have been the share of his dead wife. The fiction of a division according to hukum firait was maintained since this is a recommended act, sunnat, in Islamic canon law for which the old man would obtain profit, pahala in the after life. In fact the property had been divided for use according to adat.

Usually irrevocable division takes place within the lifetime of the generation succeeding the de cujus. After a 'decent interval', usually about a year, irrevocable division may occur at any time.\(^1\) An over hasty division is avoided

\(^1\) Keuning (1948:36) says that many adat court decisions suggest that the inheritance may sometimes remain undivided for many years. It is likely that since the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the data used by Keuning was gathered the time between death of the de cujus and division of the inheritance has decreased.
since it implies that the death of the de cujus was desired. But if the de cujus predeceases his wife, irrevocable division does not take place in her lifetime. Although she cannot dispose of the property she exercises what might be called rights of maintenance and occupation; in other words she has a lien on the property and especially on wet rice fields and gardens used by women. One widow had five sons. The youngest two were unmarried and lived in her house. The eldest son used land which he had bought before his father died; the second son used part of the family land; the third son was divorced and partly supported himself by rubber tapping. The widow used the rest of the family land. Another widow who supported herself and her ten-year-old only son worked the land formerly used by her husband. She spoke of this land as her son's kahangi land.

Irrevocable division usually occurs when most of the sons are mature, married and have children of their own. There may be a difference in the timing of the division of rubber and coffee gardens, houses, wet rice fields and other barang kekal (indestructible things). The first, which are frequently harta pentjarian and are the means of production for ready cash, are often divided soon after their owner's death; adat articles may be placed in the
safekeeping of one of the dead man's brothers. The irrevocable division of wet rice fields and the house may not take place for some time, i.e. until the male members of the receiving sibling finally decide where they are going to live.

A man who receives a share on irrevocable division may dispose of it in any way he wishes although the pre-emption rights of his sons and siblings when the land is sold or hired out tend to retain the ownership and use of the land within the minimal lineage. The sons of the receiver of a share have no rights of use in the share except those implicit in the notion of pre-emption on sale or hire. But these rights are not nowadays proscriptive - their observation may be merely a pro forma matter. The situation depends on whether the relations between the members of the minimal lineage are friendly or not at the time of the sale and on the attitude of the villagers to the sale of land to outsiders. In Simpang Banjak Djulu only one wet rice plot is owned by an outsider. It was sold about 1950 by an emigrant to a man in a neighbouring village. The emigrant's kahangi would not pay the price which he could get from the outsider. About three years later he decided to return but no-one in the village
including his kahangi would have anything to do with him. When emigrants leave a village no-one appears keen to buy their land, they are expected to sell it cheaply or give it away. Persons outside the kahangi of the emigrant are not keen to buy the land because they are not always sure that the land has been irrevocably divided.

As a receiver of a share grows old he has less and less use for the whole of his share, he can do less work and his daughters who form an important element of the work force on the rice field leave to get married; he is likely to allocate a portion of his share to his sons for their use. Wet rice fields are a pawn in the play of the changing social relations of father and son through time. One old man in Pagargunung had two sons in the village, a married son by his first wife and a young son by his second. The married son worked rice fields owned by his wife (she had no brothers) and hired fields. The old man offered his married son the use of an unused field rent free for thirteen years. By this means he hoped to keep his married son in the village and to bring the field back into use again so that it would not deteriorate but be ready for the young son when he grew up. However a man disposes the fields, his sons never lose their presumptive right to inherit.
In this sense it is the minimal lineage which forms the jural unit in relation to harta. The pre-emption rights of a man's brothers where he has no adult sons and the reversion of harta to them failing sons indicates the secondary significance of the minor lineage.

The minimal lineage as the paradigm of social relations within the descent group

The operation of the two principles, the alternation of generations and the strict succession of generations results in ambiguity and tension in the social relations between generations in the minimal lineage. These relations may be denoted as follows (see Figure 5): indulgence-respect between the upper generation and lower generation, tension-respect between the upper generation and the middle generation and respect-subordination between the middle generation and lower generation.

The founder in the upper generation (GF in Figure 5) controls the harta of the unit. He may or may not allocate a portion for use to his married sons (F1 and F2 in Figure 5). Each married man is responsible for the maintenance of his own family of procreation and makes his own decision about how he will gain access to resources of production for subsistence; his choice affects the social relation-
ships between himself and his father. Ideally these relations are a variant of _hormat_ (M, I),¹ honour or respect. On the man's part this means paying attention to his father's advice, helping with physical tasks such as planting and harvesting, helping with ceremonies in his father's house, keeping his father informed of his intentions and generally maintaining an attitude which implies that his father can call upon him for help and that the relationship between them is harmonious. On his father's part it means not interfering gratuitously in the man's domestic affairs and granting him self-determination. If the man emigrates, he may send his father occasional gifts, and maintain the relationship by visits from time to time (berziara, I).

If men have self-determination they get no positive help from their fathers. Most men must seek agricultural land wherever they can get it in the village. A man who simply sits and waits for an inheritance is looked down upon, he is known as _siendjengan_ (M), the spoilt one.

¹ This is a term which can be used to describe a number of relationships; it is not the same as filial piety; the latter has positive implications in one direction only while in this context _hormat_ implies reciprocity.
To sit and wait is contrary to the moral injunction to seek and strive. Men who obtain land in this way often maintain their independence by avoiding their father; they may live at some distance from him in the village, they are never seen talking with him in the street but only with their age mates; and their visits to their father's house have a formal, aim-conscious character.

Men who receive portions of harta for their use from their father are frequently the intermediate born or younger men who reach maturity at the time when the aging father no longer has need of the whole inheritance. Formal arrangements are made; for wet rice fields a share-cropping agreement is entered into. Thus the controlling rights of the father are recognized, the plot is not abrogated by one man to the detriment of the ultimate rights of his brother, and the man maintains a quasi-independence. In the division of the yield, the father frequently forgoes a part of the controller's share. Although in theory all the brothers should be treated equally, in fact fathers attempt to bind one or more sons to them. The father encourages the son to live nearby, even to become a neighbour with the idea in mind that such a son represents security in old age. A successful hadji-merchant in one village had four
sons: one in Djakarta, one in Medan, one who he was supporting at the secondary school in Kotanopan and one who had become an elementary school teacher in his own village. The merchant allowed the last son to use land rent free and he arranged for his neighbour, whose wife was a member of his kahangi, to move elsewhere so that this son could live next door. As a school teacher this son had a high status and a relatively good income and was not dependent on his father but he was morally bound to him because of the education with which he had been provided and because he was the only married son in the village.

If a man receives special privileges from his father the ideal of harmony in father-son relations has to be maintained in the face of this threat to the man's self-determination. Some men avoid disagreements by using a common Mandailing conversational technique known as indaterimo (M), not receiving; they listen politely to their father's advice, but do not act on it. This is a technique commonly used by youths in relations with their elders - married men who live and work close to their fathers sometimes display other characteristics of youths.

A man may take up a position in a business controlled by his father. He tries to solve the problem of self-
determination for himself by taking responsibility for a particular branch of the business, for instance, the transport of the goods to market. He becomes a partner and the profits are shared equally. One ironsmith ran an efficient family business. He had three sons in the village. The eldest avoided his father and earnt his living independently in Kotanopan. The second son, who was married, worked as hammer man in the smithy and the third, who was an imbecile, worked as bellows man. The second son carried the goods to market and brought the iron back. He had other defined jobs such as making handles and it was never necessary for his father to give him direct orders. The profits were shared between them. But although the ironsmith was very respected his second son was not.

Although unmarried men are nominally members of the nuclear family household of their father, they spend most of their time with their age mates. They sleep and often eat in the youths' house. They rarely eat with their family of orientation, but return to the house at odd times and obtain food from their mothers or simply take whatever is about the house. Boys act like this from an early age. Pahit aged four was allowed to come in from play at any time and go through the pots for food. His mother told him
he was naughty but she never tried to stop him. Ali aged seventeen carried on the same pattern right through the fasting month; his mother hid the food but he always found it. Djalal's mother was thought to be very hard because she scolded him for taking food even though Djalal, a young divorcee, regularly stole money from her.

Unmarried men play very little part in the economic activities of the household but work for cash, often outside their village, and support themselves. In this way they signify their relative autonomy in relation to the family.

Youths use inconsequential politeness to avoid dominance by their father; they manage to express respect for the father and their own sense of independence at the same time. A man is responsible for the arrangements for his son's marriage although the choice of partner rests with the son himself. Thus a paradox arises – a man is responsible for the ritual which signals the transition to the married state, while it is the assumption of this role which justifies self-determination on his son's part. On the other hand when a man marries he assumes greater responsibilities towards his father.

The position of an unmarried young woman in the middle
generation (Fsr in Figure 5') is ambiguous. Her father is her *woli* (M), guardian, in Islamic canon law. His formal permission is required before a legal contract of marriage can be concluded with her. But this control is not absolute; if her father refuses permission on three occasions and the marriage appears to be a valid and reasonable one, the marriage is carried out by a religious judge in spite of her father's opposition. The attitude of her brothers is the critical factor: if they support her she can get her way. Some informants even say that one of her brothers instead of her father can grant permission for the marriage. If she is abducted, it is her brothers who make a show of force in front of the house of the guilty male. Normally her father is the central figure in the premarital negotiations with the groom's party. It is a matter of pride for him to augment her marriage portion; after the marriage he provides her with equipment for setting up a new household. On the death of her father the oldest brother takes over this role in relation to her. In the marriages of its female members the minimal lineage acts as a unit. But a woman must balance present and future gains; the support of her brothers can be helpful in the present, and they will replace her father as guardian
on his death; should she be subsequently divorced, she can get them to help her obtain a satisfactory settlement. In balancing her relationship to the two parties, father and brothers, most women are overtly passive; they maintain a neutral position, provide active support for neither, but by indulgences to both prepare the ground for future favours. In a religious judge's household these relationships, which were centred on a girl in the household, were in a transitional phase. The girl was twelve; her mother had died four years before. The girl had a brother aged nineteen who lived in the house and one aged ten who went to school in Kotanopan. When he came home for the holidays the latter had constant rows with the girl. She tried to order him about and got him to do the cooking. With the elder brother however she was quiet; she often helped her father and sometimes cooked for the family when her younger brother was away. The girl was in fact very attached to her father. The year before the judge had married a widow but the girl made the life of the new wife and her children so unpleasant that the marriage lasted only a few weeks.

The relationship between parents and pre-adolescent children is dealt with in some detail in the section on the nuclear family in Chapter 10; here we are concerned with
the relationship between the lower and the middle generation of Figure 5 in the context of the minimal lineage.

The responsibility of a man to maintain his family of procreation means that the social relations of each male member of a sibling group with the succeeding generation are different. It also differentiates the sibling groups in that generation from one another. In the indigenous kinship terminology no such differentiation occurs; all males of the first ascending generation are called amang, with the qualification that those older than the father of the nuclear family are amang tobang, old father (the term also applied to all males of the third ascending generation to whom relationship can be traced), and those younger than father amang uda,¹ young father, (usually curtailed to uda see Figure 6 p. 569). All father's sisters are namboru.² Reciprocally, all the males of father's sibling group call the children of the males of the group anak (M, I), child;

¹ Young people commonly use bapa (I) for father's younger brother. The terms for the wives of father's brothers also differentiate between brothers who are older than father and those who are younger; they are: nantua (M) for father's elder brother's wife and nanguda (M), father's younger brother's wife.

² Bau (M) and bunde (M) are commonly used instead of namboru; bau is said to be more honorific.
male children are distinguished from female children when necessary by adding the term dada boru (M) for females, while if it is necessary to distinguish children of an older brother from children of a younger brother ni angkung (M), from older brother, or ni anggi (M), from younger brother, is added. Thus the female child of ego's older brother is anak dada boru ni angkung. The term used by a woman for her brother's children is different and the woman differentiates male and female children; male children are called uda (M, the shortened form of amang uda which is also used for father's younger brother) and female children permain (M), usually shortened to maen. A woman calls her sister's children anak, child (see Figure 7, p.569 and Figure 9 p.570).

Children below the age of five are sometimes cared for by their father's brother or father's sister. They get much the same treatment as they would get from their father or mother, i.e., guidance and foresight on behalf of the child. Since married brothers often live near to one another in the village, a child sees its father's brother fairly frequently. The child's father's sister on the other hand, if married, may live in another part of the village or in a different village. An unmarried father's
sister is a member of the household of the child's paternal grandfather and, since visits there are more frequent, she has more contact with the child. If it is necessary to place the child temporarily in the care of a person other than its mother, father, or elder brother or sister, it is, however, the child's mother's sister or father's brother's wife who is chosen. Both of these relations call the child, anak, child and their children cannot marry the child.

After the differentiation of the sex roles of children at the age of five or so all the dimensions of the relationship to the middle generation in the minimal lineage become operative. Children do not like being directed. Between the ages of about five and twelve, boys spend a good deal of time with their fathers and develop appropriate skills, girls do the same with their mothers. Members of the middle generation of opposite sex to the child have little opportunity for exercising responsibility towards the child. For children this is a period of social latency.

The relationship of male children to their father's sister is ambivalent. A boy's father's sister is a member of a higher generation to whom the boy owes general respect, at the same time the boy wishes to exert the general
superiority of males over females, or more specifically, the general control exercised by males over unmarried females within the agnatic descent group. The father's sister is, of course, forbidden in marriage.

This ambivalence is expressed in the kinship terms. The father's sister calls the boy by the same term as she uses for her father's younger brother. The 'elevation' (in relation to the generation system) of the boy identifies him with the generation which is primarily responsible for the control of the marriage of the females of his father's sister's generation. The expectations of a boy in relation to his father's sister are a combination of his expectations in relation to his mother and sisters; he expects her to be indulgent and to a degree subservient. Outwardly the relationship is characterised by reserve and avoidance similar to that practised in relation to sisters. In practice the relationship depends on age and marital status. The relationship between the boy and his unmarried father's sisters is like that between him and his sisters; but his older married father's sisters sometimes order him about and treat him less indulgently than his mother would.

The relationship between a woman and her brother's daughter is one of relative ease, and when both are mature,
of relative equality. In adat neither has a right to inherit harta. At the wedding of a girl, when the bride is taken from the house of her father to that of the groom, her father's sister goes with the party and acts as guardian and companion to the girl. She acts as the representative of her lineage segment, witnesses the safe delivery of the girl and her marriage portion and helps to count the latter. Since she might be expected under the system of asymmetrical marriage to be already married into the group into which the girl marries, she is a relatively neutral party. She is a presumptive mother-in-law of the girl and classificatory mother of her husband. The various children of the judge's household mentioned previously treated their father's sister in different ways. Their father's sister was an old widow. The eldest son avoided her but she had a close relationship with the girl (aged twelve). She told the girl and her friend stories and often slept with them. The girl would wake her up by shaking her and shouting 'wake up Aunty, wake up'. The old woman showed boredom with the girl's antics; she said the girl would soon grow up and was patient with her. The young boy in the family kept out of his father's sister's way. She used to lecture him on good behaviour.
The relationship between the upper and lower generations is one of indulgence-respect. The faces of tough old men crease into smiles when they see their grandchildren; they offer their grandchildren food, attract their attention and smile indulgently at their antics. Grandparents call their grandchildren anggi (M), a term used also for younger brother. Men may call their son's daughters (but not their daughter's daughter's) iboto (M) a reciprocal term used between siblings of opposite sex. Informants have even suggested jokingly that since ego's father calls ego's son anggi, the latter might be called amang mulak (M), returned father, of ego. The use of the term uda by a woman for her brother's son has been explained in the same way — since a woman's father calls her brother's son anggi, younger brother, the woman can appropriately refer to her brother's son as uda, father's younger brother.

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1 Among the Toba Batak the term amang mangulahi is used. Mangulahi is the equivalent of mulak (see Eggink, 1936: 152 under 'oelak'), but I have not heard amang mangulahi used in Upper Mandailing.

2 Among the Toba Batak a woman calls her brother's son amang na poso, young father, or amang mangulahi, returned father. Amang uda is the equivalent of amang na poso, but in Upper Mandailing amang mulak, the equivalent of amang mangulahi is not now used in this context.
Grandchildren call both grandparents *ompung*, never *angkung* (M), older brother, the normal reciprocal of *anggi*. Hence the relationship is disharmonious. Young children are sometimes aggressive towards their parents or older siblings, but they are stopped from displaying aggression towards their *ompung*. Yet the concept *anggi* expresses rather precisely the relationship of a man to his grandchild, since the relationship lacks the tension found between adjacent generations and is brotherly even though the man is much the senior of the two. But to the child its grandparent is in an extraordinary position— the grandparent is a member of the close group towards whom aggression is not allowed. From the child's point of view the important feature of the relationship is the respect which must be paid to the grandparent. The sex difference of grandparents is ignored and the *ompung*

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1 In kinship terminology father's father is referred to as *ompung munama*, grandparent from father and mother's father as *ompung munina*, grandparent from mother, but young children call all grandparents *ompu*, the shortened form of *ompung*.

2 For this reason and because the relationship of child to grandparent is not the same as the relationship of younger to older brother the reciprocal term *iboto* used between siblings of opposite sex is not used between all grandparents and all grandchildren, but only by the founder of a minimal lineage to his son's daughters.
frame of reference is extended to include all persons of the second ascending generation. The social distance between children and the second ascending generation is maintained and taught by the active intervention of parents. When Pani, aged four, interfered with his baby sister his mother told him to stop. He tried to hit his mother. His father's mother tried to take hold of him and he turned round and tried to hit her. He was then firmly told by his mother not to do that to his ompung.

Professor Fischer (personal communication) has suggested that the use of the term anggi by a man for his grandson is a possible reference to 'an ancient structural identity between grandfather and grandson'. Professor Fischer comments as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 father's sister father</td>
<td>2 father's sister's husband mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ego father's father</td>
<td>wife father's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

'If there are four marriage classes, ego belongs to class A3, and his father will belong to A1 and again his father's father to A3. Father's sister belongs also to A1 and calls ego a returned father, while her husband (B2) will call ego a returned tulang' (tulang is the term for mother's brother). Further work will no doubt reveal the significance of this valuable suggestion in relation to the evolution of the structure of Batak society but in modern Upper Mandailing society there is no functioning system of marriage classes.
But should either of the grandparents become parent surrogate, the content of the relationship changes. It is not uncommon after the death of one grandparent for a son with his family of procreation to live in the same house as the remaining grandparent, the latter often acting as caretaker of the young children. With the assumption of the parental, directing role the children pay the lesser respect due to parents and the grandparents react on the whole with a defensive no-nonsense policy towards the children.

There is an exception to these generalizations - when the female children are older they share in what may be described as the camaraderie of women, and their relationship to their grandmother is characterized by familiarity though not by cheek. This feature, together with the ease which we have noted as characteristic of the relationship between a woman and her brother's daughter, distinguishes the relationships among the women of the minimal lineage from the asymmetrical and relatively tense relationships among the men.

Finally we may note the relationships between the children of the sibling groups in the lower generation of the minimal lineage (sibling groups in nuclear family 1 and nuclear family 2 in ego, lower generation in Figure 5).
This relationship is primarily one of equality, qualified by the assumption of sex roles at the age of five or so. The children of the two groups of like age and sex often play together. If a child has no older sibling it may be carried round and cared for by a child from another group. But children tend to play in their own neighbourhood; for them age grading and sex grouping within the neighbourhood are more important than ompu affiliations. Moreover, since married women often visit their own agnates the children are brought into contact with their matrilateral as well as their patrilateral cross cousins.

Position of women in the minimal lineage

Although accreted women, i.e. women married to the male members, are not strictly members of the minimal lineage, they have as ter Haar puts it, 'by long association an established position in the scheme of things'. Before World War II, a married woman was in the care of her husband's ripe and its representative on village councils, and had no political responsibilities. Since the introduction of universal franchise women have gained at least the right to vote in the election of village heads. A woman has become independent from a formal, de jure point of view. Some of her rights and obligations under the old order remain, for
example her welfare must be always considered and she must be well treated, maintained and given a proper social place. The rights of accreted women to maintenance are held primarily in relation to their husbands - in contrast, the rights to maintenance of a woman who is a member of the lineage by descent are held both in relation to her brothers, and her father. The rights of an accreted woman, then, arise a generation lower than those of a female member of the minimal lineage of the same generation as herself. The position of a woman accreted to the minimal lineage is greatly strengthened when she has born male children since the latter are full members of the lineage and may use and ultimately inherit the *harta* of the lineage. The respect which they owe to their mother guarantees her position. The positions of a wife of a founder of a minimal lineage and of a founder's daughter are similar in that the whole lineage is concerned in their maintenance, but the position of the founder's wife is much stronger. The greater respect which she commands from all males of the group is complimented by the lien on the *harta* which she is able to exercise after the death of her husband. I never heard of a woman who could exercise an undisputed lien on the *harta* of her dead father. In an adat court decision in Pakantan Lombang in 1932 it was stated that
according to adat a woman cannot inherit immovable goods from her father but she may be able to borrow them for use during her lifetime. If the rightful heir asks for their return they must be given up. The founder’s wife has the choice of a lien or nothing, while a founder’s daughter may take her share of the harta although in effect she thereby severs her social relations with the minimal lineage. The choice of the founder’s wife in other words is between accretion and non-support, while that of a founder’s daughter is between dependence and independence.

In Islamic canon law the rights of the founder’s wife and of a founder’s daughter to inherit the founder’s property are alike - they are both primary heirs who cannot be excluded from a share, although their shares are different and dependent in any particular case upon the presence of other heirs. Justice is therefore done to both by the rights of maintenance granted to them. But the somewhat stronger position of the founder’s wife - she can prevent the redistribution of the property - suggests the operation

1 Adatrechtbundels 43:201. Apparently the adat in Maga was slightly different. In 1932 the adat court there decided that two brotherless unmarried girls were entitled to the produce of their dead father’s property until they were married (ibid. 221).
of a further factor. This is the exaggerated respect males pay to their mothers. The curse of a mother is said to be feared much more than that of a father, a man may display violent grief and an appearance of being inconsolable on the death of his mother but he should bear the death of his father with quiet stoicism. The founder's wife therefore commands the respect of the most active members of the minimal lineage, the male members of the middle generation, in a way that the founder's daughter cannot do, while as the mother of the whole unit she has a unique position.

The founder's wife, if at all active, is often the de facto leader of the women of the minimal lineage. At village meetings she often voices a female opinion from the back room where the women sit, especially if the founder is dead; her knowledge of kinship and medicine is often made use of by other women. As a rule there is little jealousy among women of the minimal lineage. The women of the middle generation who are members proper and who might be thought to be in competition with the accreted women of their generation in relation to maintenance rights eventually find their definitive social positions in the minimal lineages into which they marry. On the occasions of minimal lineage coactivity - wedding ceremonies - the women act harmoniously together. Food is prepared in the house of one brother by
all the women under the general supervision of the founder's wife and served in that of another.

The exaggerated respect paid to the founder's wife counter-balances the high status of the founder as controller of the harta of the unit. As ompung, grandparent, he and his wife are equal in status. The solidarity of the women of the unit is usually visible in their camaraderie and ease of association. It arises in part from the low level of the technological skills used in lineage affairs. From the age of ten all women are almost equally skilled in cooking and presenting ceremonial meals, or in caring for children; the women are substitutable for one another. The camaraderie and solidarity of the women counter-balance and control the tension between men. The women influence lineage and village affairs through their husbands; each exercises an ex parte influence; if the women agree amongst themselves the status quo is maintained, if they do not the minimal lineage tends to break up.

The following case, said to have happened several years previously in Pangkat, illustrates this and a number of other points: shortly after the death of the founder of a minimal lineage, the remaining males of the minimal lineage were working wet rice as illustrated in Figure 10.
A (founder of minimal lineage; dead)

B (dead) worked together in fields representing part of the unit; divided yield equally

C

D

E worked hired fields

F worked a field he had bought himself and hired fields

Figure 10. The working of wet rice fields by members of a minimal lineage.

After the death of A the general control of the harta of the unit passed to C, the eldest surviving brother of the next generation. C and D worked the fields representing the harta of the unit together and divided the yield equally between them; E and F received nothing; they had to seek (djelaki) fields elsewhere; F bought his own field. This situation continued for a number of seasons until ill-feeling arose between the wives of E and F on the one hand and those of C and D on the other. This was sufficient to cause a redistribution of the harta. Previously the general control and decision of C had been acknowledged, but E and F now requested (mangido) some harta even if only ten bays
(a very small area). But the authority of C was insufficient to decide upon, let alone maintain, such a division. In order to maintain peace (damai) within the minimal lineage the equal rights of C, D and E and the presumptive right of F were recognized. The wet rice fields of the harta were divided into four equal areas, one each for C, D, E and F. An equal number of trees in the clove garden and the rubber garden was also given to each. The coffee garden, a dwindling asset representing the harta pentjarian of A, was sold and the proceeds divided equally. My informant explained that it was not possible to divide the rest of the property according to Islamic canon law, which he identified with irrevocable division, because three other brothers had emigrated from the village twenty years previously and might sometime return to claim a share. Thus a compromise was effected. The equal rights of the males of the minimal lineage, both those within the village and those who had emigrated, was recognized, as well as the rights of access of those who had remained in the village; a cause of disagreement within the group was removed, but the harta pusaka, the symbol of group unity and continuity, was maintained intact.
Social relations in the minimal lineage: a summary

Jural relations, ideal relations and actual behaviour must be distinguished in the minimal lineage. The jural unity of the minimal lineage depends on the utilization and disposal of harta. The various members of the group including the accreted women have different claims to this resource. Males have greater rights than females in that they inherit full rights of disposal rather than only rights of maintenance, but the position of the females of the middle generation is critical in actual social behaviour since they tend to maintain a balance between their married brothers and their father. The accreted females all have rights of maintenance but these rights arise at different generation levels in the minimal lineage. The jural rights of each generation of males over harta is complemented by the respect which each generation owes to that next ascendant to it. But while a man is acknowledged as superior to his young child, the subordinate-superordinate structure of inter-generation relations gives rise to tension between a man and his father.

The relationships in the minimal lineage are structurally similar to those in the nuclear family but they change from time to time as different persons assume differ-
ent roles in the lineage. The notion of a son as amang mulak, returned father, is an attempt to achieve a balance between subordination and freedom for grown sons and leads to mutual respect between males of the middle and upper generation. The notion of returned father rationalizes the responsibility which a man assumes for the maintenance of his aged father.

When one of the members of the sibling group, usually the eldest, marries, he assumes the name of his paternal grandfather. In terms of the nuclear family idiom he takes the role of 'father' in relation to the whole minimal lineage, for example he becomes a 'father' to his sisters. A man's relationship to his grandchild is like that of a man to his younger brother; but the relationship of a child to its grandparents (ompung) is not explicable in terms of the nuclear family idiom. The ideal pattern of this relationship is similar to the relationship to the ancestors - not awe, but respectful distance - as far as a child is concerned the relationship constitutes training for the relationship to the dead with whom its grandparents share the term ompung. It is unmarried persons who have no definitive social position. This is shown by the generic use of the term anak for any child irrespective of relationship to the
speaker and by the frequent use of personal names for children. It is only on marriage, when a new name is given and the individual becomes a member of na tobang (M), the old, that he becomes a fully social being of specific lineage identity.

This event often occurs about the same time as the death of the founder. The newly-married man joins the active men of his generation who run village and lineage affairs. He takes the social place of his father as the latter grows old. When a man has discharged his obligations to see his sons securely married he reduces the scale of his activities and becomes an 'old man'.

The social order is thus constantly renewed. The structural principles at work are the replacement of the grandparent by his grandson and the shifting of the 'father' role from the upper generation to the middle generation in the minimal lineage as the members grow older.

The ideal pattern of relationships is modified in practice by factors such as physical contiguity, activity in social affairs and wealth. Contiguity reinforces and ensures the acting out of the ideal pattern in actual life; if relatives live far apart the organizational principle of usefulness determines whether the relationship is kept up
or not. The more active a man is in social and economic affairs the greater the respect persons pay to him; if a married man acquires wealth the tension between himself and his father is reduced, since the man need make no claim on the harta but can make gifts to his father and thereby show his respect; his father is relieved of any responsibility towards him.

The pattern of respect in the minimal lineage - omitting accreted women - is shown in Figure 11. The directions of the arrows are the reverse of what they would be if they represented power defined as control over persons, but are in the same direction as they would be if they represented avoidance. Respect is a key characteristic of the pattern of ideal relations within the minimal lineage. In actual behaviour, if one may use a mechanical analogy, respect is the oil of the social machinery.

Social relations in the minor lineage

The kinship terminology used within the minimal lineage is applied mutatus mutandis within the minor lineage. The minimal lineages in a minor lineage are linked to one another primarily by the membership of their founders in a sibling group (see Figure 12). There are as many minimal lineages within the minor lineage as there are male members
of that sibling group (barring 'accidents' such as a failure to produce sons). In Figure 12 a minor lineage including only two minimal lineages is shown, but the figure shows the complete structural pattern since there are no specially linked minimal lineages within a minor lineage.

In spite of the differentiation of older and younger brothers in the sibling group nowadays one minor lineage is not usually regarded as older or more senior than its partner. Consequently all the men of the minor lineages usually call one another angkung, older brother, or anggi, younger brother, according to the relative ages of speaker and person addressed (cf. Keuning 1948:37).

The wives of the founders of minimal lineages A and B (see Figure 12) are not necessarily related prior to marriage; they may be of different clan identity and different village origin. But even if they were consanquinaly related this would not make any essential difference to the structure of the minor lineage. The two women have a similar status as founder's wives in their minimal lineages; they may visit one another's houses, although the closest social contact of each is with her daughters; both tend to be 'in on' any sicknesses or births within the minor lineage. Usually they act in an easy familiar way with each other and are not rivals.
The founders of all the minimal lineages are ompung, grandfathers; each controls the harta of his minimal lineage. On formal adat occasions the older occupies a higher place in the room. But in most villages nowadays each has an equal say in village affairs and can command the support of his sons. The dominant role of each is that of founder in his minimal lineage.

The married males in the middle generation of minimal lineage are not as tense with the founder in minimal lineage B (their father's brother) as they are with their father. After irrevocable division the question of access to harta does not affect this relationship; should their father be dead the brothers of this group have a right in common to inherit the harta equal to that of their father's brother. The relationship is one of relative ease, though of discretion. In matters intended to reach the ears of their father, their mother acts as a channel of communication rather than their father's brother. The relationship of the married males in the middle generation of minimal lineage B to their father's brother is similar, but here a possible greater difference in age implies more withdrawal and greater respect; this is not a function of primogeniture but simply of relative age. Youths practice polite
avoidance with their father's brother the same as they do with their father, but they do not return to the village at planting and harvesting time to help the former as they do to help the latter.

The relationship of the unmarried but marriageable females of the middle generation in any minimal lineage to their father's brothers is qualified by the jural relations of the two parties. The question of rights of maintenance does not affect the relationship (after irrevocable division) nor is the father's brother responsible for the marriage arrangements or for the provision of a marriage portion for the girl; these responsibilities and the office of woli, guardian, usually remain within the minimal lineage of the girl. But they are assumed by the father's brother if a girl's father dies and she has no brothers. Her mother may become her guardian but her father's brother makes the arrangements for the wedding and represents her agnatic kin group in the adat ceremonies because these functions can be properly carried out only by a male. If a man dies leaving daughters but no sons there are two ways in which his property may be inherited — according to adat the property returns to the kahangi solkot, i.e. his brother's sons with whom his daughters maintain brotherly relations (it is assumed that
the man's brother is already provided for), but according to the Upper Mandailing interpretation of Islamic canon law two-thirds is retained by the daughters and one-third goes to the males of the kahangi solkot. If a division according to Islamic canon law is decided upon, the women, it is said, retain their share and do not give it to their father's brothers 'because it is the harta of their father'. The rights of women are deemed to be stronger than those of other agnatic kin outside the minimal lineage. In other words the principle of the jural unity of the lineage in relation to harta is maintained. The amount of property transferred to her father's brother depends upon the woman's marital status and the contiguity of her father's brother. An unmarried girl may require his help in order to effect her marriage by adat; if he lives at some distance from the village he may not be able to help her adequately and may forego his rights in the inheritance. The de facto situation and the current needs of those living in the village and able to make use of the property determine what action is taken. A brotherless woman and her husband lived in the house of the woman's mother and worked the wet rice fields of the woman's dead father. The couple maintained the mother; none of the dead man's brothers lived in the village. When the mother
died the woman's husband organized and paid for the funeral. The woman inherited all the wet rice fields and subsequently transferred the full rights in them to her husband just as she would have done to a brother. In this case since the woman had no brothers and her father's brothers lived elsewhere the woman and her husband performed the role of a son to the mother. The division of property proceeds not according to rigid rules but according to current needs and role performance. This is similar to what Nadel (1957:26) calls the entailments of a role, the consequences which follow on the taking up of a role. In this case the playing of a role brings with it an entitlement.

To young boys and girls their paternal grandfather's brother is as much ompung, grandfather, as their paternal grandfather himself. The social distance between a young child and all ompung is such that he cannot distinguish one ompung from another. But for a man the reverse is not the case, it is having grandchildren which makes him an ompung and he therefore treats his own grandchildren with genial consideration. Growing children become aware of this attitude and are less respectful to their own grandparents than to others of the same generation. With the latter the ideal-typical pattern of respect is easier to maintain.
The relationships of a child to members of its father's generation outside its minimal lineage but in its minor lineage are similar in kind to those which the child has with its father's brother or sister. In the lower generation there is equality between the sibling groups as groups though the actual relations among the children are again a function of sex roles and age grading.

Consonant with equality between the sibling groups in the lower generation of a minimal lineage there is equality between those of the middle generation in the minor lineage. These groups are linked together to form a kahangi solkot, a unit which we shall describe later. It is important to note at this point, however, that although there is an implicit hierarchical order among the grandfathers of the minimal lineages within a major lineage by virtue of their being older and younger brothers in a sibling group this does not result in an hierarchical order of the minimal lineages as units.

Finally, the process of fission within the agnic descent group takes place as follows: when a fully formed minimal lineage is truncated by the death of its founder the unit enters a transitional phase during which the eldest surviving son acts as controller of the harta. This situation
lasts a longer or shorter length of time according to whether the founder's wife predeceases the founder or lives on for some time afterwards. But when she dies and all her sons are married the harta is irrevocably divided. Some of the founder's son's sons marry and have children. The founder's sons themselves now achieve the status of ompung, grandfather, and each turns to his own sons for support; the significant status of each becomes that of founder within his own minimal lineage rather than sibling in the sibling group. The now fully formed minimal lineages, each possessing jural unity in relation to its own harta, form together a minor lineage. With the addition of a further generation and the repetition of this process a major lineage comprised of two or more minor lineages is formed. The kinship links of the grandfather in the original minimal lineage are forgotten and the major lineage remains as the largest unit within which definite agnatic kinship links can be traced.

Social relations in the major lineage

The kinship terminology used in the minimal lineage is applied also in the major lineage and the ideal-typical pattern of social relations within the minor lineage is similar to that in the major lineage. However, there are a number of new points to be made about the structure of the
larger unit.

The founders of the minor lineages in the major lineage were not all members of a sibling group, although they formerly acted together on occasion in kahangi solkot, close brotherly, relations. The relationships between the sibling groups of which the founders in the various minor lineages are members are relationships of equality. The minor lineages within the major lineage are therefore of equal status as units.

It is unlikely that the males of the middle generation in a minor lineage will be called upon to act on behalf of the females of the same generation in a minor lineage other than their own. The property which constitutes the harta of the respective minimal lineages in the major lineage was an undivided whole only in the childhood of the founders of the respective minimal lineages. The major lineage is, in other words, approaching the limit in size of span of a unit which in living memory may be said ever to have had common rights in a single harta. In fact the unity of the major lineage is never referred to harta, the relevant idiom is that of patrilineal descent.

The major lineage is maintained as a unit primarily because its most active members, the married males of the
middle generation, are members of a single kahangi, group of persons acting on occasion in brotherly relationship. Because its personnel have multiple membership in different units the cohesion of the major lineage is less than that of the minor lineage.

The sibling group and the extension of the sibling group idiom

The relationship between children and their adolescent siblings is discussed later when dealing with the nuclear family. Here we are concerned with the sibling group whose social history is advanced.

True siblings are said to be in marangka-maranggi (M) relationship. This word is derived from those for older sibling, ankung, and younger sibling, anggi. This older-younger dimension in the structure of the sibling group is carried further in the terms pangoruran (M), eldest, silitonga (M), those in the middle and panjalpuan (M), the youngest, the ending one. These terms may be applied to

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1 The equivalent term given by Eggink (1936:118) is markaha-maranggi, which he translates as 'blood relations, patrilineal descendants of a single forefather'. Keuning 1948: 38) comments that this term may apply to the relationship between the members of a lineage or clan. Nowadays, marangka-maranggi has a more restricted range of reference.

2 In ceremonial speeches an older sibling is sometimes referred to as kahang (M).
both males and females. The term iboto (M) is used for members of opposite sex. This term is also used for all persons of opposite sex within the major lineage.\(^1\) My true iboto is my sibling; he or she is differentiated from other iboto as my iboto kandung (iboto of one womb).\(^2\) The term iboto is also used by men and women for their mother's sister's children of opposite sex 'because of the tali (M,I) string, of one mother'. The two main types of iboto, those related patrilineally and those related matrilineally, are distinguished by the fact that the first share in the harta of the lineage.

Children of the same father and mother are said to be saamasaina (M), (one father, one mother), those of the same father and different mother as saama-paasingasingina (M) and those of one mother and different father as saama-paasingasingama (M). True iboto are children born of one father and mother in accordance with the notion that the ideal marriage is a union of one man and one woman for life; but the term may also be applied to half siblings who often live in the

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1 They are never addressed as iboto but as angkung if older and by name if younger than the speaker.

2 This usage is similar to the use of 'mother' as a reference point in distinguishing between lineage segments.
same nuclear-family household and who are in any case forbidden in marriage.

Older siblings can command younger ones. But, since males want to dominate females, when they are about ten or eleven boys have difficulties in their relationship to their older sisters. The difficulty disappears when the sisters marry and go to live with their husbands or both the boys and their sisters are incorporated into adolescent age grades which formalises their relationship and releases the tension. In one household there was a girl of seventeen and her brother of fifteen. He used to tell her how to cook or what to do about the house. She good temperedly did what he told her. But they never gossiped together.

The command hierarchy among siblings is only really effective within each sex group; sisters are said to be a little afraid of their brothers; they are despised if they do not give their share of the harta back to their brothers (and so maintain the unity of the lineage). The search of a girl for security, then, involves her in being respectful towards her brothers. Men speak of their sisters as djagal (M), literally 'merchandise', a reference to the fictional gold which is received for them on their marriage.

There is mild avoidance between iboto. Iboto do not go
to market together, they should seldom speak to one another and when they do say only what is necessary. The relationship contrasts with those of a man to his mother's brother's daughter. A man avoids his father's sister's daughter and there is mutual respect between them, but with his mother's brother's daughter a man is free and easy. He is allowed to have suggestive conversation, se endjeng-endjeng (M) with her, but this is prohibited between iboto. A man may lie and tell stories to his mother's brother's daughter, but not to his iboto. These aspects of the relationships emerge strongly during courtship and adolescence; the new roles assumed on marriage exert a modifying influence. The exigencies of life in a household give rise to sentiments of attachment between brother and sister. One female informant (aged seventeen) said that when she and her brother (now fifteen) were younger they used to fight - she was always angry with him. She had to pound rice and work in the garden and on the rice fields, while he did no work at all; she used to tell him to pound rice and to leave the house. Sometimes he did not bother to eat in the house because she was so angry; he was quite satisfied with life. Her father's sister used to tell them not to fight because their father was dead (they lived with their mother); there were just the
two of them and her brother took her father's place. But she was only angry; now she remembers the advice and she thinks differently; she knows that it is different for males; she would like her brother to visit (he had emigrated temporarily to seek money); she misses him. The brother was in fact doing quite well as a minor merchant and sending occasional presents to his sister and his mother. He did return to the village for a while, brought further presents and successfully played a moderately dominant role in the house. The sentiments expressed must be judged against this background.

With power of command goes responsibility. Married men, particularly successful migrants, help their younger brothers. They may pay the school fees of their younger brother or entirely support him in college; youths may go to live with their elder brothers in the city while they establish themselves in business, or work in the elder brother's enterprise as a partner. A man may attempt to solidify his position in a new village by inviting his younger brother to join him, offering free land and a house as an inducement. A man shows his responsibility towards his sister by sending her presents, especially clothes and ornaments. After his father dies a man acts as guardian of his sister and may contribute
to her marriage portion.

In the village young men who are ordered about by their elder brothers become 'hot' or angry. But after the death of his father the eldest of a group of brothers assumes his rights and responsibilities. He must give food to his (unmarried) younger brother; the latter no longer becomes 'hot' if he is given orders. A younger brother may make requests (pangidoan, M) of an older brother until the latter's 'house is used up'. Of four brothers living in one village the two eldest were married and the third and fourth eldest lived with their mother in their dead father's house. The third eldest acted as head of this house, and his younger brother obeyed his orders without complaint. On the other hand the third eldest brother was respectful towards his eldest brother who paid for him to make a trip to Medan to try his luck there.

The responsibility of the elder towards the younger is also found in a rule which reduces sexual rivalry among male siblings. A man may enter the house of his elder married brother and act in a familiar easy way with his elder brother's wife, but he can not do the same with his younger brother's wife; a man rarely visits the house of his married younger brother.
Brothers show their solidarity when there is an emergency. If one is ill the others stop work and 'wait'. They may come to sit in the house of the sick brother for several days. They are also active in seeking medicine for him. If the illness lasts some time and their own affairs languish the brothers take turns in 'waiting'.

A man has no responsibility for the maintenance of his brother's wife and children. But should a man die his brothers, and in particular the brother who has assumed the role of the dead father, will take the responsibility for the partial maintenance of the children, especially the male children. But they will not be responsible for the wife. A merchant who had taken over the role of his dead father in relation to his sibling group sold rice cheaply to the divorced wife of his younger brother because the woman still cared for his brother's child.

A widow is allowed to continue in occupation of any undivided harta worked by her late husband. If the harta has already been divided she will, of course, have a lien on the property. Occasionally a man marries the widow of his dead elder brother, but never the widow of his dead younger

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1 Fathers do the same when their young children are ill.
brother. If a woman remarries, she usually does so outside the lineage of her dead husband. If she remarries at all she forfeits the right of use in her former husband's undivided land and her children usually enter the household of their father's brother who assumes responsibility for their maintenance.

As we have noted, in formal adat meetings the hierarchical order of brothers is maintained until death. In the active phase of life the oldest brother may speak for all or if younger brothers speak they will do so in order of seniority. This frame of reference carries over in making the arrangements for and carrying out the work for such meetings. Younger brothers expect their elder brothers to be the organizers. But in everyday affairs there is a tendency towards equality among brothers. In joint working parties or economic affairs, consonant with the responsibility of each brother for his own family of procreation, there are no clearly defined organizers and followers. Again the situation is qualified by relative age, but if they are not treated as equals younger brothers tend to stay out of the working party. I found no working kongsi (M, I), co-operatives, of brothers whose ages were widely different. I spent a day with the plank cutting co-operative consisting of two
brothers and their classificatory sister's husband whose economic transactions are described in Chapter 4. All the men were about thirty. We started off early in the morning and returned late in the afternoon. I observed these men carefully all day. All made remarks, suggestions, and criticisms and gave orders. There were no disagreements. They changed jobs from time to time. I could find no pattern of dominance and submission.

The differentiation of the eldest, those in the middle, and the youngest brother is consonant with the old adat law of inheritance which allotted one and a half shares to the oldest and youngest brother and one share to those in the middle. The oldest got a larger share because he 'assumed the responsibilities of the father' and 'in that house there was the adat', i.e. he had the responsibility for feeding the guests on ceremonial occasions, and the youngest because 'he had the least time with his father'. But the youngest often remained after marriage in the house of his father which usually formed part of his inheritance and undertook the maintenance of his mother. Nowadays, it is generally conceded that the inheritance should be equally divided among brothers and recent decisions in the Kotanopan court which purport to be based on present adat confirm this view. But
this trend towards equality among siblings is extended by modernists to include females. It was even stated that there was a government regulation (undang-undang I) which granted equal inheritance rights to males and females. This is a fiction, but it is indicative of a trend of thought. It is conceded that girls have equal rights with boys to secular education and the primary schools provide for both equally. Fathers are responsible for the further education of their daughters as well as for that of their sons. In practice if the father's resources allow for the further education of only one child a son is given the preference. The numbers of boys and girls in Kotanopan secondary schools are nearly equal, but more boys than girls are sent to Islamic colleges.

The modernist trend of thought influences relationships in the sibling group in the Kotanopan area where it is strongest. Secularly educated girls are independent of their brothers since they have a guaranteed future in marriage or teaching. They do not condone airs of superiority in their brothers. Under modernist influence the relationship between brothers and sisters appears on the

1 But cf. India where such a regulation is on the statute books.
whole to be more tense and characterised by more rivalry. In short, the behaviour typical of pre-adolescence is pro-
longed into adolescence.

The **kahangi** and **kahangi solkot**

The **kahangi solkot** includes all the members of the middle generation in a minor lineage while the **kahangi** includes all the members of that generation in the major lineage. A **kahangi** therefore embraces two or more **kahangi solkot**. But this does not imply that in a **kahangi** there are two or more contraposed **kahangi solkot**. Corporate action by a **kahangi** or **kahangi solkot** is usually ceremonial action initiated by one member. Whether the whole **kahangi** or only the **kahangi solkot** is involved depends upon the scale of the ceremony. The correct frame of reference is that of whole and part, not contraposed units. To a member of a **kahangi** the term **kahangi** connotes the group with whom he acts in formal and ceremonial matters. The word **kahangi** is often loosely used in this sense to refer to the smaller or larger unit and the **kahangi solkot** is only differentiated in certain circumstances which we shall indicate presently.

The word **kahangi** is a compound of **kaha** (M), elder brother and **anggi**, younger brother. It refers primarily to the
children of ego's father's brother. The notion of (patril¬
lineal) descent is strongly associated with the kahangi. 
One descendant generation, informants say, yields only a 
marangka-maranggi, sibling, group; when there is another 
generation, then there is a kahangi; if ego's grandfather 
had many brothers then ego has a large kahangi. The kahangi 
is also seen as a network of ties - the kahangi is a 'string' 
connecting one person to another. The term is occasionally 
used loosely to refer to the agnatic descent group as such 
and sometimes has associated with it the concept of harta - 
the 'true kahangi are those who share one harta pusaka'. 
But the kahangi and the ompu, lineage segment, are usually 
differentiated as groups which represent descent through a 
larger and smaller number of generations respectively or as 
descent from the males of a sibling group as contrasted with 
descent from an ancestor above the sibling group, or, more 
critically, as those of one blood and those whose blood has 
become mixed due to the marriages of agnatic ancestors with 
different females. Usually the term kahangi refers to a 
group of wider span than the term ompu; substantively, to the 
members of the middle generation in a minimal lineage who act 
together in ceremonial and formal matters. Let me put these 
diverse frames of reference into a simple structural picture.
Ompu means primarily 'persons descended from one grandfather'. One ompu unit consisting of living persons encompasses in the middle generation only a sibling group. But the members of a true kahangi, a kahangi solkot, are themselves members of the lowest generation of a single ompu. The structural relationship of the units is shown in Figure 13. The relationship of the units becomes clear - the idea of closeness in the kahangi solkot is a function of inclusion within a single ompu, the notion of sharing one harta pusaka is consonant with the notion of the derivation of land from a single ompung.

In practice the terms ompu and kahangi are used in an elastic fashion to refer to groups of agnates of different span. The former is, as we have seen, never qualified by any secondary term. In everyday speech, kahangi denotes the living members of the middle generation within the minor lineage (i.e. ego's father's brother's children). But in order to maintain consistency and clarity in this account we shall continue to use the term kahangi solkot to refer to this group while the term kahangi will be used in its wider sense of classificatory brother. The Upper Mandailingers themselves sometimes use kahangi in a yet looser sense to refer to agnates who act together.
The Upper Mandailingers contrast the *marga*, clan, with the *kahangi* - *marga* is just a name*, but, *the kahangi is the people*. Being a member of a clan merely categorizes an individual, but being a member of a kahangi makes the individual a social person. Incorporation within a clan has no social meaning, but the opposite is true of incorporation into a kahangi. It is the latter which confers clan identity rather than vice versa on the grounds that common descent is part of the terms of reference of the concept kahangi. Accreted women do not become members of their husband's kahangi. Strangers who wish to settle in a village, a rare event, take up a clan identity by becoming a member of a kahangi. A kahangi is spoken of as a circle or sphere. A person may enter this circle, but by doing so does not become a member of an *ompu*, lineage segment i.e. entitled to a share of harta. Individuals who have no kahangi because all the members are dead may be forced to take up with another kahangi circle. They may do so, it is said, by calling together the elders of all lineage segments within the village, providing them with food and *sirih*, betel, and stating their intention. The elders discuss the matter - their unanimous agreement makes the 'proposed' arrangement 'official'.

The kahangi is important in the practical affairs of life, especially in crises. As Mandailingers say 'it is a
thing to be used'. When a new-born child is named the males of the kahangi solkot of its father and learned men (malim M, I) are called to the child's father's house and given a meal. They may be asked to choose a name for the child. During the ceremony of naming the child is passed round the group and acknowledged and blessed by each in turn. When there is a wedding the members of the kahangi of both parties are very active as soon as their help is requested. They help in the preliminary negotiations, make special journeys to call guests, organize the preparation and cooking of food, speak in the adat ceremonies, lend crockery and make their houses available for the feeding and sleeping of guests. If a divorce threatens, the kahangi solkot of the two parties attempt a reconciliation; if divorce proves inevitable they represent the parties (in the woman's case it is more particularly her brothers who do so) in the negotiations for a settlement. If someone dies in the house of a male member the kahangi do 'all that is necessary' - see to the reception and feeding of the guests (though they do not provide the food), make the coffin, dig the grave, and carry out prayers and speeches. There is no need to request their help; provided that they are given information about the death they 'know this work', they accept responsibility (tanggung-
djawab M,l) for it. The kahangi more particularly the kahangi solkot are tukang damai-damai (M) those responsible for mutual reconciliation. They are expected to have mato tadjem (M), sharp eyes, that is they are expected to quickly pick the beginnings of a quarrel and to see the faults of both parties. In disputes between members, they act as the first court of appeal. In disputes between members of different kahangi, the two kahangi meet and try to find a solution satisfactory to all parties. Although they may speak on behalf of a member they do not champion his cause in the sense of attempting a vigorous and one-sided prosecution of his case; they attempt in discussion with the kahangi of the other party to find the elements of the biaso, the usual way, which will fit the case. The kahangi, then, bring disputes from the narrow context of two-person, emotionally-loaded relations into the wider context of group relations and village norms. They are effective agents in the accentuation of normality.

Finally, at the beginning of the fasting month the kahangi solkot or the kahangi may be called to the house of a member to eat and join in prayers for the well-being of the dead ancestors and especially the father of the host. The initiative in this matter lies with the particular kahangi.
member concerned; he gets the profit in Heaven, pahala, for carrying out this respectful act. Those who take part in the prayers are paid in food. This is a group activity, but not a corporate act. Occasionally two members of a sibling group initiate such prayers jointly; they do so in order to avoid the heavier expense of initiating prayers each on his own account – this is not a matter of group worship. In Pagargunung two widows initiated the ceremony jointly with their brothers and one with her son because it is easier for a man to organize the ceremony, but there were no other joint ceremonies although there are several other sibling groups in that village.

Persons are not hierarchically ordered in the kahangi. In kahangi discussions the initiative is taken by the older members of each sibling group, but there is formal equality among the kahangi members as such; each has equal rights to initiate kahangi group activities. Nevertheless there are differences of status. In Upper Mandailing respect and solidarity is implied in the giving of gifts, but property attracts help and respect. This is expressed in pantun¹ form:

¹ Pantun are well-known sayings in verse.
As in most pantun the first two lines have no relation to the intention of the whole. The second two may be freely translated as: 'if one is far from wealth, relatives do not wish to help one'. The scale of kahangi group ceremonial activities depends upon the wealth of the initiator - each participant must be fed. Each invitation implies reciprocity in the future; a wealthy man is thus a constant guest at the ceremonies initiated by other members of the kahangi. He has more opportunity for the expression of opinion and in general receives more respect. When he is sick more people come to visit him, a matter which he notes carefully since this is not an activity which he himself initiates.

The kahangi does not act as a unit in economic affairs, but the two notions of descent in common and common rights in harta give it a quasi-jural status in relation to the use of land, in pre-emption rights for example. The owner of a wet rice field which is an irrevocably divided share in harta pusaka who wishes to sell or hire it out should offer it first to his brothers, then to his kahangi. The brothers
usually try to prevent outright sale if they cannot themselves buy the land. They suggest the land should be made gade, hired out for a fixed period for a lump sum in cash, and they attempt to find a member of the kahangi who will take over the land on this basis. Kahangi pre-emption rights in land which a man has himself bought are less strong, but nevertheless persist.

Apart from marriage ceremonies, the scale of kahangi group activities is such that they can well be carried out by five or six persons. The importance of the kahangi to an individual therefore depends on the number of brothers and father's brother's sons he or she has in the village. If they are large in number the importance of more distant relatives recedes; if they are few the members of the middle generation in the major lineage act as a kahangi unit. The elasticity in the use of the term kahangi in relation to formal criteria of descent is complemented by the varying composition of the unit acting in kahangi group activities (some examples of kahangi of different span are given on p. 333 ff.).

The kahangi is not a feasting group like the 'feest-groep' of Vergouwen (1933). The members of a kahangi act together in matters related to the principle of recruitment to
the group - patrilineal descent - namely, birth, death and marriage. The last is the major change of status which a member undergoes in his lifetime. Otherwise, the most important aspect of the kahangi is its political function in the settlement of intra- and inter-kahangi conflicts. The authority of members is de facto rather than de jure and constitutes one of the most important sources of self-regulation in the community.
Chapter 7

The Asymmetrical Marriage System

Of the asymmetrical marriage system ter Haar (1948:65) says:

'Running through the Batak pattern of relationship of the ruling local clan to non-clan members, living in the local community is the special relation of the clans supplying women to the clans which receive them. Each clan has a fixed relation to another clan, which results in the principle that all the girls of a clan are married out to the men of another. The woman-supplying clan is called the 'hula hula' among the Toba, 'mora' in the south. The woman receiving clan is dubbed the 'boru' or 'beru'. It is important to note, however, that the relation is not mutual. This produces the complex known as 'asymmetrical marriage'.

Thus the second clan must have another partner as its 'boru', for which it, in turn, plays the role of 'hula hula'. The whole thing may be conceived as a closed ring of three or more clans. Not infrequently, a woman-receiving clan exists side by side in the same village as its 'hula hula'.
or woman-giving clan, and this latter may also be the ruling clan (marga tanah). In view of the fact that the 'hula hula' enjoys a certain dominance over its woman-receiving counterpart, this latter may be doubly subordinate, both as a woman-receiving 'boru' and as an inferior residential group. Sometimes, however, as in the region of Padang Lawas, the clan which gives women to the ruling clan may live in the same village as the ruling clan.

In all Batak communities, government is primarily in the hands of a representative of the ruling clan, who is sometimes aided by another member of his family. In addition there are usually representatives of the woman-receiving clan, and in the south of the territory representatives of the subordinate clans in the community are also included.

Thus in the south Batak lands, a territorial community - called 'kuria' in these parts - is ruled by the rajah and his factotum, who is a member of the rajah's family and his possible successor (the bajo bajo na godang), along with the elders (kahanggi ni raja) of the rajah's woman-receiving clan, and the headman (natoras) of the other sub-
The asymmetrical marriage system

The concepts of mora, woman-giving and boru, woman-receiving groups are still an effective element in the Upper Mandailing social structure, but they do not now operate in the manner suggested by ter Haar. His picture of clans in fixed relations of woman-giving and woman-receiving with all the girls of one being married into the other and the notion of a ring of clans in asymmetrical relations may be merely overdrawn, but it certainly does not correctly represent the situation of today. The units in woman-giving and woman-receiving relations are very much smaller than clans. The members of a group of male siblings

1 Unfortunately, this translation of ter Haar is incorrect or misleading in detail. According to Eggink (1936:26-27) the bajo bajo na godang was the head of the clan from which the radja took a wife or the head of a clan other than the clan of the radja. Old Upper Mandailingers state that the bajo bajo na godang did have an important voice in adat councils, but he was not the radja's 'possible successor'. ter Haar's usage accords with these findings and he has in fact been mistranslated. The translation should read 'in the south the kuria is governed by the radja panusunan, the kahanggi ni radja (a family member of the radja and his factotum and possible successor) the bajo bajo na godang (representing the radja's woman-receiving clan), and the natoras, headman, of the other clans in the territory'. See ter Haar (1950:38).
often marry women of different clans, their sons likewise – there are no large social units in permanent woman-giving/woman-receiving relations. Thus the constructs of asymmetrical groups, rings of clans and circulation of women, are inadequate, or rather, ter Haar's conception of the size of the social units of the system is too gross. Nowadays a man may marry a woman of any clan, but should not marry a woman of the small social unit which is regarded as woman-receiving to his own unit i.e. the close agnates of his father's sister's husband. The new situation is represented in Figure 15 while the old idea of the system is represented in Figure 14. In Figure 15, for the sake of clarity, all possible movements of women have not been shown, but if they were, this would not alter the general picture. Furthermore, each clan has been divided into a small number of segments while, in reality, the units in woman-giving/woman-receiving relations are very much smaller than the large segment of a clan which is shown in Figure 15. A man in segment 3 of clan C may marry a woman of any other clan except segment 2 of clan B which is woman-receiving to his own segment. At the clan level there is exchange of women between all clans, which is merely a
restatement of the notion that a man may marry a woman of any clan other than his own; it is at the segment level that asymmetry occurs, and then only between one segment of one clan and one segment of another. Moreover, both the woman-giving segment, mora, and the woman-receiving segment, boru, of any one segment may belong to the same clan; in the situation represented in Figure 15, both the woman-giving segment and the woman-receiving segment of segment 1 of clan B are in clan A.

The translation of ter Haar's statement was the first account in English of the Upper Mandailing mora-boru system. Dr. J. Keuning in his valuable analysis of the literature on the Southern Bataklands (Keuning 1948, in Dutch) states that the units in woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships were lineages (geschlacht). Moreover, he shows that the men of a unit got their wives from several other units and not necessarily from one particular unit.¹ This accords with my findings. I shall show in the following sections what the nature of the units in the system is at present.

¹ Nevertheless later impressions of ter Haar's book remain unchanged (ter Haar 1950).
ter Haar was wrong on two points: the units in the system are now smaller than he supposed them to be; and the relationship between the units is prohibitive, not prescriptive. ter Haar assumed that a man must marry into his mother's clan; according to him mother's brother's daughter marriage or its equivalent was obligatory; the wives of two brothers would always be sisters. In fact if a man married a close matrilateral relative his brothers were not allowed to do so; two brothers were and are not allowed to marry two sisters. As a general rule a man may not marry a close agnate of any of his father's sisters' husbands, or in other words father's sister's daughter marriage is prohibited. Clearly since the system is built upon prohibitions rather than prescriptions, it is more flexible than ter Haar's account would suggest.

One further point may be noted here: mora-boru relationships which are not reinforced by further marriages become non-effective after a generation or so, hence from the point of view of social process the whole system of ties is constantly being broken down and reformed again. As a result of this process and of the small size of the units in asymmetrical relations, asymmetry cannot become the organizing principle of the overall political order.
The clans are essentially equal and not hierarchically ordered; both the woman-giving unit and the woman-receiving unit of any one unit may belong to the same clan. For unit heads or representatives to have equal rights is consonant with the structure of the system as a whole; the possibility that a member of any clan may be elected as head of a community is to be expected. Empirical findings fulfil this expectation. The latter part of ter Haar's statement is of historical interest but it does not accurately represent current social realities.

The **mora-boru**, woman-giving/woman receiving, relationship

The generic form of **mora**, wife-giving group, and **bora**, wife-receiving group, relations was the relationship between the radja family and its wife-receiving group within the village. The latter were radja supporters who never attacked their wife-givers. Persons wishing to marry radja family women approached the radja through them; in cases of war they stayed near the radja; and in matters concerning adat they were in a strong position of authority in council. Although the radjas no longer exercise a political role, the idea of the **boru** as henchman, trusted confidant and supporter is still found in extant **mora-boru** relationships.
Mora, woman-givers and boru, woman-receivers are also termed hula-hula pambuatan\textsuperscript{1} and hula-hula pangalehenan\textsuperscript{2} respectively.\textsuperscript{3} The word boru is not commonly used; the woman-receiving group is usually called parserean, the gold, or parutangan, the indebted. This illustrates two dominant aspects of the mora-boru relationship – the boru is on the one hand the sere na godang, the great gold, the supporters, the ones we can trust, and on the other, those who are indebted to us, those who owe us service. Ideally the debt passes from generation to generation and is never extinguished. The Mandailingers put the matter in the ompu idiom, the debt passes, they say, to one's children and one's grandchildren, its existence is an indication of the solidarity of wife-givers and wife-receivers; should the debt be paid off (i.e. in gold or cash) this would be an indication that the units concerned wished to have no more to do with one another.\textsuperscript{4}

When a wealthy merchant

\textsuperscript{1} buat = to take

\textsuperscript{2} lehen = to give

\textsuperscript{3} Keuning (1948:44) equates mora and pangalehenan, boru and pambuatan; this is incorrect. My finding agrees with Eggink (1936: 37 and 130).

\textsuperscript{4} One woman aged about seventy said that in her youth it was commoner for the debt to be paid off than it is today.
from Medan married a girl in a village near Kotanopan in 1953 he paid off everything asked for the girl. The Mandailingers regarded this self display not only as a contravention of local adat but as incredibly wasteful folly.

In practice the notion of debt in perpetuity, while part of the ideal pattern of relationships, is an extravagance of speech because woman-giving/woman-receiving ties which are not re-implemented by further transfer of women become non-functional and are forgotten.¹

In marriage making there are two recognized processes, parsolkotkon koum (M), making relatives closer, and manamba koum (M), making more relatives. These were important when support from the boru, woman-receivers, was of consequence in intra-village politics. It is said that ideally one son should marry a woman from the mora, woman-givers, of his father thus perpetuating the tie of the goruk-goruk kapinis, the original woman-receiving group, to its woman-giving

¹ There is nothing in the notion of debt in perpetuity which implies that further marriages should take place; but the woman-receiving group of the radja does appear to have controlled the marriages of the female agnates of the radja - when a request was made for a radja family woman, the radja is said to have handed the decision over to his woman-receiving group.
group but if such a marriage occurs the other sons should marry outside their mother's group. Nowadays, the control of fathers over the marriage of their daughters is relatively weak, while they have almost none over that of their sons.

Table 7

Reported relationship of bride to groom prior to marriage in 150 marriages in sixteen villages in 1955-56

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported relationship of bride to groom</th>
<th>Intra-village marriage</th>
<th>Inter-village marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same clan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classificatory father's sister's daughter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's brother's daughter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classificatory mother's brother's daughter</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 According to Eggink (1936:221) manjunduti means to marry a woman from mother's lineage; pabidang bulung, to broaden the leaves, or paimbar sungai, to move the stream, mean to marry outside the group from which one usually gets a wife in order to spread relationships more widely (ibid.39). These terms are not commonly used in Upper Mandailing.
The criteria youths use in choosing a marriage partner are beauty, education and cleverness in speech - in theory marriage is a matter of suka sama suka (I), mutual attraction. For reasons which will emerge presently (p.319) youths state that they prefer to marry a non-relative rather than a true or classificatory mother's brother's daughter, the preferred relative according to adat. Nevertheless, as shown in Table 7, marriages of men with their true or classificatory mother's brother's daughter do occur, in fact, such marriages constitute 14.5 per cent of all marriages. The marriages categorized in Table 7 as marriages with a classificatory mother's brother's daughter are marriages with a mother's father's brother's son's daughter or with a father's mother's brother's son's daughter. Marriages with more distantly related matrilateral kin may have occurred, but if they did informants could not recall the fact. The partners to a marriage who were not related in the two ways noted above were reported as unrelated or as related patrilaterally from the point of view of the husband. These reports were made in group interviews in the villages of the husbands or wives concerned and agnates of the parties were often present. The reports show to what extent matrilateral kinship is recognized. For the children
of a minimal lineage and hence for the minimal lineage itself the recognized matrilateral relatives are the members of the minor lineage of their mother and the members of the minor lineage of the wife of the founder of their minimal lineage. These ties are shown in Figure 16. This finding is confirmed by the reported marriages with a classificatory father's sister's daughter. These marriages are with a father's father's sister's son's daughter.

Matrilateral relationships are always traced through the living accreted women of ego's minimal lineage. Ties through the founder's wife are traced through the males of her sibling group and ties through ego's mother through ego's mother's father and the latter's sibling group. Matrilateral ties are not traced through persons who are in a generation above the second ascending generation above ego.

The arithmetic mean number of sons per family is 2.8^.

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1 One of the classificatory mother's brother's daughter marriages is with a mother's brother's son's daughter, but this does not invalidate the above argument.

2 One man married a daughter of a classificatory female sibling, but, again, this does not invalidate the argument.

3 I have insufficient genealogies to provide a valid estimate of the mean number of sons per nuclear family who marry women in the area. The figure given was estimated by plotting the number of sons in nuclear families against the number of years the parties to the marriage were married and extrapolating slightly to 25 years which was accepted as the child-bearing life of a woman.
If existing mora-boru relationships are to be reaffirmed by marriage of at least one male of a sibling group to a female of his mother's minor lineage we should expect that \( \frac{1}{2.8} \) or about 35.7 per cent of marriages would be of this type. But only 14.5 per cent of marriages are of this type. The difference is significant at the .01 level of confidence. Hence it appears that around sixty per cent of such ties are not reaffirmed in each succeeding generation.  

The facts presented above substantiate our assertion that there are no large groups in permanent woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships, and that the network of such relationships is constantly changing.

To the father of the young man we were considering above (A in Figure 16) the important relationships of woman-giving/woman-receiving type are those to his mother's brothers and their agnatic descendants on the one hand and to the members of his wife's minor lineage on the other. If the man marries a true or close classificatory mother's

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1 The mean number of daughters per family is approximately the same as the mean number of sons. For present purposes it is not necessary to consider the marriages of males and females separately. Any marriage which was recorded twice, once in the village of the bride and once in the village of the groom, has been entered once in Table 7.
brother's daughter those two groups will be one and the same because the recognition of matrilateral kinship extends only as far as the minor lineage. But in the other 85.5 per cent of marriages the two groups will be different. We shall therefore deal with the relationships to these two groups, the mother-giving group and the wife-giving group, separately and deal en passant with the unusual case where a man's true or close classificatory mother's brother is also his father-in-law.

To the male A, the father of ego in Figure 16, the ties traced through his mother's father, i.e. the father of the grandmother of his minimal lineage become unimportant after the death of his mother's father. The latter is absorbed among the ancestors generally, and is replaced in the social structure by the male members of the middle generation of his mother's minor lineage. These persons maintain an interest in the fate of A's mother because she is their father's sister and is therefore a member of their agnostic group. They are the active members of the minor lineage who themselves form a kahangi solkot. It is the relationship with them which is significant to A.

Finally, because ties are traced through the living and reference to ancestors is avoided a paternal link is dropped
in favour of a sibling link, just as in the ontogeny of the minimal lineage its women turn from dependence on their father to dependence on their brothers. As a result the relationships of the members of a minimal lineage with the agnatic kin of the founder's wife extend only to her minor lineage.

A paradigm of mother-giving/mother-receiving group relations

The ideal-typical pattern of relationships between a man's close agnatic kin and his mother's brother's close agnatic kin is presented in Figure 17; the relationships between the members of two nuclear families are used as a paradigm. Such relationships hold in a modified form for the agnatic kin of the parties on either side. The primary and important relationships are those between ego's family of orientation, the mother-receiving, boru group and the respective families of procreation of his mother's brothers, the mother-giving, mora group. The larger context is shown in Figure 18.

Both male and female members of the ego generation in the mother-receiving group are on easy terms with their mother's brother. Both call him tulang (M),¹ while he calls

1 Young people sometimes use the term mama (I) for mother's brother.
them habere (M). The relationship is characterized by food giving. Young men often visit and stay with their mother's brother, especially if he lives in another village. I was often pressed to visit a village near to the one in which I was staying by a young man who wished to visit his mother's brother and who acted as my guide. Young people respect their mother's brother. Youths do not take advantage of their mother's brother although they sometimes take advantage of their mother; they do not take the property of their mother's brother although they may take that of their father. The relationship is one of controlled ease which later in life may change to a number of other types of relationship - father-in-law/son-in-law, landlord-tenant, or simply younger-older married man. The relationship is not functionally specific though the mother's brother is known vulgarly to males as the ulu bondar, the main dam.¹ From a structural point of view the relationship is a balanced one,

¹ Keuning (1948:47) notes that this term is not mentioned by Eggink (1936) or by van Ophuysen (list of words in Leiden University library); he suggests it is an alternative term for wife's brother. Nowadays it is commonly used for wife's father. I once heard it used jokingly for a religious judge, i.e. the person who often acts as woli, guardian of a girl and gives her away in marriage.
first, the tensions in the relations of ego to his father and of his father to his mother's brother are offset by the controlled ease of the relations of ego to his mother's brother; and, second, the mother's brother's daughter is specially available for ego but access to her is controlled by the mother's brother. Such a marriage is regarded as normal; should a man want to marry a woman other than his mother's brother's daughter, he should ask his mother's brother's permission to do so. In practice there is not more than one, at the most two, mother's brothers living nearby and it is only to these mother's brothers that the rule applies. Normally it suffices for a man to inform his mother's brother of his intentions. Occasionally a youth asks his father to arrange a marriage with his mother's brother's daughter even though he may never have seen her. This happens when the youth is anxious to get married but has been unable to get a girl for himself or when he has emigrated from a mountain village and returns in order to

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1 Ris (1896:52) says that a man should not marry off his daughter without the permission of his sister's husband. Nowadays it is necessary only to give information. In short the accent has changed from guarding the option which a boru had on the woman of its mora to finding men to whom to marry off one's daughter.
marry more cheaply than is possible in a valley village or market town.

A man adopts an attitude of responsibility towards his sister's daughter. He is for her a quasi-father. A marriageable girl expressed her disinterest in the local youth's by saying 'they are all mother's brother to me'. In marriage ceremonial a man determines the sere na godang, the great gold or bride price, which is fictionally paid for his sister's daughter. He knows, it is said, what has been paid for her mother and fixes the same amount for the daughter. The status of a female in the marriage market is inherited matrilineally and is in theory never reduced; the amount of the great gold shows the group in the society from which she came. Special respect is said to be due to the mora ni mora (M), the wife-givers of our wife-givers, or the mothers of our mothers.

If a man does not marry his mother's brother's daughter his relationship to his mother's brothers does not change; but it is qualified by the fact that both are now na tobang (M), the old, the mature. The relationship contrasts with that to the father. The relationship to the mother's
brother's wife, nantulang always remains one of controlled ease plus respect from the younger to the older.

The relationship between a male member of the ego generation in the mother-giving group and his father's sister's husband is one of unease. Neither has a specific social function in relation to the other. The younger man who owes the respect due to a higher generation; the father's sister's husband, on the other hand, owes the general respect due to the woman-giving group. A father's sister's husband is amang boru (M), father in the boru, woman receiving group, while a wife's brother's son is tulang mulak (M) returned mother's brother or, in this case, returned father-in-law. The ambiguity which characterises the relationship of a male and his father's sister also extends therefore to her husband. In practice the two males tend to avoid one another; men in this relationship never form co-operatives or live in one another's household. On the other hand the easy relationship of an unmarried woman with her father's sister extends also to the latter's husband, her potential father-in-law. The relationship is qualified only by the

1 Nantulang is probably a shortened form of inang tulang, literally mother-mother's brother. Bintuo is occasionally used instead of nantulang. The social position of a woman vis-a-vis her husband's sister's children is a function of her marital tie and not of her membership in her own agnatic group.
general avoidance which married males should practise towards unmarried females.

The relationships between the members of the lower generation of the two nuclear families in our model in Figure 17 depend on relative age and marital status. When the members are children they play with others of like age and sex, in pre-adolescence and adolescence they follow the ideal typical pattern of relationships; after marriage the accretion of the women to different agnatic groups provides new roles which qualify the old. The second of these phases will be dealt with here.

A man's mother's brother's daughter is his boru ni tulang (M), literally daughter of mother's brother and a father's sister's son is anak ni namboru to a woman. This specificity of terminology matches the adat pattern of marriage preference. But these two terms are not used as terms of address. The older of the pair addresses the younger as anggi (also used for younger sibling) and the younger addresses the older as anchung (also used for older sibling). However, neither is iboto (true or close classificatory sibling of opposite sex) to the other. A man may act familiarly with his mother's brother's daughter, tease her and make suggestive remarks in her presence. She will
smile at these sallies but make none of her own. She adopts an indulgent and flattering manner. Her behaviour is like a combination of behaviour towards brothers and to young males of unlike clan origin. But whereas relations with other marriageable males, apart from the later stages of courtship, are conducted in groups, relations with a father's sister's son may be conducted in private.

According to the ideal-typical pattern of adat the relationship between male cross-cousins is asymmetrical. In kinship terminology, a man calls his mother's brother's son ipar (M) and his father's sister's son lae (M) (see Figures 6 and 7, p.529). A man's mother's brother's son is the quasi-guardian of his potential wife. After marriage his mother's brother's son may take her part in quarrels between ego and his wife. A man acts as a guarantor of his sister's future maintenance in case of default by her husband and thereby weakens her husband's control over his wife. Implicit in the ipar-lae relationship is the greater respect due from wife-receivers to wife-givers. But these implications of dominance and control are incompatible with the modernist notions of equality among persons of the same generation and mutual attraction as the mode of marriage. Therefore there is a tendency to drop the asymmetrical ipar-
lae terminology and to use lae self-reciprocally or to use the angkung-anggi, younger sibling - older sibling terminology. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter what happens to the ipar-lae relationship depends on whether the married couple prove compatible or quarrelsome. Should a man not marry his mother's brother's daughter the ipar-lae relationship becomes attenuated as a man turns more to interaction with his wife's brothers.

1 Professor Fischer (personal communication) has kindly pointed out that both Eggink and Keuning say that 'a man calls his mother's brother's son (his wife's brother) tunggane, while he calls his father's sister's son (his sister's husband) lae'. Professor Fischer adds that lae is used self-reciprocally by a man and his father's sister's son among the Toba Batak as reported by Vergouwen 1933. The phrase marlæe-martunggane occurs in an adat 'court' report of 1929 (Adatrechbundels 43:302), this usage is analogous with marangka-maranggi, i.e. it indicates an asymmetrical relationship.

The material used by Eggink and Keuning was collected some thirty years ago. Apparently tunggane has gone out of common use in Upper Mandailing in the meantime; I did not hear of it.

Eggink (1936:118) translates ipar as 'on the opposite side, on the other side'. This suggests that ipar might be used self-reciprocally but is not conclusive.

Some of my informants said that they called a man lae 'because he took our classificatory sister (in marriage)'. Moreover, the structure of the woman-giving/woman-receiving system calls for a non-self-reciprocal term. Further work is required to find out under what conditions the corresponding term is used self-reciprocally in other Batak societies.
A man calls his father's sister's daughter *ompung* (also used for grandparent) and she calls him by the same term. This usage accords with the great social distance between the pair; it is impossible for them to marry. They may speak to one another, but normally they use the correct kinship terms of address rather than the personal names which are common among other young people.

In summary, the relationships among members of woman-giving and woman-receiving groups in so far as we have described them are a function of undirectional access to women. The jural aspect of this access is the granting of control over the sexual and procreative power of the women and their labour. The woman-givers have little control over the offspring of the women they give. They control the price in adat of female offspring (a lowering of the price would reflect upon their own status) but cannot say who they shall marry; they exercise an option over the services of male offspring as husbands for the suitable females of their group. Nowadays this option is not enforceable, but it points nevertheless to a balance in the relationship rather than a unilateral exercise of privilege. The rights passing in either direction are different in kind. They may be epitomized as a transfer of sexual rights
for service and support - but in modern society support has
lost its political meaning, and the inequitable connations
of service with its feudal overtones are unacceptable.
Service and support are expressed only on ceremonial
occasions or only in respect of specific individuals. The
two groups seem to be nearly equal in power over one another.
The woman-receivers act as guarantors of the standing of the
woman-givers when a male member of the latter group is
married. Prior arrangements for an adat wedding cannot be
concluded without the presence of the woman-receiving group
representative. Finally, the fact that the transaction
between women-givers and women-receivers is one between
equals is expressed in the generic naming of the latter as
well as of a sister as djagal, merchandise, like two
portions of goods which are exchanged for each other.

Wife-giving/wife-receiving group relationships

Ideally matrilateral ties and affinal ties are un-
differentiated, but as we have seen the majority of males
create new affinal ties by marrying outside their mother-
giving group. The affinal ties of one generation become
the matrilateral ties of the next and since the relation-
ships of the children (the lower generation of our model
of Figure 17) do not differ in the case of a marriage which
creates a new tie from those already discussed the only relationships which remain to be described are those between a man and his brothers on the one hand and his actual father-in-law on the other.

Figure 19. Terms used by males for members of wife's minimal lineage (the lower term in each pair is the reciprocal of the upper).
A father-in-law is addressed as tulang, the same as a mother's brother, a son-in-law as babere, the same as a sister's son (see Figure 19).  But a father-in-law is known as tulang kontan, real tulang, and a mother's brother as tulang adat, i.e. ceremonial tulang, or tulang according to adat. The relationship is usually more tense than that between mother's brother and sister's son or rather it is ambivalent. The ideal-typical pattern is difficult to define. 'It is good', informants say, 'to have your father-in-law live near you, but it is better not to'. In other words the relationship should be one of ease like that with a mother's brother, but in practice is difficult to maintain an easy relationship. After the marriage of his daughter a man no longer exercises any control over her affairs or has any responsibility in relation to her conduct in her husband's house - he is not allowed to since it would be degrading for a husband to have his father-in-

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1 There is a third type of tulang called a tulang dongan, the tulang of ego's wife. This man is in the specially honoured position of wife-givers to ego's wife-givers. Keuning (1948:48) mentions that a man may not marry the daughter of his tulang dongan.

2 Tulang kontan may mean cash tulang or even bought tulang; both kontan and uang kontang mean cash.
law discipline his wife. But a man maintains an interest in his married daughter's welfare. Should she quarrel seriously with her husband she may leave her husband's house and take refuge in his house. Women who do this are sometimes sent straight back to their husbands but usually they are assured of a sympathetic hearing. A man does not attempt to mediate between his daughter and her husband. He either attempts to play no role at all or he is a partisan on behalf of his daughter.

The relationship of a man with his mother-in-law (nantulang) is usually less easy than that with a mother's brother's wife. The father-in-law becomes a partisan of his daughter if there is an open breach, but the mother-in-law may play this role in day-to-day affairs, especially when she lives in the same village. The tie between mother and daughter remains a close one. If they live in the same village a woman's daughters like to visit her house to gossip; mother and daughter form a working party for gathering firewood for their respective households and daughters may maintain a vegetable garden by the side of that of their mother. When a woman remains in the same village after marriage the female working group retains its constitution; her mother continues in effect to act as watchkeeper over
her. This is a role useful to the woman's husband but capable of being turned to his disadvantage. A married woman usually visits her mother's house either when she is not required to work with her husband - as on Friday morning before the midday service - or when her husband is absent from the village. In the village in which I stayed it was mother-visiting day on Saturdays when the men went to the market. For a man a mother-in-law ideally holds an honorific position; she is the 'giver' of his wife in the special sense of having given birth to and reared her. A newly married man usually acts circumspectly in the presence of his mother-in-law, he says little and may take a lowly position when sitting down for a family meal in her house.

The relationship of a man with his wife's brother is similar to that to his father-in-law in so far as they both remain his wife's potential supporters in cases of conflict between a man and his wife. Persons who are in this relationship are generally of the same generation and nowadays like to think of themselves as equals. How they act towards one another depends on the success or otherwise of the marriage. The birth of male children solidifies the marriage, at the same time the role of brothers-in-law as supporters of their sister becomes less important. Men who
have no male siblings or close classificatory siblings (kahangi) in a village emphasize their ties with their wife's brothers, and may form a working co-operative (kongsi) with them. It has been stated by some informants that when a man wishes to sell a plot of land he should, after offering it to his kahangi, offer it also to his wife's brothers. A man normally exhausts the possibilities of finding classificatory siblings as far as the span of the major lineage before he forms close ties with his wife's brothers. It appears that in modern Mandailing society affinal ties are assuming a new significance. Access to wet rice fields and heavy emigration have been important determinants of this process. In one village (Pangkat) where there is a surplus of wet rice fields, a number of men have joined their wife's father's village and use a portion of his land. Finally it is stated that should a woman receive no offers of marriage her father may secretly offer the use of land to a prospective son-in-law in order to induce him to contract a marriage with his daughter.

There is an easy relationship between a man and his wife's unmarried sisters, whom he calls angkung or anggi, the same as his wife. But after they are married he must act towards them in the restrained way which is normal
between married persons of opposite sex. They may occasion­ally use towards him the honorific term lae muju. The relationship is similar to that between a man and his older brother's wife. There is an easy relationship as a rule between a man's sister and his wife - they call one another eda (M).

According to Islamic canon law a man may be married to four women at the same time, but none of them may be true sisters. Sometimes a man will divorce his wife and marry her sister, usually because his wife has failed to produce children (this is said to be a common ground for divorce generally). The same payment must be made to the wife­giving group for the new wife as for the old. Marriage to a divorced wife's sister is uncommon while divorce itself is not. Hence the practice of divorcing a childless wife and marrying her sister may not be interpreted as a form of pre-emptive sororate. Marriage to a dead wife's sister is not uncommon. It is said that the children of the dead wife receive better treatment than they might if their step-mother were unrelated to them. Whether a man marries his divorced wife's sister or not depends on the tension induced by the divorce. Such a marriage is usually said to be due to suka sama suka, mutual attraction. Although
allowed, it is not approved of. This attitude is a weaker form of the rule that a man may not be married to two sisters at the same time. Both rules are consonant with the rule that two brothers should not marry two sisters (rongkat gambir M). Usan, an unmarried young man, said that when he visited his older brother's house after prayers his brother's wife's unmarried sister was in the room. He left immediately; he was ashamed to look at her.

Taken together these rules constitute what might be termed the prohibition of duplicate affinity, i.e., the occurrence of more than one marriage at a time between the males of one sibling group and the females of another. The prohibition of brother-sister exchange marriages (sambar bulang M) is very seldom broken. As we have noted a man may marry the wife of his dead elder brother or his dead wife's sister; the prohibition of duplicate affinity therefore breaks down when either of the parties to the original marriage dies.

The notions of parsolkot koum, making relatives closer, and manamba koum, making more relatives, appear consistent with the rules constituting duplicate affinity when woman-giving/woman-receiving group relations are envisaged in their former political context. The need to maintain
political stability ensured that village authorities, the radja and the village council, took action when the rules were contravened. They no longer do so - today the rules are maintained only by shame. Shame however only helps to prevent duplicate affinity while there are few positive incentives to marry a matrilateral relative. Today the social function of the prohibition of duplicate affinity is to maximise the spread of affinal ties.

The generalization of woman-giving/woman/receiving group relations

A tie to a new woman-giving group is formed by the transfer of a woman in marriage from the first ascending generation of one lineage to that of another (see Figure 18). The relationships already mentioned are those between members of the nuclear families which are heavily outlined in Figure 18 and which we shall call primary wife-giving and wife-receiving group relations. One relationship has not been dealt with, namely that between the children in the nuclear family to which the woman is transferred and their maternal grandparents. The birth of these children determines the status of their mother and their mother's parents. Men and women are almost as interested in the children of their daughters as they are in those of their
sons — this interest is strong when there are no sons. In the search for a group with whom a person can associate closely, close matrikin offer an alternative when close patrikin are lacking. The relationship between children and matrernal grandparents does not differ in kind from that between anggi, grandchild, and ompung, grandparent, generally.

The kinship terminology used for members of the group in primary wife-giving and wife-receiving relations is applied mutatis mutandis to the members of the minor lineage and occasionally to members of the major lineage of both parties. The active members of the major lineage of each party who form a kahangi act together on ceremonial occasions, but do not engage in joint activity during the adat wedding which triggers off the wife-giving/wife-receiving relationship. If a further member of the wife-giving group marries they do act together but even on this occasion only a few members of the group of first orthocousins (kahangi solkot) of an established wife-receiver may be invited. Otherwise the major lineages of the two parties to the original marriage do not join in corporate action. The situation depends of course upon the scale of the weddings and the constitution of the classificatory
sibling group (kahangi) of the parties, but in any case the members of the minimal lineages A and D in Figure 18 regard one another as distantly related.

If a man has no sons he may call on his son-in-law for help at harvesting or planting, but he does not call on his daughter's husband's brothers. A man's wife's brothers do not normally call on him for such help either. Should a man be sick it is his son-in-law's duty to gather plants for medicines for him and if there are guests in his house his son-in-law comes to perform the relatively menial task of serving the meal. A man's father-in-law then not only exercises primary control over the disposal of the harta of the minimal lineage of which he is the founder and over the disposal of its nubile women (his daughters), but he also has primary right to the help and support of his son-in-law. But these rights are not recognized in the same way in respect of his son-in-law's brothers and not at all in respect of his son-in-law's classificatory brothers. It is because a man's brothers and his wife's brothers normally maintain neutrality in relation to a man's domestic affairs that they are able in cases of serious quarrels or divorce to settle the matter in a relatively amicable way.

Wife-giving/wife-receiving group relations are effective
primarily between a man's nuclear family and the minimal lineage of his wife, but in matters of divorce and the maintenance of his wife after his death his minimal lineage are also involved. The relationship is recognized between a man's minimal lineage and the other minimal lineages within his wife's minor lineage, but scarcely so to a greater kinship distance on either side.

Wife-giving/wife-receiving group relations are, as we might expect, a function of and therefore consonant with lineage structure. The founders of the two minimal lineages primarily concerned are on terms of relative equality, both emphasize their position within their own minimal lineage.

The pattern of relationships engendered when a man marries his true or classificatory mother's brother's daughter is similar to that already described and does not warrant separate description.

The members of a minimal lineage and the members of the minor lineage of the wife of the founder of their unit are already in what we call mother-giving/mother-receiving relations. The relationships between these persons follow the ideal-typical pattern which we described above for cross-cousins, mother's brothers and father's sister's.
husbands. In general, the relationships become easier with advancing years and the full development of the respective lineages. A man does not call on his sister's sons for help, but the members of the two units maintain an interest in each other. They intervisit when there is a death in either unit and when a son in the mother-giving group marries members of the mother-receiving group are invited. But the relationship turns upon matrilateral ties per se rather than upon wife giving - it is with the wife-giving group that the active male members of the minimal lineage tend to maintain definitive mora-boru, woman-receiving/woman-giving, relationships.

Woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships in review

Young men say that they prefer not to marry their mother's brother's daughter because the relations with a father-in-law are normally more tense than those with a mother's brother. The easy entree which a youth has in his mother's brother's house is incompatible with the role of menial which a son-in-law might play there. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter this tends to cause tension between his mother and his mother's brother in so far as mother and son on the one hand are segregated from
father and daughter on the other. Such a marriage often results in greater interference by his wife's relatives in the man's domestic affairs. In some villages older men, too, disapprove of this form of marriage. Normally men are not induced to marry their mother's brother's daughter by an offer of lower wedding costs. A number of marriages of this type are marriages of convenience. Most weddings take place at one period of the year, Ari Rajo, (the breaking of the fast and celebration of Idu'l-fitr). When members of an age group are planning their marriages imitative marriages tend to occur and, if no other girl is willing, a marriage to a mother's brother's daughter may save loss of face. Young men who leave to seek their fortune in a market town sometimes cannot find a woman who will accept them. If so a marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the home village is both relatively cheap compared with market town wedding costs and easy to arrange.

For the majority of persons ties to matrilateral kinsmen depend on idiosyncratic sentiments of respect reinforced by personal contact. The notion of support from the wife-receiving group has largely lost its point in modern Upper Mandailing society although it is reiterated in adat ceremonial. It is when the sexual and procreative powers
of women are seen as a resource that the nature of woman-giving/woman-receiving ties become clear. We may compare the nature and functions of this resource with that of harta pusaka, the focal point of lineage solidarity. Harta pusaka, like the lineage, has potential immortality; as the hata pusaka is divided so is the lineage. But sexual and procreative powers are ephemeral and the ties which rights in them engender can be maintained only by sentiments like the exaggerated respect which sons should show towards their mothers. Moreover these rights are transferred to one person in one generation of a minimal lineage. Two generations later the sentiments associated with them have changed in direction.

The Upper Mandailingers see the bearing and nurturing of children as the major function of women. Hence the differentiation of iboto kandung, brothers and sisters of one womb, the notion of dongan sasusu, persons of one milk and the rule that only accreted women of a lineage may feed

1 It is said that Muhammad when asked who was his dongan, person in special relationship, replied three times 'my mother' before replying 'my father'.

2 Neumann (1885) says that if for three generations an established mora-boru relationship is not reinforced by further marriages the relationship may be reversed by a marriage in the 'wrong' direction (see Keuning 1948:43).
an infant whose mother has died in childbirth. Each mother forms a point at which knots are made in the strings, tali (M), which tie lineage members together vertically and link each lineage to others laterally. The notion of motherhood is projected upon the woman-givers, the mora, at large.

Consonant with this idea, woman-givers and woman-receivers are also seen to be related as parent and child. The boru, woman-receiving group, is commonly termed generically, anak boru, child of the women. The word mora also means head in the sense of person in authority; it occurs in the name of the former village council, the namora natoras, the top heads. But this is only one among a number of frames of reference for woman-giving/woman-receiving relations - there is the ubiquitous one of trading, with the idea of the woman-receivers and of women as djagal merchandise, or that of adat with the women-receivers as sere na godang, the great gold, an invaluable and indispensable supporter and finally, that of the woman-givers as wife-givers who at the same time guard the women. The last is the way in which youths and the common man see the matter.

For the majority of men the prohibition of duplicate affinity separates affinal and matrilateral relatives.
In the society at large it widens the spread of affinal and matrilateral ties. The prohibition of marriage with father's sister's daughter, which is in any case unpopular for the same reason as marriage with mother's brother's daughter is, does little to limit the choice of a marital partner in view of the small kinship span over which woman-giving/woman-receiving ties are recognized; the prohibition of marriage with persons of like clan identity is far more effective in this respect. And, finally the prohibition of marriage with mother's sister's daughter helps to spread the network of ties still further. All persons who are recognized cognates or affines are koum (M), relatives, with whom peaceful relations are the rule.

Taken together the above rules provide a wide system of checks and balances which help to maintain damai, peace, within the village, prevent the formation of enclaves and provide a useful set of kinship ties outside it.

Kinship relations in the village

The following examples illustrate the range of variations in effective lineage, woman-giving and woman-receiving ties within a village. All the examples are from Pagargunung.
Figure 20 Effective kinship relations of Hadji Malik
Hadji Malik is about fifty-five; he is a merchant. His father and mother came to live in Pagargunung but his father's brothers and sisters lived in the nearby village of Simpang Pining. All these persons are now dead. Hadji Malik has two younger brothers, (see Figure 20 and Figure 29, Appendix 4 p.537) one died and one went to live in Medan. His older sister and one younger sister married and live in Simpang Pining. Another younger sister, Tialidja, who is a widow, lives in Pagargunung. A youth Akup who is the son of one of Hadji Malik's father's brothers and a married woman Uniah and a widow Djurla who are the daughters of another father's brother also live in Pagargunung. Hadji Malik has four sons, all of whom are well educated. Two of them live in Java, one in Kotanopan and one in Pagargunung. One of his daughters who married a man from another village is dead and the other lives in Medan.

Hadji Malik's father's father's harta was divided equally between his three sons I was told, but Hadji Malik's father's share was divided according to canon law among Hadji Malik's sibling group. Hadji Malik's older sister who married in Simpang Pining and lived there kept her share, but the two younger sisters and a younger brother sold their shares to Hadji Malik. The other younger brother kept his
share and although he lives in Medan he lets it out to a Simpang Pining man.

In Pagargunung Hadji Malik had no mature male members of his lineage of his own generation with whom he could act in kahangi relationships. He acted as guardian towards his sister and to some extent towards his father's brother's daughters also. The tie which he accentuated was that to his son to whom he showed many favours.

Hadji Malik was in woman-giving relationship to two men in the village, Lasa and Djainal, both of whom had married his father's brother's daughters. But the one married by Lasa had died and Lasa had remarried. Lasa was interested in his new wife and large family and not in his son by his late wife. This boy lived with Uniah and Djurla for a while (his mother's sisters) but Hadji Malik took no responsibility for him. Hadji Malik received a good deal of respect from Djainal who was under the influence of his wife and lived in her house.

There were no male members of Hadji Malik's wife's major lineage living in the village, but there were two of his wife's sisters. His wife visited one of these, the wife of Aminuddin, but was not particularly friendly with the other, the wife of Kanggamuk. This followed Hadji
Figure 21 Effective kinship relations of Lelodagang
Malik's interests. Hadji Malik went once a week with Aminuddin's brother, also a merchant, on a buying and selling expedition to Simpang Pining. He had little to do with Kanggamuk but he did hire out wet rice fields to him.

Hadji Malik's father's brother's son married a daughter of Djamangantar by the latter's first wife and Haji Malik's son married a daughter of Djamangantar by the latter's second wife. Djamangantar was formerly an important man in village politics and still often referred to; but he was now old and without male kahangi supporters in the village. Hadji Malik had little contact with Djamangantar but Hadji Malik's son was respectful to him.

In his kinship circle Hadji Malik had no rivals or persons to whom he owed respect. He recruited male supporters on a client-patron basis by giving work to three carriers. He was a very active man but did not carry goods. He hired out wet rice fields to two of his carriers and in return obtained the free use of wet rice land of theirs which had gone out of use.

Lelodagang was an active man of about sixty. His father and mother and all their siblings were dead (see Figure 21 and Figure Appendix 4 p.538). His wife was also dead. He had two younger brothers, Abuasip, who had lived
and died in the nearby village of Batahan Djai, and Djameta who had emigrated and then returned to the village after his wife's death. Lelodagang had three daughters and two sons. The eldest and youngest daughters lived elsewhere. The divorced middle daughter and the elder son Amuron lived in Pagargunung. The younger son Bahro, who had recently married, lived in Lelodagang's house.

Lelodagang's father's wet rice fields in Batahan Djai were divided equally among Lelodagang and his two brothers. Lelodagang and Djametar worked their plots. Although Abuasip was dead his share had not been divided but was worked by his daughter in Batahan. When Bahro married he was allowed to use part of this share. Lelodagang's father's rice fields in Pagargunung were not divided. A part was used by Amuron and a part was unused because it was difficult to irrigate.

Neither Lelodagang nor his brother were important figures in village affairs. Their inheritance was not large and neither had well-established sons. They formed a small compact agnatic group but were not in wife-giving position to any other group in the village. Lelodagang's dead wife was related to Aliasan. When Lelodagang's daughter married, Aliasan was called on to play the part
Figure 22 Effective kinship relations of Saat
of wife-giver. He was very reluctant to do this since he was much younger than Lelodagang and not skilled in speech-making. When Bahro was married many of the guests stayed and were fed in Aliasan's house and in Lelodagang's neighbour's houses.

Saat was a young married man whose great-grandfather had migrated to Pagargunung (see Figure 22 and Figure 31 Appendix 4 p.539). His father's father's siblings were unknown. His father had an elder and a younger brother. The elder brother had five daughters and a son but the latter died before he was married. One of the daughters was married to Soli and lived in Pagargunung. Salim, the son of another daughter lived in Pagargunung in the house of his grandmother, Saat's father's elder brother's wife. Saat had five sisters, one of whom was married to Djarot and lived in Pagargunung. Another sister was married to the brother of Nu and Zabuddin who lived in Pagargunung. Saat's father's younger brother was dead. His father's younger brother's wife had married again and her son by the second marriage lived in Pagargunung. He had no special relationship with Saat.

Because he had no living father's brother's sons Saat controlled all the wet rice fields of his father's father.
Figure 23 Effective kinship relations of Kotisali
Saat had not yet divided the land according to canon law, others remarked. A portion was used by his father's elder brother's wife, but this was said to be a 'gift'. Although Salim had helped his grandmother to work this portion, after his marriage he took over some land from his father's younger brother.

Saat had no kahangi in the village and could not turn to his wife's family who lived elsewhere but he was in wife-giving relationship to four men. Of these he had little to do with Soli who was a poor man and had married his father's brother's daughter, but he made a good deal of his ties with his sister's husband Djarot and the brothers of his other sister's husband who were quite well off. He formed a plank getting co-operative with the last two.

Kotisali was an important figure in village affairs who had been educated in Malaya, (see Figure 23 and Figure 32 Appendix 4 p.540). He did not know his father's father's father, his father's father's wife or his father's father's sisters but he knew his father's father's brother. His father's father's brother's daughter was the (dead) mother of Bagindo another member of the small junta of old men who were important in the village. However he had no kahangi members on that side of the family. His father had
a brother who had emigrated and married in Malaya. His father's sister married in Pagargunung. Kotisali had a father's sister's son, Aliasan and daughter, Tialina, and the son of another father's sister's son, Bakari, living in Pagargunung. Two of his elder sisters were dead but a son, Djamalaju, and a daughter of one of them lived in Pagargunung. The latter was married to Amuron the son of Lelodagang. Kotisali's other sister and her son, Solleh, lived in Pagargunung. Kotisali's brother Djamudo with his two sons and three daughters also lived in Pagargunung. Djamalaju was married to one of the daughters (he had married his true mother's brother's daughter). Kotisali had two sons and two daughters living in his house, another daughter who had died had been married to Zabuddin who still lived in the village. Kotisali's wife was dead. He had married his mother's brother's daughter but none of his wife's family lived in Pagargunung. His wife's sister was married to Djamangantar, another important old man.

Kotisali's father's land was divided for use between him and his brother Djamudo. It was said it could not have been divided according to canon law otherwise Djamalaju would have received a share (that of his mother, Kotisali's sister).
Kotisali was not only active, well-educated and relatively wealthy but he had an active brother who lived next door and with whom he could act in kahangi relationships. He was also in wife-giving relationships to two men, Djamalaju and Zabuddin and in woman-giving relationships to another, Solleh. Aliasan regarded himself as distantly related to Kotisali and did not effectively recognize his woman-receiving status. Like a radja, Kotisali was not in woman-receiving relationship to any person in the village.

A comparison of the social situation of these four men shows the various factors which contribute towards achieving influence in village affairs. Kotisali was well off in all respects; Hadji Malik made up for his lack of kahangi by concentrating on the management of economic relations; Saat who was relatively well off was a respected but not important person because he had no kahangi to support him. Lelodagang represents the average man with no special qualifications or wealth and whose father's harta now has to support four families instead of one.

Matriliney in the social structure

Matrilineal ties are sometimes conceived in the same
way as patrilineal ties are represented in a genealogical chart, but the links are from woman to woman and men are omitted instead of vice versa. Women linked in this way do not form distinct groups, but this idea of the linkage of woman to woman is the structural counterpart of the cameraderie which is usual among women; there is no hierarchy among sisters. A strong link is conceived to exist between sisters as well as between mother and daughter. Sisters often visit one another after marriage, they call each other's children anak, child, and often care for them. There is a good deal of borrowing of clothes as well as informal help among sisters. Adat ceremonial articles made and used by women such as betel bags as well as kitchen utensils and clothes are inherited from a woman by her daughters and are divided equally among them. The status of a woman in the marriage market is inherited from her mother.

The matrilineal ties among women engender positive ties among men. The husbands of a group of sisters are pareban (M) to one another, they form one wife-taking group, sapambuatan (M). But Mandailingers recognize this as the weakest of kinship links. They say it has no use; it is much less strong than any patrilineal tie and almost
the same as 'people in general'.

Otherwise matriliney crystallizes in the concept of dongan sasusu, persons of one milk. But by itself this does not imply a strong network of matrilineal ties from one generation to another or collaterally; it is an atomistic concept which personalizes rather than generalizes what is regarded as the specific function of women. Among people who are linked through women, it forms isolated nodes of persons at different generation levels. It emphasizes the unity of the sibling group and reinforces patriliney rather than otherwise. Thus the centripetal-centrifugal model of Fortes which represents patriliney as consolidatory for the lineage and matriliney as fractionating is not applicable in Upper Mandailing; it is rather wife-giving, a jural matter, which weakens the solidarity

1 Eggink (1936:169) translates pareban as 'the husband of one's wife's sister'. Keuning (1948:42) quoting van Ophuysen writes 'pareban, the sisters of one's wife and their husbands'. Relying on Keuning Professor Fischer (personal communication) says that not only 1 and 4 but also 1 and 3 and 2 and 4 in the following diagram use pareban reciprocally. This I did not find to be current usage in Upper Mandailing.

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\begin{array}{cc}
\Delta = 0 & 0 = \Delta \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4
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of the lineage. Matriliny is important as a principle of recruitment to non-jural, inter-personal ties. In this respect it competes with wife-giving per se. The birth of children consolidates the position of an accreted woman in a lineage, but it is solidary also in the sense that it establishes matrilateral ties between wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Matriliny and affinity, of which wife-giving is the critical element, thus alternate in reinforcing one another. But without wife-giving matrilateral ties lapse. Wife-giving is a necessary condition for the maintenance of matrilateral ties. The fictional debt of the great gold which the wife-receivers owe to the wife-givers provides the moral basis for the maintenance of relations between the two groups. If this debt is paid in hard cash the relations between the two groups cease.

In everyday life matrilineal ties are an important principle of recruitment to a system of patterns of ideal behaviour which considerably enlarges and diversifies the volume of social interaction of any person, but they are not 'centrifugal'. Women themselves are harmonizing agents in the social system, a sister or a mother in relation to a father and son, accreted women among the men of the lineage. Women as such, by virtue of their ease of association and
cameraderie, lessen the sharpness of the tensions among men who are the persons concerned in jural matters. Hence women as such are set off from men as such. Matriliny links women together, patriliny links men and secondarily men and women. Patriliny is the stronger by virtue of its jural connotation and from it is generated the concept of the ompu, the patrilineage. But original patriliny, what we might call procreational patriliny, as far as women are concerned, itself gives way before the marital bond which we have generalized in the construct of accretion and it does so precisely when women perform the specific function of bearing and rearing children.
Chapter 8
Marriage and Divorce

Marriage is the only avenue to socially recognized maturity. A very low percentage of men and women remain unmarried (see Figure 24). Only two old men in 1182 households had never married (see Table , Appendix ).

Figure 24 Graph showing number of married, unmarried and widowed (including divorced) adults of different ages in 1955. Pooled data from six villages; number of females = 368, number of males = 318.

346.
Only mad persons and those who are impotent usually remain unmarried. A divorce was arranged for a young man who had married and was found to be impotent. After the divorce he rejoined the youth group but it was thought that he would not marry again. An epileptic young woman who was skilled in housekeeping was considered unmarriageable because she used to sit on the house steps and have lewd conversations with youths as they went by and sometimes invite them into the house. She herself was very pre-occupied with getting married but all the youths were shy of her. Unmarried adults have no special social function. Older unmarried women are called *samperudang* (M), which implies simply that they are ready for marriage, younger unmarried girls are called *budjing* (M). Both go about together and dress alike, but when the older ones are thirty-five or so and no longer expect to get a husband, they assume a passive servant-like role in the household of their father or widowed mother. If their parents are dead, they live near their married brother in a separate household. Older persons who have never married are pitied: they are, as it were, in a social backwater. One household consisted of an old widow of about sixty-five, her retiring unmarried daughter of thirty-five and an active divorced daughter of thirty-two. The last
left to get married in Medan. The unmarried daughter began to act as household head and was seen about the village more. To everyone's surprise she ran away with a young man who had asked many girls in the village to marry him but had always been turned down because he had one eye and a pock-marked face.

Young persons are encouraged to marry and it is the responsibility of their parents to see that they do. A man almost never opposes his son's choice of a wife but helps his son to get married even if his son abducts a girl and tells him afterwards. A man acts as guardian of his daughter but cannot marry her off contrary to her wishes; he has more control over her than he has over a son, but cannot strictly control her actions. In the long run a man cannot prevent his daughter marrying the youth of her choice. A youth and girl who wish to marry should be allowed to do so. Young people, and especially youths, it is said, cannot control their sexual desires (napsu M,I); they are not able to be patient (sobar M,I). They should be encouraged to marry in order to prevent what is according to Islam the wickedness

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1 Formerly when a man died the marriage portion of his unmarried daughters and a bride price for each unmarried son were set aside from his estate (Keuning 1948:137).
of engaging in pre-marital intercourse or adultery.

In the 19th century when there were well defined classes in village society women of high class were not allowed to marry in a clan lower than themselves but men of high class could do so.¹ A man of the radja class might have a head wife from a family in a distant village whose status was similar to his own and a wife or wives of lower class status than himself from his own or neighbouring villages.² Nowadays, in only a few villages are there important radja families which try to maintain their former high status. The young people of these families usually migrate and marry in Medan or Djakarta. There appear to be no class distinctions along the old lines among the rest of the villagers. As one class-conscious radja said 'they marry anybody'. In fact however because education is an important criterion in choosing a marriage partner the more wealthy who can afford higher schooling tend to marry among themselves.

Marriage and procreation

Sexual intercourse is the unexpressed element³ in

¹ Willer (1846:225); Adatrechtbundels (38:210)
² See Keuning (1948:92-93)
marriage in Upper Mandailing although the right of cohabitation is implicit in every marriage contract. In theory, sexual relations are not allowed outside marriage. The system of concubinage formerly characteristic of Batak society has completely disappeared, probably under the influence of modernism. A number of young men visit prostitutes in Padangsidimpuan or Medan. According to Islamic ethics sexual intercourse is one of the two desires (napsu) which should be carefully controlled (the other is eating). Sexual products are classified with other body products as nedjis (M,I), dirt, and like them are defiling. After sexual relations it is necessary for a person to take a complete bath before he or she can pray. Besides being sinful, to omit such a bath brings ill-luck. If a joint enterprise goes wrong men say jokingly that one of them must have forgotten to have a bath. The role of sexual relations in marriage is phrased in the idiom of gardening; a woman is ladang, a dry field, which should be utilised by a man with a digging stick. Thus although sexual relations are an integral part of marriage they are not its 'cornerstone' as Fortes (1949:100) puts it; this role is reserved for procreation. Ris's comment (1896:12) is still valid: 'the greatest good fortune and honour of a Mandailinger is to have children'.

The birth of a child performs two important social
functions - it firmly ties the child's mother to her nuclear family and lineage of accretion and reinforces the affinal ties of the child's father with the matrilateral ties of the child. There are corresponding jural elements in the marriage payments which we shall now describe.

Marriage payments

In Islamic canon law mahr is a compulsory settlement payable by a man to his wife to whom it belongs absolutely. Her right to receive mahr is an inalienable and imprescriptible right which is assumed in the marriage contract whether the amount of mahr is specified or not. The husband

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1 The account of marriage payments is an amended version of an article which has appeared in the American Anthropologist (Tugby 1959).
2 All the conditions associated with the payment of mahr are as valid in Upper Mandailing as elsewhere in the Islamic world where Sjafite law is predominant, but here only the conditions which are specific to Upper Mandailing social practice are dealt with.
3 Mahr is usually described as dower. This is not strictly correct since dower is 'the portion of a deceased husband's estate which the law allows a widow for her life' (Shorter O.E.D. 3rd ed. 1956). It is incidental to the definition of mahr that should mahr not be paid to a woman during the lifetime of her husband she may claim it from his estate. Moreover, if the mahr is paid from her deceased husband's estate it is not returnable. The mahr belongs to the women absolutely. It is a compulsory settlement which is presumed in the contract of marriage.
4 The minimum amount to be paid is laid down, but this amount varies from one law school to another.
must pay the mahr once consummation has taken place. But the wife can make a gift of her mahr to her husband and he and his heirs are then free from the debt. Mahr may remain as a debt, but it becomes payable immediately on divorce. According to a strict interpretation of Sjafite law all mahr is prompt, i.e. payable immediately on marriage, but the Mandailingers appear to believe that all mahr may be deferred, i.e. payable at any time during the marriage, and even inherited as a debt. In fact according to a less strict interpretation of Sjafite law prompt mahr is payable on demand by the wife, but this provision is not used in Upper Mandailing.

Nevertheless, the rules about the payment of mahr are widely known. The saying that if mahr is not paid during the life of a man it must be paid in the after life, Achirat, shows that the Upper Mandailingers understand that mahr is imprescriptible. Women sometimes absolve their husbands from the debt immediately prior to their own or their husband's death. But this is not always done and in some cases cannot be done, e.g. when the death occurs by accident. One or two men have paid mahr to their mother on behalf of their dead father in accordance with the idea of mahr as an unsecured debt which may be charged against the property of a dead man. Since a man normally inherits the property of
his father, it is understandable that he should pay the mahr of his mother.

There are no de facto wives in the area. Marriage is always accompanied by the nikah ceremony which is both a necessary and sufficient condition for a valid marriage.¹ The amount of mahr is always specified during the ceremony. The payment of mahr is therefore universal. According to canon law, money, land and buildings, payments in kind, or chattels which are useful and can be sold may constitute mahr. In Upper Mandailing mahr is usually paid in money, gold, clothes or jewelry. At the nikah ceremony it is specified in money or gold.

In adat the payments made from the bridegroom's party to the bride's party are called tuor (M), or djudjuran (M). In former times a part of the tuor was paid and the rest remained as a debt paid in instalments and 'on demand'.

¹ Formerly there was a form of association between a man and a woman (usually a widow) known as porda na dumpang. The couple were allowed to live together as man and wife although they had not gone through an adat ceremony. The man had to support the wife but he had no rights to any children of the marriage (Keuning 1948:112). Such associations no longer exist. As there is no provision in Sunnite law for temporary marriage it would be interesting to know how porda na dumpang was harmonized with canon law. Presumably as religious influence increased these associations were legalized by carrying out a nikah ceremony.
(Ris 1896:78). Keuning (1948:105) suggests that if the whole of the bride price was left as a debt the man joined his wife on marriage and worked for his father-in-law until the debt was paid. This system is not found in modern Upper Mandailing. There are now two payments, sere na godang, the great gold, and sere na menek, the little gold. The great gold is always specified in terms of the measures for gold tail and pa and ideally varies according to the matrilineal ancestry of the bride. Ideally it is never paid.

The little gold is paid to the bride's father in cash before she leaves his house (except in runaway marriages). It is supposed to be used for the purchase of

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1 Eggink (1936) translates both sere and djudjuran as 'bride-price'. Formerly the 'bride-price' for radja women consisted of gold, buffaloes, slaves and cloth which were divided into named portions given to different persons (Ris 1896:70-72 mentions seventeen portions). The 'bride-price' for non-radja women was much less in amount and probably less complexly divided. In modern Upper Mandailing society the adat marriage payments, which are derived from non-radja practice, have been reduced to two.

2 The little gold is also called sere solangan na so paulahon (M), 'loaned' money which will not return (Adatrechtbundels 43:82), or sere na lamot (M), fine gold, a euphemism for cash. Outside the context of adat ceremonial it is known as epeng na mago mago (M), cloud money, or vulgarly as uang angus (M), heat money.
an outfit of clothes for the bride and for ornaments such as a gold necklace which remain her property; in certain circumstances the bride's father may make use of it for his own purposes, e.g. to defray his own costs in connection with the wedding. As far as the donor is concerned this money 'disappears'. Either the great gold or the money which disappears may be designated as 'mahr'. There are therefore at least three possibilities:

A. The great gold is designated as 'mahr'; the money which disappears is paid separately in cash.

B. The great gold remains as a debt in adat; the money which disappears is designated as 'mahr' and paid in cash or kind.

C. The great gold remains as a debt in adat; the money which disappears is paid in cash or kind; the mahr is specified separately.

The form of woman-giving/woman-receiving group relationships and the social position of the wife depend upon which alternative is adopted.

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1 In the 19th century a part of the marriage payments were given to the bride's father's elder brother, younger brother and father (Keuning 1948:107). There was also a small portion for the bride's mother's brother; Ris 1896: 72) says 'Nowadays the bride's father gives him this portion if he asks for it'. This practice has now disappeared.
Designation of the great gold as 'mahr'

If the first alternative is adopted the woman-giving/woman-receiving relationship is emasculated in so far as it turns on the notion of the debt of wife-receiving to wife-giving group. The debt is subsumed to the man-wife relationship; it is payable solely by the man and only to his wife. Hence the jural basis in adat of the group relationship is removed and the interpersonal relationship of man and wife which should unfold to reveal the group relationships of larger scale does not do so. The entailments of the marriage are circumscribed by canon law; they are confined primarily to intra-nuclear family relationships. But although the right to receive mahr is a jus in personam a claim for it may be made against the estate of the man. Since he has rights in common in the harta of his minimal lineage, the members of the latter are also involved. Hence the lien which a widow appears to exercise over the use of the property of her late husband is not dependent solely on the ties of sentiment between her and her sons - it is paralleled in canon law by her right to retain the property of her late husband of which she is in legal occupation at the time of his death as a security against the payment of her mahr. This right does not confer any title to the property, which she cannot alienate, and the right expires
should her mahr be paid; her position therefore depends upon whether the mahr can be paid off or not and this in turn depends on its nature and amount.

A 'mahr' which is specified in terms of the great gold has a relatively high monetary value; the lowest 'mahr' of this kind is one tail plus one pa. At current gold prices this is worth about Rp.1500, an amount which the average village farmer cannot pay since it is about half the usual value of the wet rice fields of the minimal lineage. A 'mahr' of this kind will not normally be paid during a man's lifetime. His widow, if she has not absolved him from the debt, has therefore a strong right in canon law to retain her husband's property after his death.

During the man's lifetime however the situation is not in her favour. A high 'mahr' does not in itself lead to a stable marriage, though it may help to prevent divorce. A man can divorce his wife by pronouncing a talak, a pronouncement of repudiation; divorce becomes irrevocable only after the expiration of iddat, a period of approximately three months following the pronouncement, during which cohabitation is not allowed. During this period the man can

1 At the official rate of exchange about £stg.47, at the blackmarket rate (1956) £stg.18.
cancel the talak and take his wife back again by pronouncing a formula of reconciliation (rudjuk M). He may do this on two different occasions. But if he pronounces a talak a third time the divorce is irrevocable and iddat is enforced. The couple cannot re-marry until the woman has contracted a valid consummated marriage with another man and been divorced by him. Up to three talak may be pronounced on one occasion. If two talak are pronounced the divorce is revocable during the ensuing period of iddat but if the husband pronounces a third talak this is irrevocable. If three talak are pronounced on one occasion the divorce is irrevocable. If there is a high mahr the husband tends to make no pronouncement of repudiation but effects a separation. The mahr is not now exigible as it normally would be after a pronouncement of repudiation and the expiration of iddat. The position is obscured by doubt as to whether the husband intends to utter the pronouncement of repudiation or has already done so followed by a pronouncement of reconciliation; he may do either without reference to his wife or even in her absence. By maintaining this uncertainty a husband can delay payment of the mahr for months, even for years. In the meantime the wife is not legally free to remarry, but the husband can legally marry another wife. Women in this situation are called djando margantung (M), dependent widow. Usually their
only remedy is to forfeit their mahr.¹

Designation of the money which disappears as 'mahr'!

If the second alternative for the specification of mahr is adopted the woman-giving/woman-receiving relationship epitomized in the notion of debt of the great gold remains intact. The money which disappears is allotted for different purposes after a discussion between the bride and her father. There is a dissonance, however between the ideal-typical pattern of father-daughter relations, the jural conditions associated with the payment of mahr and the tacit recognition that all parties try to make the most of the situation for themselves. Where money is concerned there are no scruples, only seeking (d jelaki). It is better, older informants say, if the girl's father determines the amount of her 'mahr'; it is deges (M), fine or commendable, if the payment is determined by discussion between the girl's father and the father of her suitor. The 'mahr' itself belongs absolutely to the girl (on this point all informants are adamant) but it can be used by her father with her permission. A man who can bring pressure to bear upon his daughter is able to retain some of the 'mahr' and avoid paying the costs of the marriage ceremonies out of his own

¹ cf. Hazairin (1941); Adatrechtbundels 43:78.
In some villages this is the normal practice. Nevertheless a man who tries to obtain part of his daughter's *mahr* is universally acknowledged to be a scoundrel and is ashamed if his action is discovered. The value of the bride's marriage portion is checked against the money given to the bride's father by the members of the lineage of the groom when the marriage portion is brought to the groom's father's house. The designation of the money which disappears as *mahr* acts as a check therefore upon the avarice of the bride's father.

If a suitor is pressing, a girl who wants to make the most of the situation may demand large pre-wedding presents, usually a gold necklace and less valuable earrings and bracelets. If these count as part of her *mahr* a receipt is obtained for them, a necessary precaution since, it is said, many girls want the clothes and ornaments but not the man. Having been given the finery they may attempt to withdraw from the implied contract to marry by running away.

From the point of view of the man it is a good arrangement if the *mahr* is used to buy the marriage portion of the bride since this frees him at least temporarily from the need to buy the clothes which his wife would be able to demand as a right of maintenance under the contract of marriage.
A gold necklace worth about Rp.300.00 to Rp.500.00 normally forms part of a marriage portion. This acts as a permanent, tangible and readily exchangeable asset which provides a woman with a certain security should she be divorced. In the course of time the necklace comes to be regarded as a family asset which may be sold to tide the family over sickness or other emergency. If this happens the husband is deemed to be morally in debt to his wife since he has made use of her 'mahr'. Occasionally, therefore, a 'mahr' paid in this form makes a marriage more stable. In case of divorce, the wife does not have to forgo her 'mahr' since it has already been paid. It is not recoverable by the husband if consummation has taken place. One woman in Pagargunung had had five children two of whom survived, both girls. She owned the house in which she and her husband lived and some land which they worked. They were fairly well off. But her husband wanted a son. He began to pay attention to a young woman who had been married to a wealthy old merchant. She had been intrigued by the idea of living in Medan but ran out of the house on her wedding

1 During an adat 'court' case in 1938 in Baringin it was mentioned that if a man seizes his wife's necklace this can provide grounds for her to obtain a divorce (Keuning (1948:130).
night. As there was still some question about her forfeiting
her 'mahr' she had not yet got a divorce. When the husband
found this out his affair with her fizzled out. He told me
he could not afford two wives and he felt he could not
divorce his present one because when he was ill several years
previously she had sold the necklace which formed part of her
mahr in order to pay for medicines for him.

When the 'mahr' is paid as money which disappears the
whole of the 'mahr' has the same status as a prompt dower in
canon law. This cancels the widow's right to retain her
husband's property after his death. But 'mahr' is often
regarded as deferable. This idea may be transferred to the
money which disappears when the latter counts as 'mahr'.
There are, therefore, one or two men who remain in debt to
their fathers-in-law because they have not paid the money
which disappears. This arrangement accords with the adat
notion of woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships; if the
debt is not paid by the members of a man's lineage at the
time of the wedding, it tends to persist. This is an anomaly
brought about by the interdigitation of different frames of
reference and is regarded as such by the Upper Mandailingers
themselves. Although the adat idea that the great gold
should remain as a debt in perpetuity is strongly held it is
felt that the money which disappears should be paid promptly.
The latter represents a consideration for the bride's father in view of his loss of his daughter. Where a debt exists a social tie is strengthened. The woman-giving/woman-receiving inter-group relationship only exists by virtue of the debt of the great gold and is broken off if the debt is paid. In the same way a deferred mahr strengthens the moral tie between husband and wife.

Separate specification of the mahr

If the third alternative for the specification of mahr is adopted, the great gold remains as a debt in adat, the money which disappears is paid in cash or kind and the mahr is specified separately. This is a true mahr. Adat law payments and canon law payments are segregated. The mahr is usually specified in cash and if paid promptly is used for the purchase of gold ornaments. The money which disappears goes to the bride's father. The mahr may be deferred mahr, or partially so; both high and low mahr are found under this system. There is almost always a low mahr in a true runaway marriage. In a 'love-match' of this kind the girl sets her own mahr, often about Rp.50.00. When the couple return to the village the negotiations with the bride's father are only about the money which disappears. On the other hand if a suitor is eager and a girl does not
consent to run away, she may specify a large mahr, say Rp.2000.00, which she uses to buy gold ornaments. Wealthy merchants usually pay a mahr of this type - they do not then have to give the ornaments as gifts only. For the less wealthy a large prompt mahr and a small money which disappears has a different function - it enables the money which the bride's father may put to his own use and that used to buy clothes and ornaments for the bride to be clearly differentiated thus making the whole matter tontu, certain. It is not a fault (salah M,I) for the bride's father to pocket the money which disappears, as its name suggests, but he cannot do the same with the bride's mahr. Hence some persons, it is said, merely ask for money without specifying whether this is mahr or tuor. This is quite legitimate, it is merely an aspect of seeking (djelaki).

Cultural variation in the specification of 'mahr'

The types of specification of 'mahr' which occurred in 1955 and 1956 were differentially distributed through the area (see Table 8). The choice of different combinations of marriage payments in different villages is an example of what we called the free variation of cultural features (p.112). There is a tendency for the same alternative to occur in several marriages in the same village. This ten-
Tendency is especially marked in intra-village marriages. In inter-village marriages a compromise must be effected between the custom of the bride's village and that of the village in which she will live with her husband. Moreover,

Table 8

The distribution of types of specification of mahr in known marriages of 1955-56 in fifteen villages in Upper Mandailing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of specification of mahr</th>
<th>Number of villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. great gold designated as 'mahr'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. money which disappears designated as 'mahr'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. mahr specified independently</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both A and B occur</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both A and C occur</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both B and C occur</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, B and C all occur</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
runaway marriages usually force the third alternative and hence complicate the picture. The consistency within villages is an aspect of the accentuation of normality within the village, but furthermore there are no gross differences in the amount of the 'mahr' itself. Where the second alternative is adopted (specification of the money which disappears as 'mahr') the amount depends on how much the youth and his father can afford, not the status of the girl. The amount of 'mahr' paid shows how desirable she is as a bride but does not indicate her ascribed position in village society. Paying a large 'mahr' is a means of indicating importance by conspicuous consumption and is in line with the modern tendency for wealthy men to build large houses and hold large wedding feasts. Nevertheless, there is a tendency to stress the equality of females as brides. This emerges clearly in villages where the first alternative is adopted (the specification of the great gold as 'mahr'). Variations in the amount specified according to the social status of the bride (inherited from her mother) occur in only one village of the Thirty-Village Survey. In other villages the same amount of gold is specified for all brides.\(^1\)

\(^1\) In the few larger villages where there are long established radja families the mahr of radja women is probably larger than that of 'common' women, but radja women do not marry within the village.
Moreover in villages in which the third alternative is adopted (specification of the 'mahr' separately in monetary terms) the 'mahr' of each bride is the same.

Finally, the existence of these alternatives for the specification of 'mahr' indicates the conflict between large-scale group relationships and small scale kinship relationships. We have noted the trend towards the reduction in scale of the units conceived to be in woman-giving/woman-receiving relations - from clans to clan segments, from clan segments to minor and minimal lineages. The size of the related units and the permanency of the relationship diminish together. A man's true tulang is not his mother's brother, but his father-in-law - it is with the latter that woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships are activated. The specification of the great gold as 'mahr' is the ultimate stage in this process of jural re-ordering - it reduces the woman-giving/woman-receiving relationship to the level of the nuclear family.

'Mahr' and the social position of women

It is possible in Upper Mandailing to move from adat to canon law and vice versa in defining social positions and responsibilities. The counterpart within Islam itself is the practice of shifting from one school of law to another
as convenient. The result is that the conditions associated with the payment of deferred mahr provide a jural basis for the accretion of women to the lineage. This does not stabilise marriage, but it provides assurance of security in widowhood; if the mahr is paid the assurance is weakened. Mahr is intended to increase the security of married women. The designation of the money which disappears as 'mahr' defeats this intention. The money which disappears is essentially a consideration for the bride's father; its designation as 'mahr' reduces the latter to its original pre-Islamic status as a bride-price.²

In spite of the provision of mahr a woman's position depends upon her forbearance, in relations both with her lineage of origin and her lineage of accretion. The controlling interest which a woman-giving group exercises over the female children of the women it gives and the option which a woman-receiving group exercises over the nubile women of its woman-giving group epitomize the social position of women. They are not firmly attached to any social group

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1 Probably first noted in Sumatra by Snouck Hurgronje (1906).

2 In pre-Islamic Arabia on marriage the husband made a gift to the wife, sadaq, and a gift to her parents, mahr. See for example, Fyzee (1955:110).
and they lack any significant control over resources; to maintain their influence and status they must capitalise on the ties of sentiment which their husbands and sons have with them.

**Divorce**

The mean divorce ratio in Upper Mandailing is 0.4.⁴ Among nineteen villages for which statistics were collected the divorce ratio varied from 0.0 to 3.6 (see Figure 25). Twenty of the twenty-five divorces of which details were recorded were between young newly-marrieds (persons under thirty years of age).

**Figure 25.** Divorce ratios in eighteen villages in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan 1951-56 n = 41 divorces

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¹ The ratio is the number of marriages ending in divorce during the period 1951-56 expressed as a percentage of the number of married couples in the village in 1956. A number of married couples emigrated in the 1951-56 period so that the number of married couples in 1956 is probably less than the mean number during the period 1951-56. On the other hand a number of divorces between married couples who had emigrated were probably not reported. Hence the ratio accurately represents the situation among modern Upper Mandailingers who stay in Upper Mandailing. This rate is similar in type though not in value to the ratio A of Barnes (1949).
age and married for less than five years); two were between a newly-married old man and a young woman; two were between newly-married old persons and one was between old persons who had been married for fifteen years (see Table 9).

Table 9

Frequency of divorce among young and old persons who are newly-married and long-married. n = 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Newly-married/long-married</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Newly-married</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Young</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Old</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Long married</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

young = less than 30          old = more than 30
newly-married = married 5 years or less
long-married = married 15 years

Among newly-married persons who are divorced the duration of the marriage varies between two months and five years; the
mean duration of marriage is one year and five months (see Figure 26). The number of divorces drops sharply after that. If a marriage lasts for two years there is a strong possibility that it will continue to last unless the established pattern of social relations of the parties changes markedly. This happened in the one case of divorce between persons who had been long married - the man wanted to emigrate but the woman did not.

Among the twenty-four newly-marrieds who were divorced three had one son and four had one daughter; seventeen had no child. It is often stated by the Upper Mandailingers that childlessness is a cause of divorce but the statistics show that this is not the only cause since divorces occur
even after a male child is born.¹ The reasons given for divorce by the headman, judge or others involved in settling the dispute in this sample are summarised in Table 10 p. 373. Sixteen divorces are accounted for by simple incompatibility including failure to agree, bickering and quarrelling, the man no longer being attracted to the woman, the woman no longer being attracted to the man, and the woman being lazy. Six divorces are accounted for by interference from sources outside the immediate nuclear family including: criticism of the woman by the man's family, interference by another wife,² interference by the children of a former marriage and the woman becoming sick. Finally there are three cases of divorce, one in which the man was a gambler who sold off the household goods to pay his debts, one in which the man wanted to emigrate while the woman did not and one in which the man became very jealous of the woman, and implied her infidelity by his

¹ The statistics for a comparable group of newly marrieds who were not divorced are not available; therefore it is not possible to say whether the divorced couples had less children than the couples who were not divorced.

² Polygamous families are uncommon but this cause of divorce is probably common among the few that there are. I heard of several polygamous households which existed for a short period but never of co-wives who got on well together.
### Table 10 Type of divorce and reason for divorce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for divorce</th>
<th>Both want divorce</th>
<th>Man wants divorce</th>
<th>Woman wants divorce</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Failure to agree in house, bickering</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man no longer attracted to woman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman no longer attracted to man</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman lazy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism of woman by man's family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interference by other wife</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interference by children of former marriage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman becomes sick</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man is gambler</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man wants emigrate woman not</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man jealous of woman</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

actions. The kahangi of the woman complained to the village headman, who called the two parties together. The man became
very angry and pronounced three talak constituting an irrevocable divorce. The headman asked the religious judge to check that the divorce was lawful. After this was done the man stayed near the sleeping place of the woman and attacked anyone who came near.

According to my informants the matters about which couples often quarrel are: the woman not paying sufficient respect to the man's family, the woman wanting a standard of living which the man cannot afford, either the man or the woman not carrying out their share of the household chores, either the man or the woman not carrying out their duties properly when there is a sickness or death in the other's family and the bringing up of children.

Family interference is also a possible cause of divorce as the following example shows. In Tambangan Djai Munir enticed Bardia to run away with him and they were married in Batang Toru. Munir's father and mother disliked Bardia. There was no 'mahr' my informant said, referring to the money which disappears. After a year the couple returned and stayed in Munir's father's house for two weeks and then hired a house. The work of the woman appeared to be good

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1 In canon law a woman is entitled to a judicial pronouncement of divorce if her husband persists in making unfounded allegations of infidelity against her.
but Munir went to Kotanopan and made out a divorce letter and sent it to her by another person. She broke down and cried when she read it. A week later she moved to her grandfather's house (her father was dead). Munir came back after three days. She complained to the religious judge who took up her case and tried unsuccessfully to get Munir to pay for the support of the child. Munir was called before the headman but still he failed to pay up. 'There you are', said my informant summing the matter up, 'easy to get, easy to divorce'. (Begitulah, kalau murah dapat, murah tjerainja!)

Although several types of divorce are possible in canon law divorce in Upper Mandailing turns on the right of a man to divorce his wife by pronouncing the talak and a woman's right to demand payment of her mahr on divorce (described on page 357). If both want the divorce the man pronounces the talak and the woman relinquishes her mahr. She may keep it if it has already been paid in cash and used for paying wedding costs (see Table 11 p.376).

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1 The pronouncement of three talak, usually in writing, is an irrevocable form of divorce which is disapproved of in Islam. In canon law it is known as talak-i-bain.

2 In Islamic canon law divorce by mutual consent is allowed. There are two forms: khul' in which some consideration is
Table 11  Type of divorce and mahr  n = 24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of divorce</th>
<th>M a h r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relinquished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both want</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man wants</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman wants</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the man wants the divorce and the woman does not she is less likely to relinquish her mahr as Table 11 shows. But if the woman wants the divorce she has always to relinquish her mahr and if it has been paid to reimburse the man. For example, in Tambangan Tonga a woman ran away from a man in another village to whom she had been married for two months. She said she was unhappy there and refused to return. Her family paid Rp.500.00 to the man, the same amount as he had paid as 'mahr' in the form of money which disappears. He pronounced three talak.

\[ \text{given by the wife to the husband, usually part of her mahr, and mubara'a in which nothing is given by the wife. It appears that in Upper Mandailing if the 'mahr' has been paid as money which disappears divorce by mutual consent takes the mubara'a form, but if the 'mahr' has been paid as great gold divorce by mutual consent takes the khul' form.} \]
In seven out of the twelve cases in which both the man and woman wanted the divorce they arranged it themselves, the man pronounced the talak, the woman relinquished her mahr, and the matter was reported to the religious judge later. If only one party wanted the divorce the matter was more often referred to the village council (where one existed), the kahangi, the village headman or the judge for arbitration as shown in Table 12 (10 cases are referred out of 13).

Table 12  Type of divorce and arranged divorce n = 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divorce arranged by</th>
<th>Both want divorce</th>
<th>Man wants divorce</th>
<th>Woman wants divorce</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village council</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahangi of both man and woman</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahangi of both and headman</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahangi of both and judge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahangi of both and headman and judge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headman and judge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple themselves</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These authorities often tried to prevent the divorce. In Patialu for example a couple were married according to adat but after the wedding they constantly found faults with each other and began to regret the marriage. The man complained to the woman's kahangi. They gave her 'advice' several times but she said she would die before she would accept it. Her kahangi called in the religious judge to give the final warning; three days later the man pronounced three talak in front of some of his kahangi who acted as witnesses, then he told the religious judge. The latter called the man and woman together to divide the property. The man took all the cash in hand and the woman had to release him from the obligation to pay her mahr.

In another case in Simpang Duhu Dolok the advisers were more successful. The couple had been married two years and had one girl. The man worked hard but the woman was lazy. He ordered her to work but she refused. The man told the religious judge who tried to make peace; but by now both the man and woman wanted a divorce. The man pronounced one talak in the judge's presence and the woman went back to her mother's house. Before the expiry of iddat however, the man's kahangi, who did not want the divorce to take place, intervened - they visited the girl's mother and asked her to send the girl back; they persuaded the man to pronounce the formula of recon-
ciliation on the grounds that the woman would not be able to look after the child properly. This couple have now settled down and have another child.

When a woman wants a divorce besides forfeiting her mahr she usually has to pay back the money which disappears.¹ In one case even though the man was technically at fault the woman had to 'buy the talak'. This happened in Tambangan Tonga. After a woman had been married for four months she ran away to her father's house. She complained to the headman about the treatment given to her by her husband. The headman referred her to the religious judge. In the meantime her husband went to Medan. He stayed there for six months and sent nothing for her support. She complained about this to the religious judge. The judge sent a letter to the man who offered to pronounce three talak in return for Rp.300.00. This type of divorce is called tebus talak (M), bought talak. It has a basis in canon law in the khul form of divorce.

Hazairin (1941:76,86) mentions mangilolong M, an adat form

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¹ Prior to World War II the adat 'court' determined which party was at fault. If the woman was guilty her father had to return the whole of the djudjuran; if the man was at fault none of it; if both were at fault, part of it. The court called up the man to pronounce the talak, i.e. the court did not take upon itself the right to annul the marriage but forced the man to pronounce the talak and hence repudiate his wife.
of divorce according to which a woman who had a valid com-
plaint against her husband or no longer wished to live with
him was granted a divorce. Nowadays a divorce is not regarded
as valid (sjah) unless the talak has been pronounced and this
can be done only by the man. The village council cannot by
itself grant a divorce. If a woman wants a divorce she must
establish valid grounds for divorce according to Islamic canon
law and apply to a religious judge.

In fifteen out of the twenty-four divorces between newly-
mARRIED COUPLES, the couple had accumulated no property in
common, harta pentjarian, during their married life. In eight
other divorces all the household goods including such things
as firewood, stocks of rice, and household utensils including
those supplied by the bride's father were equally divided
(information is not available for one divorce). The brides
however kept all their clothing and ornaments.

Young children stay with their mother until they are
weaned at the age of about three. After that their father
can ask for them to join his household. A man is always
responsible for the support of his children and should send
the divorced wife money for this purpose. When the children
are aged about six or seven they usually join their father.

There is no stigma attached to divorce in Upper Mandail-
ing, nevertheless divorce is disapproved of. Any authority
whose advice is requested tries to make peace between the parties. The period of waiting before the divorce becomes irrevocable (iddat) is intended to allow time for second thoughts, the religious judge is supposed not to arrange a divorce immediately on request but to suggest waiting for two or three weeks and a man whose daughter runs away from her husband will often tell her to return. Nevertheless if divorce becomes inevitable it is better to make a clean break, 'If you want to use a woman then use her', the Mandailingers say, 'If you don't want her then free her'. As far as I could see a divorce has no serious social consequences. Most divorcees re-marry. In Hutatinggi the kahangi of the man and the woman meet after the divorce and formally transfer responsibility for the care of the woman from her former husband and his kahangi to her father and his kahangi. This is probably the way in which divorce was formerly concluded in adat.

The adat authorities, the village council and the kahangi, were consulted in only seven out of the twenty-five divorces and in four of these the judge or the headman were also called in (see Table 12 p. 377). All other divorces were handled by the judge, the headman, both together or the couple themselves. This demonstrates that man-wife relations can not only be abstracted from the wider context of woman-
giving/woman-receiving relationships in theory but are often independent of them in practice.
Chapter 9
Marriage Ceremonial

A man may get a wife in a number of ways. Nikah gantung is a marriage contract in which a pre-nubile girl is promised in marriage to a man when she comes of age. This arrangement is made by a man with the girl's father on his own behalf or on behalf of his son. The girl may be a true mother's brother's daughter. As in any marriage the prospective bride and bridegroom should be of similar age. The pact is sealed by an exchange of presents. The girl may not be married before she is ten or eleven years old when she commences the five daily prayers. If a presumptive husband runs away with a girl who has not reached this age, the girl is returned to her family. Nikah gantung is regulated by Islamic canon law and is rare in Upper Mandailing today. I recorded no recent case of it.¹

Marriages are rarely arranged without the prior consent of the parties but a youth who wants to marry urgently will sometimes ask his father to arrange a marriage for him with a girl he has never courted and possibly never seen. Girls

¹ According to Islamic canon law girls can redeem themselves from these contracts.
and youths who are not very good marriage prospects sometimes get married in this way. Insa who was always sick and had no suitors in her own village married her classificatory father's sister's son in another village at a few days notice. Daha a very young girl who was not expected to marry for some time married a relative in another village who was considered a very dull and uninteresting person by the girls of his own village. According to adat a woman can force a man to marry her by manjompo; if a man has exchanged courtship presents (tanda M, I) with her and he makes plans to marry someone else or she is pregnant by him she goes to the man's house and calls out her complaints against him in public. My informants told me about manjompo but I could discover no recent case of it and do not deal any further with it.¹

A youth usually seeks (djelaki) a wife for himself. When he has found the girl he wants (giot) and he intends to get married he tells his father. If he has not reached a firm understanding with the girl, he gets one of the accreted women of his lineage with whom he is friendly, usually an older brother's wife, to ask the girl to marry him. He may then effect the marriage in one of the alternative ways shown in Table 13 p. 385 and Table 20 (Appendix 6 p. 558).

¹ The conditions under which manjompo occurred in the past are reviewed by Keuning (1948:99-100).
The sequence of ceremonies

The three main ways of effecting a marriage are by proposal, by abduction and by running away.\(^1\) Whichever way

Table 13

Methods of effecting a marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Manjapaek (Proposal</td>
<td>Formal request for the girl to her father by representatives of the youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of marriage)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mangalodjonkon</td>
<td>The girl is abducted from her house by the youth and taken to the youth's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abduction marriage)</td>
<td>The girl's father does not know she is to be abducted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tangko na golap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tangko binoto</td>
<td>The girl's father is informed of the girl's intentions, but tacitly gives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consent for her abduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Nikah lari (True</td>
<td>The couple run away to a distant market town where they are married according</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runaway marriage)</td>
<td>to canon law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Keuning (1948:91-101) deals with two ways in which a man can effect a marriage: by proposal and by abduction. The former he suggests is normal among radja families, the latter among commoners. This may have been true in the past but nowadays in the area as a whole both forms of marriage are used among persons of non-radja extraction. In some villages however abduction is the normal way of effecting a marriage.
is chosen there are essentially three phases in the sequence of events - pre-wedding negotiations, marriage ceremonies, and post-wedding inter-family visiting.

The wealth of the parties and the degree of understanding between the would-be bridegroom and bride determine the form of the pre-wedding negotiations. If the marriage is a manjapaek, proposal marriage, preliminary informal negotiations may take place between the father of the youth and the father of the girl before the two meet formally in the latter's house. This is said to be deges, literally beautiful, fine. At the formal proposal meeting, also called manjapaek, the youth's father is supported by a representative of his woman-receiving group (usually his daughter's husband), the girl's father by a representative of his woman-giving group (usually his wife's brother or her father), and his woman-receiving group (usually his daughter's husband). The meeting is short and to the point; no food or betel is given; the girl's father is asked if he is willing in principle to allow his daughter to marry the youth. Before giving his answer, the girl's father asks the representative of his wife-giving group for his formal approval. This is given with the proviso that the marriage payments must be made. Before the meeting breaks up the scale of these payments is hinted at and the amount of food
to be brought by the youth's party for the next ceremony in the girl's house is decided.

A mangaladjonkon, abduction, marriage may take one of two forms: tangko na golap (M), in which the parents of the girl know nothing of what is to happen and tangko binoto (M), when they do. The latter, which is the less common, is also called tangko adat (M), the capture of adat, since the agnatic kin group of the girl who 'own' the adat of her marriage have not been informed. Both these methods of effecting a marriage are here called abduction. Abduction may be an intra- or inter-village affair. The youth fetches the girl from her home, or from a neighbour's house, while her family are absent. The couple hurry through the village, the girl holding her headcloth over her face and go straight to the house of the youth's father where they sit together in the back room. The youth informs his father, who calls several members of his agnatic kin group, kahangi, and one or two of his woman-receiving group to his house. They hold a conference, marpokat. A representative of the youth's father carries out the mangariri, i.e. he asks the girl why she has come to the house. She replies 'To marry so and so', mentioning the youth's name. This makes the matter, tontu, certain, as far as the agnatic kin of the father is concerned; they know the maksud, intention, of the
girl. Two representatives are appointed, one of them is usually the youth's elder brother or father's younger brother and the other the youth's father's sister's husband, to go to the girl's father's house the same evening. In the meantime the news goes round the village and persons come to the youth's father's house to stare at the couple and find out for themselves what is going on. The accreted women of the youth's lineage pay special attention to the girl. When the girl's father hears what has happened he is usually angry. But even if he is not he pretends to be and stalks off to his house to await events. He calls his sons to the house if they are not already there.

The representatives of the youth's party now visit the girl's father for marbo. If this visit is delayed the girl's father is said to become really angry. He may or may not receive them roughly, but they consider that they have done their duty if they merely tell him where his daughter is. The same evening or the following morning they come again. This visit is called mendokon ulang agoan, saying (the girl is) not lost. Before he will receive the visitors, the girl's father calls several members of his lineage and one or two of his woman-giving group and woman-receiving group. The visitors say that the girl is safe and the youth and the girl wish to marry; they ask the girl's father to give the
woliship i.e. relinquish his guardianship of the girl. The representatives of the girl's lineage point out that even if they know where the girl is they have no adat; the representative of the woman-giving group says if such and such payments are made they may grant the woliship. The scale of these payments may be mentioned.

After mendokon ulang agoan, the sequence of events is the same for a proposal or an abduction marriage. This ceremony serves the same function as the proposal meeting, manjapaek, in a proposal marriage but, having got the girl in the house, the youth's party are arguing from strength. If the girl's father receives (terimo) the visitors at mendokon ulang agoan, he cannot subsequently withdraw from the negotiations, it is said. However he may refuse to receive them. This creates a serious position. Without the transfer of the guardianship an Islamic canon law wedding ceremony (nikah) cannot be carried out. Nikah is the jural core of marriage and sexual relations are not allowed before it has taken place. The bridegroom undertakes the payment of mahr during nikah and all the contractual elements of the marriage, including the rights of the wife to maintenance and of the husband to the children, hinge upon it. Subsequent negotiations between the two groups therefore turn upon the granting of the guardianship.
Where the youth and girl live in different villages the sequence of events in an abduction marriage, is similar to that described. In a true runaway marriage, however, the young couple run away to a market town at some distance. They are usually accompanied by a member of the youth's kahangi. They stay with relatives of the youth and arrange for a canon law wedding to be carried out by a local religious judge, kodi.\textsuperscript{1} The bride's father is told formally by letter. The couple return to the village from two weeks to two years later depending on how long he remains angry with them. Matters are patched up and the sequence of adat ceremonies follows the course outlined in Table 20 p. 558 and more fully described in Appendix 6.

In summary what subsequently happens is as follows: the youth's party visit the girl's father's house to negotiate the marriage payments and the transfer of the responsibility for the girl from her own lineage to that of the youth.

\textsuperscript{1} According to canon law a kodi can marry a couple if they have travelled more than two days journey from the girl's village and if they can show that there is no impediment to the marriage other than opposition from the girl's parents. For residents of Upper Mandailing it is usual to go to Panjabungan. True runaway marriage was made much more difficult to effect in 1956 by a Government regulation which forbade a kodi to carry out a nikah ceremony without a letter from the head of the village of the girl explaining the circumstances of the case.
They request the transfer of the guardianship of the girl, permission to take the girl from her village and permission 'to make her old', i.e. they make her the subject of the adat wedding ceremony proper which is held in the youth's village. When the girl has been brought to the youth's village the youth's father tells the members of his lineage, woman-receiving group and woman-giving group and asks for the help of the first two to carry out the adat wedding ceremony.

Most of the members of the youth's village take part in the adat wedding feast, but of the bride's kin only her father's sister and one or two young female members of her lineage who act as her 'companions' are present. The work of preparing and serving the food is done by the members of the groom's lineage and wife-receiving group. New names are conferred on the bride and groom and advice is given to the couple by the elders of the youth's lineage. The bride and groom 'sit up' ceremonially in full wedding dress and the bride is taken to the woman's part of the stream where her functions as a potential bearer of many children and a worker in the house are emphasized. Afterwards her wedding dress is ceremonially removed and she is dressed in ordinary clothes.

On the day following the wedding the bride's parents are
invited to the house of the groom's father and each side ceremonially expresses good wishes to the other. A week or so later the bride and groom visit the bride's father's house and are presented with household goods.

In all the adat ceremonies the bride's father is supported by members of his lineage, established woman-receiving group and woman-giving group and the groom's father by his lineage and woman-receiving group. All the decisions at each meeting are referred to a village elder. Nowadays this role is often played by the elected village headman.

Marriage ceremonial and the social structure

The form and content of marriage ceremonial symbolizes the social structure. On both sides sons support their father in the immediate emergency created by an abduction. The responsibility of men for their sister is shown in the display of force which they make outside the house of the abductor and in the solidity which they display with their father should the latter really try to regain possession of the girl. I never heard of a man dragging his runaway sister home, but men do act violently to regain their daughters.

In Hutadangka it is said a girl ran away with the same man three times. Each time her wealthy father dragged her
home and beat her. What good would this do, my informants commented, her father would not be welcome in her house after the couple were married. The marriage was thought to be inevitable because the youth had worked love magic on the girl. On the other hand, if a youth decides upon marriage and precipitates a crisis by effecting a runaway marriage his father will certainly support him.

Support by the lineage in marriage affairs is constantly demonstrated in ritual. The girl's father gains this support at the price of some loss of control over the disposal of the girl; the members of her lineage 'own the adat' of the girl; they act as generalized sora, marriage agent, for her. The members of a youth's lineage exercise no control over his disposal in marriage; on the contrary, they conceive the accretion of another woman to the lineage as a gain to them all. This complements the general ownership of the adat of a girl by her lineage. Without the help of his lineage a youth cannot achieve the status of na tobang, the old, the mature; but they can scarcely refuse a request for this help and in practice never do so. A man must keep his father informed and the father, in order to initiate lineage action, must inform his lineage. Lineage responsibility represents both control over a member and his son and a duty to act on their behalf.
The wife-giving group is always involved in the marriage of the daughters of its women and, in particular, determines their 'price' in adat. An agreement about the disposal of a woman can be made in principle by her father and the members of his lineage, though he usually consults the members of his woman-receiving group, but all further decisions are referred to the woman-giving group before they become effective. The control of the woman-giving group over the marriage of the sons of its women is much less strong. It appears to be sufficient if they are kept informed about events. Moreover, they are explicitly not involved in the debt which the sons of their women undertake when they receive a wife from another group. The control by the wife-giving group in marriage therefore emphasizes the pure matrilineal principle of the linkage of female to female (see p.341).

The woman-receiving group on the other hand is always involved in the marriage of a male of their wife-giving group; they do not directly control the marriage, but they have an interest in the woman received by their wife-givers 'because they will take her daughters'. They are involved from the point of view of self-interest 'because of the daughters', from the point of view of previous commitments, because of the debt they owe to their woman-givers and from
the point of view of payment for the bride because of their status in adat as the great gold, an asset of their woman-givers. It is this last involvement which gives them a vicarious, secondary control over the marriage - it is their acknowledgement of this status which enables their wife-givers to successfully complete the pact with their own wife-giving group. In adat council therefore they are given an honourable position, and when a male of their woman-giving group is married their importance as ceremonial actors is almost equal to that of the members of the lineage of the male. At the wedding of a member of a radja family in Menambin a member of a woman-receiving group refused to co-operate for a while and play his adat role because at some time or other he had not been invited to a previous function.

In short woman-givers and woman-receivers have joint interests. The woman-receiving group as a whole is not important in everyday affairs but has jural importance in adat. The woman-receivers of the radja apparently controlled the disposal of radja women. In non-radja groups the kahangi si pulut (M) has a similar function. If a youth wishes to marry a woman of a village in which there are no members of his lineage he must find a group which will act in the lineage role temporarily on his behalf.
This group is his kahangi si pulut, so called because the relationship is affirmed at a meeting at which sweet rice, pulut, is eaten.¹ A lineage which is woman-receiving to the lineage of the girl he wishes to marry is chosen to perform this role. In adopting his cause this group not only signifies its approval of his request for the girl but mobilises its special relationship to the woman-giving group on his behalf. This practice confirms our former finding. Structurally the woman-giving/woman-receiving relationship is epitomized in the exchange of rights over the procreative powers of women for support; in terms of actual expectations it consists in the exchange of a pre-emption right in future females for the carrying out of certain tasks in adat. Ideally the equity of this transaction is symbolized in the equal allotment of the wedding costs between the two groups, one of which is interested in the unborn females, the other in the unborn males. Nowadays, the contributions actually made are far from the ideal pattern.

I have heard of the members of a woman-receiving group contributing a few rupiah but never of their paying half the wedding costs.

¹ Pulut, which is sticky as well as sweet, is often eaten at ceremonial meals. One informant called it 'the glue of adat'.
In matters of adat a lineage is incomplete without its woman-receiving partner but in the management of practical affairs it is a man's minimal or minor lineage which is important. The members of a man's lineage carry out the background organization and the background negotiations in connection with the wedding. They may give gifts of rice and vegetables but not cash. If a youth has insufficient money for the wedding costs and his father cannot supply the deficiency, a successful father's brother or older brother may help. Loans but not gifts can be obtained from persons outside the minimal lineage. The loan may be made on some condition such as cheap labour by the youth after marriage.

In a marriage in Tombang Bustak in 1956 the youth's father's brother gave Rp.1000.00 towards the costs of the wedding on condition that the youth worked for low wages for one year in his shop.

The adat ceremonial symbolizes the change of status which bride and bridegroom undergo on marriage. The change of name is more significant in the case of a man because the new name gives him a specific lineage identity; the new name of a woman indicates only the village from which she came. The ceremonies in which she is a key figure stress her role as a child bearer and her accretion to the lineage of her
husband. The male members of that lineage choose her new name, she is ceremonially greeted by the husband's mother when she arrives in the new home, and her pandogani (M), companions, are appointed from among the females of the husband's lineage. The magical formulae of mangupah (M) is supposed to ensure her arrival in the spirit as well as in the flesh (see Appendix 6 p. 553).

Finally, the post-wedding intervisiting shows the nature of new wife-giving/wife-receiving relations - relations which are effective at the level of kinship ties rather than lineage affiliations. The elders maintain a polite distance from each other modified by joint interest in the welfare of the new couple and their future children. The wife-giving group are kept out of the adat affairs of their wife-receiving group and the return visit of mulak ari is made by the bridal couple themselves, not by the bridegroom's father.

Marriage ceremonial and social organization

The major adat marriage ceremonies are concerned with the transfer of rights and are pervaded by a 'legal atmosphere'. There is a formal order of speaking, sidok hata (M), decisions are referred to each interested party in turn and the correct seating order is always maintained.
Because the decisions are of a politico-legal nature they are confirmed by the highest village authority. The pre-wedding meeting of representatives of both parties (mengkobari) is like a process of making peace (damai) on a large scale. The meeting is a form of institutionalized opposition; the two parties are known as opponents. The meeting is a fight in words, in which each side chooses its best speakers to take its part. The two forms of tangko are a more active form of this fight - institutionalized forms of abduction which are accepted in some villages as the normal way of getting a wife. In contrast the true runaway marriage is abnormal in that it is not institutionalized in adat. It is not approved of since 'anything can happen'; the bride's father is, or pretends to be, very angry and subsequently he demands a large amount of money which disappears. But as an alternative way of getting married it is not an important part of the social organisation. The mahr of the girl must be a true mahr but there are no further entailments which effect the social structure.

The ritual of the major adat ceremonies is ossified - its form and content are always the same. The ritual symbolizes the major elements of the social structure, and at the same time demonstrates the precepts of interaction.
Running through the whole performance is the notion of making certain (tontu). For example, not only must all parties in each meeting give hobar (M, news, talk) about their attitude to what is going on but they must reiterate all previous items, often the whole history of the sequence of events leading up to the matter under discussion as a demonstration of their familiarity with the total situation. The bride is ceremonially placed in the care of the bridegroom's lineage when she leaves her father's house, she is formally greeted by the bridegroom's mother when she arrives at the bridegroom's house, in an abduction marriage she is asked about her intentions (maksud) when she arrives in the bridegroom's father's house and documents are used to record the gifts to the bride, the barang, goods brought by her and the contributions of wedding guests. These checks on uncertainty are found at every stage. It is necessary for each person or party to say what his intentions are. The spoken word is a sin qua non in giving news; silence does not imply consent, it implies non-receipt (inda terimo) M). Hence formal invitations must be sent to all interested parties. Those who are not invited may feel that they have not had their rights recognised and, in turn, do not acknowledge the status change which marriage represents. Even after the lapse of many years it may be necessary to carry
out mengkobari, the ceremony at which the transfer of the bride and the marriage presents are discussed, if this was omitted prior to the wedding, before the wife-giving group will recognise the children of the marriage. Giving news is a social process by means of which ties are made, maintained or allowed to lapse.

Other precepts of interaction, usefulness (guno), the accent on the usual (biaso), and what is sufficient (tuk), determine the combination of ceremonies and the scale upon which they are held. It is widely acknowledged that the ceremony of mangido burangir, begging betel, has no use and it is often omitted. What is sufficient determines the scale of the ceremonies. There is always the bare necessary minimum; anything beyond this represents a tambar, an extra. A series of incomplete ritual actions may represent a whole sequence. For example, the greeting of the couple by the bridegroom's mother on arrival at her house may replace mengupah, the address to the spirits; a good shirt replaces the bridegroom's wedding dress, and at a meeting betel may be presented once when strictly it should be presented repeatedly.

Innovations are controlled by what is useful and usual; for example the presentation of flowers to the couple by youths and unmarried girls while they are 'sitting up',
which is a modern introduction, is tolerated because it symbolizes the break in the relations of the couple with their former companions and accentuates their new status. It accords with the symbolic content of other ceremonies; nevertheless it is not encouraged and has not become widespread.

Adat and Islamic elements in marriage ceremonies

If the ceremony is about a formal adat matter betel is handed round. In ceremonies in which betel is not used there is a greater variation in speech and other behaviour and in the content of what is said and done. Some of the lesser ceremonies are omitted altogether. For example: the ceremony of giving the bride into the charge of the lineage of the groom as she leaves her father's house, the visit of the bride to the stream, calling on the ancestors in mengupah, and the visit of the bride's father to the house of the bridegroom's father. These ceremonies emphasize small group relations or kinship per se. Their content depends on personal idiosyncracy. Furthermore they are recast in an Islamic idiom. The first three quoted are thought of as prayers and the last is accompanied by pious injunctions. Even the major ceremonies are sometimes followed by a prayer or some form of chanting, so that it is necessary
to invite religious specialists for this reason alone. A close examination of the protocol of marriage ceremonies shows that there are Islamic parallels to many of the adat ceremonies. Nikah is the equivalent of nipatobang, making old; barzandji, chants and prayers to Muhammad, of mengupah, calling on the ancestors (it is even held simultaneously), sarapel onam (M)\(^1\), singing religious songs with a drum accompaniment, is the equivalent of mangido burangir, the begging of betel, and has completely replaced adat dancing which is now almost obsolete; finally, the advice given to the married couple by the religious judge immediately after the canon law wedding ceremony, competes with nasehati, the advice given by the old men.

There is no organic link between the adat ceremonies and the Islamic ceremonies; they parallel, but do not entail one another. There is therefore a wide range of variation in their combination. But within each village the ceremonies of one marriage are very similar if not identical with those of another (an example of the accentuation of normality).

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\(^1\) Sarapel onam, which is used for entertainment, can only be carried out if a goat is cut at the wedding, an exact parallel to the idea that the appropriate adat ritual is indicated by the type of beast eaten.
The adat ceremonies entail one another. Normally, at least the following must be held: mengkobari, the meeting of the bride's and bridegroom's kin at which the marriage payments are determined, pobotohan utang, telling the debt to the lineage and wife-receiving group of the bridegroom, and nipatobang, making the bride and bridegroom old. Since abduction is a recognized method of obtaining a bride, the first of these may occasionally be omitted. It is sometimes carried out years later in a modified form, when the couple return with their children to visit the bride's father.

Adat and Islam provide alternatives in inheritance and compete in the field of ritual. Each adat ceremony is paralleled or accompanied by an Islamic ceremony. A stage in Islamization has been reached at which the Islamic rite is a necessary part of many ceremonies and sanctifies the whole performance.

The jural elements of man-wife relations are reiterated in the canon law wedding ceremony. The larger adat ceremonies, apart from the Islamic accretions, are idealisations of inter-group relations in the social structure at large.

The dimensions of ritual action and the playing of roles

The larger ceremonies symbolise the social structure in general terms. In the adat speeches reference is made to
mora, wife-givers and to bory, wifereceivers or to abstract functionaries such as the okuander, the guarantor. No person or class of relatives is specified in terms of kinship; the idiom used is that of wife-givers, lineage, wife-receivers. Because ritual expression is maintained at this general level, the legality of the demands of spokesmen is never in question. There are no real arguments in the meetings. The speeches are formal; the core of each follows a well-known formula, if a speaker omits any part he is immediately corrected by someone else.

The ritual of the lesser ceremonies, on the other hand, refers to the post-marital functions of the bride and bridegroom and is formulated in kinship terms. There is also a third field of non-ceremonial action which takes place behind the scenes—this is the practical task of adjusting the marriage payments to the pockets and desires of all parties and organizing the ceremonies themselves. This is accomplished by two or three persons talking together. This field of action is not represented in the ritual statement.

Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out that not all cultural items are of equal significance. Neither are all parts of the social structure. We should not expect that 'ritual action and belief as forms of symbolic statement about the
social order' (Leach, 1954:14) would all be of equal significance. In Upper Mandailing the symbolic statements about the social order which are made in the major ceremonies do not accord with the social facts of modern society. There is a dissonance between the symbolic statements of ritual and the substantive social order.

The Mandailingers conduct their ceremonies as if they were representative of the facts of a social order. Although some individuals have more skill than others, the majority of adults can make the necessary speeches. In the absence of general knowledge about what to do, some person unconsciously performs the role of director of the ceremony; sometimes a man is assigned to this role informally and becomes a de facto ceremonial director. In the first place then, the participants do not always play their roles well. But more importantly, they are never deeply, and sometimes not at all, involved in their role playing. For instance they tend to 'pass the buck' when there is a speech to be made. Most speeches are made by those who just enjoy performing in public. Sometimes there is a general desire to 'get the job done'. A good deal of attention is paid to the formal order of speaking, but not much is given to the speeches, or rather the embellishments of speech making are praised, but little attention is paid to the content of
what is said other than to ensure that the speech is formally correct. In other words the actors make manifest the fact that the ritual does not 'matter' to them, in short, they are not involved in it.

This problem of involvement may be approached from the point of view of ritual knowledge. An item of ritual cannot symbolize the social order, if first, the participants do not know what the ritual 'means' and second, there is no universally acknowledged exegete. In modern Mandailing society some adat ritual fulfills neither of these criteria. For example, money given as sere na menek, the little gold, is handed to the mother of the bride who waves it in a tray over the bride's head. The majority of persons regard this as an act which was done dulu-dulu (M), long ago, and they have no further idea of its significance. The only symbolic statement which this piece of ritual makes is that the ceremony is being carried out in the usual (biaso) way. To many people a marriage ceremony provides a spectacle; they understand the structure of their own society in terms of a very simple model and see the facts of life in the framework 'getting a living'. If it is essential that an item of ritual makes a symbolic statement, then it must be established that the supposed symbols are significant to the people who use them. It is necessary to show, first, that
the supposed symbols mean something, second, to whom they are meaningful and, third, to what degree persons care about what the symbols state. For example, in Upper Mandailing the use of the kinship term of address tulang is socially significant because it stands for a clearly defined system of expectations of behaviour which both speaker and hearer strongly expect to be enacted.

Thus there are at least three dimensions to be considered: the first is the clarity of the symbolic statement, the second is the degree of relevance of the statement to current social realities and the third is the involvement of the actors. It is inadequate to say that ritual actions are "forms of symbolic statement about the social order" - if parts of ritual are to function in a socially significant way the actors must be involved in and care about the statements which the symbols make. In these terms much of the ritual of adat ceremonies carried out in Upper Mandailing today has little social significance. Nevertheless the ceremonies are important in that carrying them out entails mass action. People have to work together to carry them out; the many guests enjoy the increased social interaction and they like to be spectators. For different persons the ceremonies have a different significance. For a few old men they contain real statements about what they conceive the
ideal–typical social order to be, but for the majority they represent only actions which they enjoy for their social facilitation. The majority enjoy ceremonial action for its own sake as action.

In the field of non-ceremonial action, symbolic statements in ritual are replaced by statements of ideal–typical patterns of behaviour which the Upper Mandailingers themselves make. These may be derived from other than adat sources. It is said to be deges if during the background negotiations between the fathers of bride and bridegroom in relation to the marriage payments, the two fathers fix the matter up between themselves.

The Upper Mandailingers are experts at 'as if' behaviour and role playing; they can easily change from one role to another. A man who is related to both parties to a marriage will readily play roles on either side in ceremonial activities. This capacity for empathy, the power of projecting one's self into and understanding someone else's position, probably accounts for the relative success of peacemakers, but the fact that this skill can be exercised in adat marriage ceremonies shows that the social grouping represented in ritual is not highly significant. For the most part the Upper Mandailingers are not involved in the
ceremonies in the sense that they 'matter' to them and their social significance is therefore low.
Chapter 10

The Nuclear Family Household

Each household occupies a separate house. Ideally a household consists of a man, his wife and their children. 58.5 per cent of all households have this composition (see Table 19 p.541). Polygamous households are rare; only seven in 1182 households were polygamous. There is a simple cycle of reconstitution of households. Within a few months of marriage each man usually forms his own household in a dwelling separate from that of his father but in the same village. (Type 20, Table 19, 3.64% of all households). A man who marries after the death of either of his parents may remain with his bride in his father's house or an already married son may move to his father's house when one of his parents dies (married men living with their aged fathers - 1.35% of all households, married men living with their aged mothers - 2.88%). It is very rare for a married man to live in the household of his parents while the latter are both alive (0.17%). When a man marries, his children by a former marriage may remain in his house (households 411.
with stepmothers 4%), but if a woman remarries it is rare for her children by a former marriage to form part of her new husband’s household (households with stepfathers – 0.42%).

The house

The average dwelling is a square or oblong box-like structure on stilts three feet long, and is divided into a front and back room. The cooking hearth is in the back room or in a small lean-to kitchen built on to it. There are front and back entrances provided with wooden steps. A man enlarges his house as his social responsibilities and economic success increase. The house of a newly married couple is often no more than a box with split-bamboo walls and grass roof, some ten feet square with a hearth in one corner. When one or two children have been born a back room is added and later a kitchen. An entirely new wooden walled structure may then be built in stages starting with the complete framework, the roof and one or two rooms. More rooms are added later. Half-finished occupied buildings of this sort are common in all villages. If he is economically successful a man may add a glassed-in balcony, a tin roof, concrete steps and drains. There is much capital investment in houses which are visible symbols of
social importance. A wealthy man is never found occupying a poor dwelling.

The front room represents the man's sphere of life. All ceremonies and discussions about jural or economic matters are held there. If the head of the house owns a pair of scales it is hung on the wall of the front room; if he has pretensions to book learning, his books are stored on a corner shelf. As a man's social consequence increases his public functions are pushed gradually out of the front room. Instead of seeking his business in the street he sits and waits for it to come to him on his own verandah. The verandah becomes a place where he can talk with cronies and clients while the front room remains the venue for the conduct of matters concerning the family and lineage.

The back room is the sphere of domesticity and of women. Household stores, equipment, clothes, ornaments and trunks are stored there. Woman guests go straight to the back room and sit there. During adat ceremonies, the peep holes between front and back rooms allow the women to be passive spectators.

The kitchen and the hearth are the focal point of housekeeping activities proper. Family meals usually take place in the kitchen; in colder areas both men and women sit on the low board surrounding the hearth to warm them—
selves at the fire. The kitchen is the entry point and storage place for everything representing the day-to-day participation of women in the economic affairs of the household. The vegetables are in one corner, the winnowed and husked rice in another; on the rack above the hearth is the stack of chopped firewood and dried coffee leaves used to make a drink. Close to the hearth is the grinding stone for chillies and nearby hang the bamboo cylinders for storing water. Some men store their tools in the kitchen and carry out casual repair work there. The kitchen represents the commensality specific to each household.

Economic functions in the household

Each household forms a single unit of production and consumption whatever its composition. Each man is responsible for the maintenance of his wife and his children but not for that of his wife's children by a former husband or for that of his parents. Nevertheless, if either of the last two form part of a man's household they share in the common weal and contribute to it in so far as they are able. Any member of the household may also have economic endeavours the proceeds of which each retains for him or herself. If a person provides labour to produce capital goods such as a garden they have a right to a share in the product. A
household head who opens and works a garden by himself is said to own that garden as personal property. Even the household head may, then, have his own usahó (M), enterprises.

The division of labour in the household follows the scheme outlined in Chapter 4 and Tables 1 and 2. Men take more part in cash-producing activities, women in subsistence production and household maintenance. Women prepare and cook food and carry out the ancillary activities of gathering firewood and fetching water. Girls above the age of ten are capable of carrying out all female domestic tasks and are expected to help their mother when they are not at school. Although boys may help their father, they are not expected to really work. Old persons carry out light tasks such as keeping chickens away from drying rice and coffee; during the rice cycle they occasionally visit the fields and carry out a little work on the plot.

Decisions about matters which require co-operation between households such as constructing a dam or clearing ground are made by informal discussion among men while they sit in the village street, mosque or coffee shop. Within each household men should make the major decisions about the type of economic activities in which the household will engage, and when the work will be done, but from day-to-day
mutual arrangements must be made between a man and his wife about absence from the house in order to allow for the care of young children. Women make their own decisions about the menu, the cooking and preparation of food. There is little planning in the organization of this work; rice is cleaned and wood is fetched as circumstances allow or dictate. Men go to market to sell the household products and, where there is no nearby market to which women can go, they buy the household supplies.

A man ties the economy of his household into the economy of the village. He sets the framework within which the economic activities of his household will take place and initiates the major works. Women, on the other hand, carry out the ongoing maintenance and processing in home, field and garden.

Economic aspects of man-wife relations

The economic relations of a man and his wife are summed up in the equation - maintenance in return for work. Since a husband is placed in a position of control, the stability of the relationship depends upon his having the necessary authority. This is provided for in the orthodox Islamic view that a woman cannot rebel (durhaka, I) against her husband. Nevertheless, nowadays the total relationship is
conceived as being subject to hukum kongsi (M,I), the law of co-operatives. Prior to World War II a marriage carried out according to Islamic canon law but without the adat ceremony was called kawin berkongsi, co-operation marriage. In 1933 this form of marriage was said to have been introduced into Mandailing 'in the past few years' and to be coming more and more into use; 'only the higher classes regularly use the adat law of marriage'. In other words by 1933 a marriage according to canon law was regarded as valid by commoners. Today the idea of hukum kongsi has become an integral part of what Mandailingers regard as 'proper' man-wife relations whether an adat ceremony has been carried out or not.

Some women receive a weekly allowance, others are given money only when they ask for it, and some are given no money at all because their husbands are responsible for all household expenditure and buy what the women ask for. If a woman receives an allowance she saves some of it to provide clothes for herself and her children. A woman is always expected to earn money in order to contribute towards the cost of her own clothing. Otherwise she is regarded as

1 Adatrechtbundels 41:328
2 ibid. 324
lazy. A woman cannot complain about the amount of money given to her. On the other hand, a man never questions his wife's expenditure once money has been handed over to her. If a woman is dissatisfied with the amount of money given to her she gives her husband poor food, I was told. If her husband complains she then asks for more money.

The clothes which a man provides for his wife are her property absolutely. But all goods which a man and his wife create or obtain and use together during their married life are regarded as their property in common. This applies to household things made solely by a man or by a woman, e.g. mats which are made by women and rice stamping poles which are made by men. The rule applies also to coffee and clove gardens in which women do much of the work. The property relations of spouses thus support the idea of a household as a partnership to which both contribute equally.

Public face and private fact in man-wife relations

Ownership in common implies continuity. A married couple are said to be dongan sahidup samati (M), persons in special relationship of one life and one death. In public a married couple attempt to maintain this ideal of harmony and co-operation. Each partner may try to control the other by threatening to disrupt the marriage, e.g. a man may
threaten to take another wife. A man's movements are watched by his wife and her sisters. A man who is seen talking to another woman is liable to receive a sharp-tongued rebuke from his wife. On the other hand it is humiliating for a man if his wife runs away since this is public evidence of his inability to control her. If she complains to her father the man loses control of the situation since the dispute may have to be referred to a meeting of his own and his wife's agnatic kinsmen. Public quarrels are very rare; during thirteen months in one village I witnessed only one. Within the house angry remarks by a man may be met by silence on his wife's part. Passive resistance is a technique commonly used by women to control their husbands, I was told. One man said he would never be able to find cause for divorcing his wife because whenever he became angry with her she never answered him back. If a woman is passive her marriage is stable because this behaviour conforms to the cultural stereotype of womanly behaviour and the self-image men have of themselves as the dominant person in the household. Nevertheless tensions often accumulate within households. Women try to put off the evil day of divorce. A woman who had three daughters but no sons, a situation which provided her husband with a valid reason for taking another wife, asked her
husband to be patient for at least one more birth. The difference between public face and private fact in man-wife relations often leads to 'surprise' divorces the reasons for which are unknown to the village at large.

The figures in Table 9 p.370 show the number of divorces which became irrevocable. There is probably a large number of interim divorces in which one talak is pronounced but the couple are reconciled before the expiration of iddat. In Simpang Pining for example there were no irrevocable divorces from 1951 to 1956 but my informants told me about four interim divorces which became public knowledge in the same period.

Parenthood

The Upper Mandailingers emphasize that marriage leads to parenthood. They contrast the fate of a wealthy childless man with that of a poor man with many children. What is the use of wealth, they say, if a man has no children to inherit it. When a man who has many children returns from the gardens his children run to greet him; he picks them up, they are a heavy load but he is content (sonang); he has someone to care for him in his old age and to pray for him after his death - his pleasure in the present is so strong that he has no thought for the after-life (Achirat).
A man and his wife have a mutual interest in their children and especially in their male children. For a man the tie between himself and his male children represents the concept of lineage continuity. For a woman the ties of sentiment which bind her sons to her strengthen her jural accretion to the lineage. In the course of time the ties of sentiment to her sons replace the former ties of sentiment to her brothers. A man and his wife are less interested in their daughters than in their sons. Nevertheless, if they have no sons, daughters can replace them jurally owing to their rights of inheritance in canon law. A man or woman may gain the status of ompung, grandparent, by the birth of a daughter's child as well as by the birth of a son's child. For a man the marriage of daughters represents a possible means of gaining supporters, although the support given is not as unqualified as that which may be expected from sons.

The nutritive and nurturance role of women is highly valued. Classificatory siblings are segregated into groups each of 'one milk'. A divorced woman can retain guardianship of her children until they are at least seven years old.

A man and his wife both express great interest in the health and welfare of their children. If one of them is
sick a man will stop work and stay in the house to help nurse the child. It is his duty to do all in his power to find medicine for the sick child. Women sometimes play on this interest of their husbands to get their own way. Asnah who was tired of her life in a mountain village and wished to move to a busier place persuaded her husband to take the family on a visit to her relatives in a roadside village. On her return she continued to wear some of the new clothes which her husband had had to buy for the visit. She talked about how happy the only child of herself and her husband had been watching the motor cars go by, how the child missed the playmates it had in the roadside village and how there were no child companions for it in their present home (this was quite wrong, the fact being that Asnah herself had no sisters or close female companions in the mountain village); most importantly she said that the child had eaten a lot of rice in the roadside village, but now had no appetite. This was also wrong. Nevertheless, these suggestions were effective and five months later the family emigrated to a roadside village.

The social position of children in the nuclear family

The delivery of the child is arranged by the prospective father and by him alone. He arranges for the services
of a midwife if he can afford them. Birth itself is a relatively private matter and takes place on the pantar (M) a series of bamboo slats covering an opening in the floorboards in the house. A poor woman may be attended only by her husband, but soon afterwards her mother-in-law and other accreted women of her husband's lineage arrive and help to wash and give medicines to both her and the infant. On the day of birth and the next day a large number of women of the village call for a short time at the house to chat with the mother and look at the child. A man's father-in-law and mother-in-law and one or two of his wife's brothers and sisters also visit.

As far as possible birth is made an intra-nuclear family matter; men become tukang masak (M,I), cook, in the house. The mother is subjected to a daily smoking process for three or four weeks and should not descend from the house for seven days or so.¹ According to canon law she is ritually unclean for forty days. The father usually chooses a name for the infant though he may ask the members of his lineage to do so during the child-naming ceremony held at the Ari Rajo (breaking of the fast) following the birth;

¹ In fact she does so but not 'publicly'. She visits the stream at an unusual time.
but this name is not used in the family. The child is referred to sometimes for many years by the generic name *si lian* (M) for boys or *si taing* (M) for girls. This is said to prevent the child being identified and stolen by jealous spirits.

The members of the household care for the child in its first two or three years. The mother is solely responsible for suckling the child. A woman may arrange for her husband's brother's wife to suckle her child so that she will be free to work outside the village for the day, but such arrangements are not made with any other kind of relative or with non-related persons. Demand feeding is the typical pattern of behaviour. Supplementary feeding commences early. By the age of one year a child is being offered virtually all the foods eaten by adults, except chilli. The final weaning at two or three years of age is often drastic. The mother and father decide together when it shall take place, a bitter substance is rubbed on the mother's breasts and the child is allowed to scream until it falls asleep from exhaustion. The mother is responsible for bathing the child and for toilet training. At two years children imitate their mothers in washing clothes and by three years they can wash both their clothes and themselves with some success.
Although its mother has most to do with a child in its early years from the first day of its life the child is passed about, jigged up and down, fondled, kissed, and played with by almost anybody. Fathers nurse the child while its mother is preparing a meal but they do not allow it to restrict them and they have less patience with it; whenever the child becomes troublesome it is quickly returned to the mother. A child of any age may be cared for by its siblings. It is a normal part of the life of a young child of either sex to carry its younger sibling about. A child of four may carry a new-born baby, a child of eight one of three. Adults expect the older children to keep the young ones quiet. In public children show affection for their younger siblings by 'kissing' them but in private they discipline them by hitting them on the head with the knuckles. Older children teach younger children to control their anger by pinching and smiling at them at the same time. An outburst from the younger child is laughed at by the older. Young children look to their parents and particularly to their mother for protection if she is present, but since they spend so much time in the

1 Kissing consists of making a slight plosive sound with the lips close to the cheek of the person being kissed.
presence of other children, they soon learn to take care of themselves.

Aggression by young children against adults is frequently laughed at. Much more aggression is allowed against the mother than against the father. None at all is allowed against grandparents. Older children often turn the aggression of younger children into a game with them. Among young children themselves aggression which disturbs the peace is resolved by pacification all round; there is no attempt at investigation or allocation of blame. At the same time the child is taught by its parents to smile. Children are taught the double behaviour standard of the adult world - the maintenance of a social face implying willingness and co-operation with an underlying motif of personal forcefulness. Parents often do not expect their commands to be obeyed and young children soon learn that for them to say *indatjau, inda tjau*! (M), do not want, do not want! in a loud voice means that their parent will not persist in his or her commands. The role of the father as a controller of sorts within the household emerges quite early. The father provides tit-bits for his child and likes to take the youngest to the sweet stall on Fridays where the child can choose whatever it likes. Later the father gives the child money to buy things for itself.
At the age of four boys and girls play together. Both may be found in the company of their father when he is engaged in minor tasks about the village. But by the age of six children begin to identify with their respective sex roles. If there are girls in the house, caring for young siblings is properly their job; this represents their first training in responsibility. Girls often become miniature images of their mother's behaviour. They may have various tasks about the house but their training is quite informal. Girls sometimes compete with their mothers for their father's attention. But a man who shows interest in his daughters will be told off by his wife. This imputation of incest, contrary to all moral norms, is very degrading for a man. One old man told me how his second wife had accused him of paying too much attention to a daughter by his first (dead) wife; she had said that the daughter ought to replace her. He had hit her, knocked her down and left her lying on the rice field. A man usually has little to do with his daughter and is rarely seen alone in her company. Boys do not strongly imitate their own fathers. Much of their time is spent in peer group activities such as building miniature houses, cock-fighting and woodworking, but they also learn to cook.

The sex differences are emphasized by circumcision for
boys and clitorectomy for girls at the age of seven. The operations are carried out privately in the house of the child's father and are not celebrated in any way. After a few days spent in the house during which the wound heals the child resumes its normal life. Nevertheless, circumcision is regarded as a mark of induction into the male group. From this age onwards the two sexes are socially separated for life.

At six or seven children commence school. Although attendance is not compulsory very few children fail to go. Children enjoy school. High marks are regarded as important and a successful scholar is liable to become the pet and hope of its parents. A child who does not get high marks may refuse to go to school. This may be overcome by a private arrangement between the teacher and parents that the child will be given a higher mark. There is little sense of competition among the pupils and failure is easily rationalized. Cleverness is a gift from Allah and success or failure a matter of fate (nasib M, I). Normally there is little anxiety in children associated with going to school.

From the ages of seven to fourteen or fifteen village children go to mangadji (M), religious classes, where they are taught recitation of the Koran and religious chants and
songs. The children enjoy the activity and would feel out of things if they did not attend. The level of instruction is such that all are capable of some success.

Outside of school the children play largely in sex groups. There is a tendency for children to play with neighbours' children who are their peers but there are no formal age groups or neighbourhood gangs. Groups often consist of children of different ages and include the young children who are being cared for by their elder siblings. The child groups are relatively free from adult control. There is a large variety of games.\(^1\) There is no counting of scores one against the other; competition in this sense does not exist. If quarrels between individuals break out there are many threats and shows of force, but the combatants rarely come to blows. Between the ages of six and twelve, outside of the house children virtually act in a subcultural world of their own. There are always adults about, but they interfere very little with child activities, no matter how noisy or boisterous the children may be. Within the house children of this age are usually respectful towards their parents. Children are said to be 'pure' until the age of about twelve in girls and fourteen in boys,

\(^1\) See Eggink (1932)
that is, they do not know the difference between right and wrong.

At the age of eleven or so girls are taught to pray by their mother or by the religious class teacher. This marks their induction into the female role proper. At the age of about ten they begin to sleep in the girl's podomen (M), sleeping house, where they talk about flirtation and courtship, the role of marriage and other female interests. After a girl has been taught to pray she and her mother develop a relationship of mutual companionship which is the paradigm of the camaraderie of women in general. Outwardly the relationship tends to become one of mutual equality and ease. The mother remains the controlling figure in household matters but the girl assumes greater economic responsibilities and therefore becomes entitled to a share of the household produce. Filial control is reduced only to the legal provisions of marriage guardianship.

The social development of boys is less rapid than that of girls. Boys normally complete their six years of primary school, but when they have done so are momentarily social nonentities. They play little part in the household economy, but are dependent upon their father and feel his control. Learning to pray, even going to the mosque with the adult men, has not the same social significance for boys
as the corresponding activity has for the girls since even older youths are not all strict in their religious observances. Moreover the prayers of a boy below the age of fifteen are said to benefit the boy's father rather than the boy himself. Finally, boys of about thirteen have not yet been inducted into the esoteric aspects of the youth culture. Some of these boys run away to the house of a relative who has already emigrated. Some go to a secondary school - which enhances their status and removes them from the direct control of their parents - and some remain in the village where they learn to be youths (marsiadjar na poso M).

Orphans

The fact that the cohesion of the man-wife-children unit is emphasized prevents children who have lost either or both of their parents from achieving a satisfactory social position. Such children are known as anak tiri (M,I). Young children who have lost both of their parents may live in the household of their father's brother who administers their estate. Children who have attained the age of fourteen or fifteen, however, may stay in their father's house and themselves maintain the majority of their younger siblings. Households of this type constitute 2.79%
of all households. Children who have lost one parent stay with the remaining parent in their father's house. The fate of the young children of a widow who remarries is uncertain. Very rarely they go with her; usually they stay in the house of their maternal or paternal grandfather. If a widower remarries his children remain with him but as the Upper Mandailingers say, there is often a 'change in the heart' of their father. A woman frequently has bad relations with her stepchildren. Should she herself bear children the latter compete with the children of the dead wife for a share in the inheritance of their father. The life of children may be made uncomfortable by their stepmother. In a mountain village a boy of eleven who lived with his father and stepmother and their eight children was made to feel so unwanted that he left to live with other relatives. The family who took him in did so because they had no older child to look after the young children in the house. He was ordered about and given so many jobs to do that eventually he left to try to find some relatives who had emigrated.

According to Islamic ethics, orphans are objects of pity. They are considered ideally to be a charge upon the community. They are one of the categories of persons to whom a portion of the annual religious tax, zakat, should
be given. In practice, the amount of support they receive in this form is very small compared with the total cost of their maintenance, and they find it difficult to become members of another household.

The nuclear family household and the lineage

As far as the members of a man's lineage are concerned his domestic affairs are his private concern. But harmony within the household depends upon a woman showing proper respect for her affines. Newly married women are usually absorbed quickly in the camaraderie of the women of the lineage. Salim lived with his father's mother. He married a woman from two streets away in his village. The couple moved into an old house near to his grandmother. Salim's wife was taken round that part of the village by his grandmother in the first week or two after the wedding and then became a regular member of a group consisting of Salim's grandmother, his sister, his grandmother's brother's son's son's wife and the wife of a distant agnatic kinsman, all of whom lived in the same neighbourhood. Salim's wife used the part of the stream used by this group and never the part used by her old associates although this was only fifty yards away. A woman should identify herself with her husband's interests and with those of his lineage. She
should show her respect for his lineage by offering the very best available food to her father-in-law should he call at her house. She should also be quick to give help to her mother-in-law and other women of his lineage when called upon to do so. The respect which a woman shows to her affines is a critical index of a man's control in his household.

The general nature of a man's relationship to his affines has already been dealt with (p. 300). The visits which a couple make to the house of the wife's father are a privilege which a woman has because of her interests in the harta, inherited goods, of her lineage. To be well received in her former home is very important to a woman since this strengthens her position vis-a-vis her husband. One of the worst things a man can say to his wife is *nasogiot do ibotomu di ho* (M), your male siblings (and classificatory male siblings) wish to have nothing more to do with you. This is very lowering for a woman. If a woman's brothers show no respect for her this is taken by her husband as implying that they have no respect for him either. In such circumstances a man shows no respect for his wife. If she is unwelcome in the house of her agnates she cannot threaten to run away or to call upon her agnates for support.
The social functions of the nuclear household

The many jural ties and ties of sentiment between its members make the nuclear family the most cohesive group in modern Upper Mandailing society. Ideally such a group forms a single household, *sabagas*, occupying its own dwelling. Parents who live in their sons' household give up their former controlling role and, like children, become dependants. An old widower in Pagargunung who lived in his son's household spent most of his time reading the Koran. He was well-looked after and respected in the village but had no say in village affairs. In contrast a widower of similar age in Si Bio Bio who had his own establishment but was really looked after by his married daughter, was very unpopular in the village because he was always trying to order people about and tell them what to do. A man's siblings who take part in the economic affairs of his household do so to a degree which allows them to share in household consumption, but they are often said to be boarders in the household. This is how they were described when I was taking household censuses.

In daily life the segregation of the household as a social and economic unit is emphasized by the privacy which is afforded to it. Men rarely visit one another's houses casually, women intervisit more frequently but they enter
informally through the back door and sit just inside the kitchen to chat.

The social status of a household in the village society is dependent on the initiative and energy of the members of the household. In short, it is a matter of achievement. Although the nuclear family household forms a part of the wider social system of lineage and wife-giving/wife-receiving groups, owing to the fragmentation of holdings little help in terms of money or labour can be expected from outside the household itself. A man must make his own way. Friction between a man and his father is avoided by a man 'trying his luck' outside the village, *mangaranto* (M), or by emigration. Each man makes full use of what resources he has to enhance his own status and maintain his independence. Gifts are very rare. If a man receives goods or services without making an equivalent return he considers himself under an obligation, and inferior to the giver. Such a situation is incompatible with the individual autonomy which most men seek. If a man receives a gift he therefore gives something in return soon afterwards. Status cannot be enhanced by gift-giving. Un-asked-for gifts are likely to embarrass the receiver. In practice gifts are almost never made unless asked for - but when asked for properly are very difficult to refuse. It is, however, possible to gain status by giving large wedding
feasts or meals at Ari Rajo celebrations. Even on these occasions all the guests contribute something in return—they may help to serve the meal or take part in the chanting and prayers.

If a transfer of property of any other kind (except sale) is made the recipient considers himself indebted. This is equally true of economic privileges granted by kinsmen. The relationship between a man and his father and brothers involves a nice balance of the various factors. The older have a duty to give to the younger if asked. The relationship is the prototype of the equation—the giving of help for power of control. Although there is a moral obligation to help a kinsman the younger men nevertheless feel their inferior position.

Economic individualism results in one person becoming wealthier than another. There are no gross differences in wealth in any village because the more successful entrepreneurs emigrate to take advantage of the better opportunities of the market centres; nevertheless, there are differences of wealth which have further social consequences. The two principles of economic process which lead to structurally significant differences are, first, a debt which remains unpaid provides a social tie and, second, the contribution of effort implies a right to a share of the product. In accordance with the
first principle a wealthy man can build around him a pool of clients by granting economic privileges. The only marketable commodities of a poor man are his labour and his willingness to pay respect. Hence a moderately wealthy man by giving work to others — the right to clean a garden or carry goods to market — can provide himself with a relatively high status in respect terms. It is usual to find two or three such respected men in each village.

Women can utilize their rights in capital resources to reinforce their social ties — but only by not foreclosing on their options. The notion of women as desirable sex objects is not emphasized in Upper Mandailing. The marketable commodities of women are procreative powers and labour.

We must now re-examine the position of the nuclear family household in relation to the ideal-typical model of the lineage and kinship system against this background of economic process. The accretion of women takes place primarily by the accretion of a single woman to a single man. From the abstract structural point of view it is a point of contact of patrilateral, matrilateral and affinal ties. In terms of Barnes's analogy\(^1\) it is the point at which knots are made in the network of

\(^1\) Barnes (1954:43)
kinship bonds. But emphasis on this notion reduces kinship to a pattern of linkage. A problem remains which is similar to that raised in the discussion of social ritual i.e. the relative importance of different units. There appear to be two useful criteria of importance: social function, i.e. relation to the dominant aims and goals of society, and frequency of functioning. The dominant interest in Upper Mandailing is tjari kehidupan, seeking a livelihood. This can only be pursued within the framework of the nuclear family not within the framework of the lineage or wife-giving/wife-receiving group system. The nuclear family is the unit which maximises the possibility of constantly achieving most of the culturally defined goals - security of maintenance, economic independence, and the social security which offspring represent.

Let us now re-examine 'lineage structure'. In a nuclear family an infant is often being born when its elder siblings are about to emigrate or marry. When one parent dies there are often adolescents and younger children in the household. One of the remaining boys marries and remains in his father's house. He and his wife become caretakers of the remaining parent and siblings. The 'structure' of a 'minimal lineage' which has reached this stage of development is shown in Figure 27. At any stage in the cycle the maximisation of possibilities for all concerned results in the expulsion of
non-profitable members, e.g. childless wives and step-children. In Figure 27, household 3 is that containing the parent and it therefore uses the lineage land, household 2 is that of a brother who has remained in the village and found land for himself, household 1 is that of a brother who has emigrated. Each household is a single commensal unit. Households 2 and 3 give one another support in sickness and in adat ritual, but
not in economic affairs per se, except at reaping when the labour given is paid for in food. Although household 3 occupies the lineage land it does not help household 2 to buy or hire land. The relationship between the two households is that of helper in emergency situations. The emigrated household (1) and those staying in the village (2 and 3) provide insurance for each other. If the former is driven out of its new situation by lack of success or local disturbance (war, flood or famine), it falls back upon the households in the village. If economic conditions are poor in the village, the members of the village-based households who wish to emigrate or obtain higher schooling rely on the successful emigrants to help them. Such aid is usually of mutual advantage to helper and helped. If wealth is unequally distributed among these linked households the more wealthy in one way or another provide an insurance for the less well-off, while the latter form a pool of labour and support for the more wealthy.

Owing to fragmentation the units of capital resources which are inherited as harta in each minimal lineage will support only one household. But only a small number of men die without sons to inherit their wealth. Consequently the number of spare wet rice plots is small and there is a tendency for all the males of a sibling group except one to emigrate. In other words the situation in which there are
households of type 2 and 3 in the same village is relatively rare (it is even rarer for three brothers to be found living in the same village). The emergency support functions are therefore performed by the agnatic kin within the village i.e. the kahangi. Strictly speaking, this term refers to classificatory siblings; in practice, i.e. in functional situations, it is used to designate male agnates of various degrees of collateral extension; sometimes it even includes all males of like clan identity within the village. An Upper Mandailinger rarely speaks of the kahangi outside the emergency context. This unit functions primarily in relation to adat ritual.

Wealthy men are supported by groups of larger span since wealth attracts to itself respect and support. The mutual insurance unit on the other hand is composed of the sometimes widely dispersed households of the minimal lineage. The households in the village use all the lineage land within the village and in return care for the aged surviving parent of the lineage. Where there are no sons in a family or in the few villages where spare land is available, a man may occupy his father-in-law's land. In such cases there is a greater stress on affinal and matrilateral ties. In short we must distinguish in Upper Mandailing the unit of economic provision i.e. the nuclear family household, the units of mutual support in sickness and adat ritual, i.e. kahangi of varying span and
the unit of mutual insurance, the effective lineage.

Finally, there are the ties between neighbours, *djiren M,I*, those between the members of economic co-operatives, *kongsi* (p. 147) and those between successful entrepreneurs and their clients (p. 157). The last two are relatively ephemeral. Co-operatives usually last only a few weeks, at the most a few months. Entrepreneur-client relationships which involve share-cropping of some sort change less quickly, but are nevertheless impermanent. Neighbour relationships on the other hand are important because they are semi-permanent and everyone has them. Neighbours should be on good terms and help one another. Ideal neighbourly behaviour lacks any functional specificity. In practice, the function of neighbours arises from the more obvious effects of contiguity. A man should help his neighbour in case of fire or accident in the neighbour's house. In the case of accident or sudden sickness he should fetch the members of the neighbour's *kahangi*. Marriage and death are also emergencies. On these occasions a man makes his house and kitchen available for his neighbour's use if asked to do so. In whatever part of the village he happens to live a man has immediate neighbours who form what might be called an emergency-help group. The type of help which neighbours are expected to give is physical help and loans of household equipment — not loans of food or money.
The people who live in the houses contiguous with a man's house are his neighbours proper; those who live in houses one house removed he feels less strongly to be his neighbours and those living still further off to be scarcely his neighbours at all. The stress which is placed on helpfulness between neighbours is an intensification of the notion that damai, peace, should characterize the relationships of community members. In practice there is a greater amount of face-to-face contact between neighbours than between members of the community at large. Neighbours are, in fact, the persons with whom a man does 'live in common' in daily life. Quarrels between neighbours are therefore a likely source of friction in the community. To stress helpfulness towards one's neighbours and the use of generalized ideals in prescribing what constitutes neighbourly behaviour are ways of preventing such quarrels. However quarrels between neighbours do sometimes arise. If permanent bad feeling develops between two men who are neighbours one man finds a house elsewhere in the village.

Neighbours provide the nuclear family household with emergency help; for support in the village community each household relies on its kahangi ties and for long term insurance on membership in the effective lineage. Ties oriented to economic production which are not an integral
part of these three types of social ties are relatively shortlived - they change as the members of the household change their method of seeking a livelihood.
Chapter 11

Village Social Organization

This chapter deals with the initiation and control of action in the village community. The co-ordination of the work of households to meet the demands of agriculture is described, followed by an account of the organization of religion. Religious ideas which provide the framework of the social control system and the operation of this system through criticism are then dealt with. The ways in which individuals on the one hand and the community on the other achieve their goals follows and the chapter concludes with an account of the typical sequence of community action.

Village agricultural organization

The water supply to the rice fields of several households is controlled by a single dam and channel which is repaired annually. Only those who make use of the water from a dam are responsible for the repairs. The major dam is repaired on a traditional date in the Islamic calendar. Brushwood, stakes, etc., are collected before hand; widows help if their land is dependent on the dam for its water supply. The rebuilding of the dam is done by men. Because large areas of wet rice fields formerly...
owned in common have been broken up and parts sold or hired to non-relatives this system creates ties between households which are independent of the kinship, neighbourship and economic ties described in the last chapter.

In some villages, the majority of the wet rice land is dependent upon one dam and channel. A Kepalo Bondar, head of the channels, who organizes the whole work of repair, is elected at a village meeting. He collects money from the households that use the channel and dam and pays wages to the men who carry out the repairs. Alternatively he calls on households for labour and if they supply none exacts a fine. He is expected to make a slight profit but has no special prestige.

Maize planted on hillside fields must be guarded from pests. A household cannot guard its own crop all the time since other jobs must be done and household production as a whole must not be allowed to fall. For this reason plots are planted contiguously and a roster of watches is instituted among households. But there are always difficulties in operating the roster—excuses for withdrawing, complaints that one person is doing less work than another, accusations that a watcher is looking after his own but not after another person's plot and so on. Sometimes there is a complete breakdown. I was told
that in 1944 in one village although food was short quarrels about the roster led to the abandonment of a garden and the loss of the whole crop.

The allocation of land for dry crops usually works smoothly. Every person in the village has a right of use in unused land in the village reserve. Anyone who wants to open a plot in the forest talks about his intention in the village and if no-one objects simply goes ahead with his plans. He may or may not inform the village headman. Most crops, however, are planted following a joint decision to clear a large area. A village-wide meeting of household heads is held and a day for clearing the land is decided. Each man and his wife clear their own plot.

The organization of water services, crop pest control and land allocation are technical problems. All the persons who have rights of use in each of these resources form the corresponding decision-making unit. There are no defined leaders in these groups (except when a head of the channels is elected). The group concerned with the allocation of land is the village community, each member of which guards his rights of use in village land. The groups concerned with water services and pest control change their composition from season to
season in accordance with the economic decisions made by different households. There are no further entailments in membership of these groups other than making a contribution towards reaching the common goal. Those who share in the product should contribute towards production. Persons who fail to fulfil this obligation, those for instance who fail to turn up when a dam is being made, are immediately criticized in public. Persons who are not brought into line by criticism gain the reputation of being lazy, unreliable and unco-operative; they find it difficult to obtain hired land.

Other agricultural activities can be carried out by members of the household without outside help. In the daily process of getting a living clans, clan segments and woman-receiving/woman-giving relationships are of no importance. The functionally significant units are household and the groups of households which cooperate for specific purposes.

Village religious organization

Religious ritual and teaching is organized by part-time specialists, the Kodi, religious judge, the Iman, prayer leader, and the Guru Mengadjı, recitation teacher, who are male members of the village elected by the villagers.
Some religious judges have been to an Islamic college for six years and have a good knowledge of the theory and practice of canon law, others rely on experience and a knowledge of what is common practice supplemented by a little 'book learning' which they have picked up. The religious judge is authorized to conduct marriages and in effect to grant divorces. He also acts as a consultant on points of canon law concerning inheritance but the division of the property is decided on at a family conference. Nevertheless the opinion of the religious judge is generally accepted in his village. A religious judge must give a considered answer to any question on a point of law put to him. Often he is also thought to have a moral duty to see to the religious education of the villagers, but most religious judges take this matter lightly.

There is profit in Heaven for carrying out religious teaching, but religious judges do not share their knowledge without an equivalent return. Religious knowledge is a pawn in the play for respect. At the end of any

1 The appointment of the religious judge is ratified by the representative of the Ministry of Religion in Kotanopan. From about 1950 until October 1956, when I left the area, no elected religious judge had failed to receive ratification.
religious teaching session the listeners come forward one by one to shake the hand of the teacher in an honorific manner. Such respect is achieved and the poor man's avenue to it is by diligent self-effort. No religious judge or teacher has inherited his office. Some men become religious teachers and build up a band of followers from several villages. Nevertheless, the seal of real knowledge is set upon a man by attendance at an Islamic college. Hence it is an advantage to be the son of a wealthy man who can afford to pay for the college fees. I did not hear of a religious judge being turned out of office. Some of them were criticized as lazy or inefficient but not as corrupt. There is sometimes rivalry in the villages between one religious teacher and another but the villagers do not take sides. No village has been split on a religious issue. In the elections of 1955 the difference between the major Islamic parties was often put by their agents in religious terms. In many villages the whole village voted for one party. Pagargunung, for instance, was regarded as a Masjumi village but before the elections it became a Nahdatul Ulama village. Everyone voted for the same party because my informant said 'we did not want to have differences in the village'.
The religious judge has a quasi-official status and a certain power of control over economic and social affairs from time to time; each decision he makes tends to create a precedent. The religious judge commands high respect, but he cannot bring sanctions to bear in order to enforce his decisions. He can only emphasize the sacred character of the law and appeal to the sentiments of his clients. Whether his decisions are accepted or not depends upon the general religious sentiments in the village, faith in the knowledge of the judge and the moral ties between the parties to a dispute. An appeal to the religious judge of the village complex or the official of the Ministry of Religion in Kotanopan, is always possible. Thus, while the religious judge constantly feeds information into the action system of the society and redefines situations from the religious point of view, the judgements he issues are only morally but not legally binding.

A man who acquires an extensive knowledge of ritual and prayers by committing them to memory may be elected as prayer leader. The prayer leader normally conducts community prayers, which are held every evening in the mosque and during the Friday service. Although he enjoys a certain prestige the prayer leader has no special say
in village affairs. The congregation watch for mistakes which invalidate the prayers and quickly point them out. Invitations are given to visiting religious specialists to play the role of prayer leader. On these occasions the usual prayer leader becomes a member of the congregation.

No special knowledge is required to become a recitation teacher in the children's mengadji classes. The role is usually performed by younger married men who are regarded as exhibiting a social usefulness and a regard for religion beyond the average.

The religious judge, the prayer leader and the recitation teachers often form a committee which organizes the collection and distribution of the annual religious tax, zakat. They are entitled to a certain proportion in return for their services. There is always pressure on the committee to publish their accounts but often they do not do so.

In some villages there is a full-time, paid religious teacher, who is a college graduate. Many of these teachers are Mandailingers but do not usually come from the village in which they teach. The teacher's salary is paid from funds contributed by the villagers and from the income from wakap (religious trust) property. These financial matters and the upkeep of the religious
school building are handled by a committee of villagers. The members of the committee sometimes make requests for teaching upon particular topics but the curriculum is determined by the teacher.

It is simply taken for granted that religious education is a necessary, good thing—but there is little idea of the quantity or quality required. Religious education is not a function of a table of requirements, but the amount of time and money available in the village to put into it. Although the paid religious teacher is treated respectfully he is not expected to take a great part in village affairs or to become a rival of the religious judge; he is treated as an expert but also as a stranger.

Individual or communal prayers are not necessarily held in the mosque—at Ari Rajo, communal prayers are often held on the rice fields—but the evening service and the Friday community service, which is compulsory for males, are always held there. The mosque is oriented towards Mecca and its floor is sacred ground. Before entering it is necessary to carry out ritual ablutions; as the House of Allah the mosque represents the meeting point of man and God, as the venue for congregational worship it symbolizes the notion of community. In short, the mosque is identified with the notion of being a Muslim in
a Muslim society, in other words, with the spiritual and social identity of each person. There is village wide interest in the mosque and all persons feel that they have a moral obligation to maintain it.

A committee of men collects money and materials for mosque repairs and organizes the work. One or two men are appointed by the committee as bilal, mosque caretakers. The caretakers keep the mosque clean and prepare it for the Friday service. Either men or boys give the call to prayer before each daily service. The job is often done by a volunteer from among the persons who happen to have come early for prayer but in some villages there is a regular caller, usually a man noted for his fine voice.

Religion and social control

The status of Allah should not be compared with that of men. Socially he is incredibly distant, but in terms of power over nature and human life omnipresent and pervasive. Although nothing occurs except by his Will, Allah is not 'responsible' for the sequence of life events in the sense in which the individual person is responsible for his conduct. Thus, in spite of His omniscence, the distance of Allah from men encourages
the segregation of duties to Allah and religious duties which have social consequences such as the payment of tax. Failure to carry out duties of either kind is punished by torture in Hell, while performances extra to the basic requirements are rewarded in Heaven. People say that every person has an angel on each shoulder, one records the bad deeds and the other the good. Atonement is possible on earth by requesting the forgiveness of Allah and carrying out extra prayers. For example, the sins of the past year can be atoned for in the fasting month by a lengthy series of prostrations following the 6 p.m. prayers. To the villagers, Allah is, as one official put it, a tempat minta (I), a place at which requests can be made.

Upper Mandailingers display little evidence of moral guilt. But the price of this freedom from the pricks of conscience is rigid adherence to a ritual which is as inscrutable and inevitable in its consequences as are the events of nature. The correct performance of ritual automatically provides absolution. The rituals of prayer may be performed in public or in private - it is more praiseworthy to perform them in the mosque - but, in any case, it is the individual who performs them who is absolved from sin; one does not pray for the welfare of
others (except dead ancestors). Each individual is responsible for his own conduct. Moral judgements are not made by the community about the carrying out of religious duties by individuals. Therefore there is a considerable variation among individuals in the degree to which they perform their religious duties.

Buying and selling are directly controlled by clear-cut provisions of canon law (p. 172). Other economic aspects of action such as the economic responsibilities of individuals and especially those of a man towards his family of procreation are also clearly set out. As far as other aspects of action are concerned although the Koran is full of statements about what actions are right and wrong these statements take the form of moral precepts rather than legal rules. Now moral judgements about the carrying out of religious duties are rarely made by the community and, in any case it is easy to atone for sin; religion therefore rationalizes and encourages individual manipulation of the social scene.

The notion of individual responsibility for behaviour is generalized to fields of behaviour other than ritual. Each individual controls the action he takes in attempting to reach his goals solely in terms of the anticipated
reaction of others; these others base their reaction on what they expect to get out of the situation.

The Islamic belief in ruh (M,I) is a system of ideas about the source of individual motivation which is logically consistent with the notion of individual responsibility. Ruh is of two kinds; one is a life essence and the other an individual spirit. The latter corresponds roughly to the Western notions of individual power and personality\(^1\). This individual form of ruh rationalizes the idea of individual will which is the main component of the precept of interaction giot, will or want.

In accordance with religious belief social control in the village community takes the form of a co-ordinated system of expectations, gain for one individual being balanced against that for another. Religion allows for the differentiation of public face and private forcefulness. The marginal man in the village community is not the person who fails to perform religious ritual - there are some men who never attend the Friday service - but the person who

\(^1\) The indigenous Mandailing notion of tondi probably combined both types of ruh; the word tondi is often used synonymously with ruh, but its use is discouraged by Islamic teachers.
fails to play the game of deference and demeanour in public life, i.e. the person who allows the expression of private forcefulness to overcome public face.

Criticism as a means of social control

In all villages the most important method of social control is criticism.

Criticism does not occur with complete laissez-
aller. According to Islamic ethics persons should not criticise others out of their hearing; nevertheless, they often do so. Open breaches of social norms are criticised in informal public discussion on the bench or at other casual meeting places. When talking with the guilty party criticism usually takes the form of innuendo, so that the appearance of social harmony (damai) is maintained but, nevertheless, pressure is applied to enforce a social norm. It was remarked in the hearing of one man who had not made arrangements for prayers for the ancestors at Ari-Rajo that perhaps he had no incense in his house. A person is always criticised for failure to meet a kinship obligations or obligations to the community such as failure to contribute labour to a joint enterprise, give an adequate return for help, or pay respect.

A person who is criticised feels a certain loss of
autonomy - he feels deprived of self-respect. Consequent-
ly, actions which might be criticised are avoided. There is no socially recognized basis upon which the
criticized person may strike back at the critic. Criticism may be turned aside, but not responded to
directly. Persons avoid criticism by withdrawing from
the situation. Persons can be forced out of the village
by criticism. I was told that this happened about 1946
in one village to a couple who were accused of adultery.
Withdrawal is quite common - youths for example avoid
adult criticism by spending their time in their own
sleeping house and youths who should be helping their
family find something to do outside the village.

Straightforward criticism shades off into other
forms of control. First a criticism may remain unvoiced
but take another form - just as negative feelings may be
expressed in discussion groups by silence, a refusal to
co-operate contains an implied criticism. An example
is described later (p.47) - a change of site by the
majority of the members of a maize planting group when the
village headman took the best land for himself. An
individual who gains a reputation as a person who does not
always fulfil his obligations will not be offered the
opportunity to join in co-operative action. Second,
derision is used when a person either pretends to a
status to which he is not entitled or, owing to some unforeseen accident, fails to achieve a goal. The possibility of derision acts as a check upon ambition and accentuates conservativism. It leads to an emphasis upon the usual way of doing things and upon making sure, i.e. to the expression of the precepts of interaction biasc, usual, and tontu, certain.

Criticism clearly provides an outlet for aggression. Women are said to engage in much critical gossip, especially in non-remote villages where disagreements between men are often the outcome of criticism and jealousy among women (see p.259). Every person is a potential critic - aggression is thus made use of to maintain the social order. This village-wide system of control operates in terms of what is usual and what has use (guno). Simply talking about a matter round the village is sufficient for testing out community opinion and obtaining community approval of a course of action; for this purpose a formal village meeting is unnecessary.

Achieving goals in the community

We must distinguish as groups the village community, agnatic groups, and informal groups. There is a dynamic relationship between the groups and the individuals which comprise them. The groups control the actions which individuals and the groups themselves take towards
goals. This control has two aspects. The first is the way in which positive action, i.e. action towards a legitimate goal, is encouraged. The second is the way in which negative action, i.e. misconduct, is restrained. The controls are summarised in Table 14. In the table positive and negative behaviour by individuals and by groups is cross-tabulated against individual goals. The control of eight types of action is shown.

Each person tries to enhance himself within the community in the process of getting a living (Table 14, cell A). While doing so he is involved in social relations with his fellow-villages - while pursuing the small scale relations of production and the wider relations of expenditure. There are no recluses.¹ Within this context the individual pursues independence, security and respect. He conceives all his actions pragmatically, they must have guno, use in relation to these goals.

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¹ Some old widows who have no kin in the village and are independent are exceptions. They have no power in village affairs.
Table 14

The control of positive and negative individual action and positive and negative group action in relation to individual goals and group goals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTION</th>
<th>INDIVIDUAL GOALS</th>
<th>GROUP GOALS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Positive     | - self enhancement  
Goals: independence, security  
respect gain; autonomy        | Goals: identified with group maintenance and service  
e.g. legal, religious, medical.                                        |
|              | Promoted by: internalized moral imperatives; respect given to the wealthy A      | Promoted by: According formal respect for services rendered B              |
|              | - self-destruction  
Goals: suicide, destruction of property                                              | Goals: using time and energy for own not group purposes                   |
|              | Prevented by: internalized moral imperatives; derision C                           | Prevented by: criticism, loss of membership privileges; expulsion from group |
|              |                                                                                 |                                                                            |
| **Group**    |                                                                                 |                                                                            |
| Positive     | - promote members welfare  
by help with major jobs  
e.g. house moving  
Promoted by: expectation of reciprocity (effective in community only) E | Goals: path clearing; mutual insurance; maintenance of institutions  
Promoted by: 1. Fines by headman (not helping with path clearing)  
2. Recurrent need F |
|              | Goals: deprivation of member  
Prevented by: support from agnates (where action taken by community); internalized moral imperative to make peace; emigration G | Goals: self-extinction  
Prevented by: value of living in common                                        |
He can gain respect by creating more wealth than he needs in order to fulfil his basic responsibilities (such as those of a household head to provide food and clothing for his family). Thus individual positive (socially approved) action directed towards self-enhancement is encouraged by moral injunctions such as the Islamic injunction to seek and strive and by the respect which is given to the economically successful. The desire for autonomy is an added 'internal' motive.

Certain acts like sweeping the mosque are defined as useful to the community but the respect which can be earned by carrying to sacrifice themselves in community (Table 14, cell B). The respect given to judges and leeches who also provide free community services is much greater.

There is a similar relationship between individual member and group in groups smaller than the village community. For example a man who gives a large prayer feast at Ari Rajo commands the respect of his agnates. Respect is given in the context of social manipulation. There is little or no feeling of respect on the part of those who make the necessary gestures. Presumably the incumbents of high status positions know this, but are nevertheless satisfied with having their position recognised.
Other than exercising instrumental skills from which general prestige is gained individuals only take part in group action if they expect to gain economically (see discussion of the plank getting co-operative p.147). Misconduct of the individual towards himself we may call self-destruction; suicide is an extreme example (Table 14, cell C). There are internalized sanctions against such actions; Islamic moral injunctions such as those to seek and strive, to have patience and never to give up hope.

The village community or groups within it such as groups of agnates deride members who do not conform to these moral norms; the norms are seldom ignored. Mandailingers carefully conserve their own resources. Waste is regarded as abnormal and the destruction or giving away of property without good reason as madness. When women measure out rice for the daily meal they often put a handful back in the bag as a saving. I heard of only one suicide in the area since 1947.

If an individual misconducts himself in the sense that as a member of a group he acts in a manner which hinders the group from reaching its goals he is criticized by other group members (Table 14, cell D). For example a man who fails to turn up when a members house is being
moved as a community job is sure to be pestered with questions about where he was at the time with the insinuation that he was not pulling his weight. Moreover he gradually loses the benefits of group membership. The ultimate jural rights of a member of the community are rarely denied to him - what he loses is the opportunity to participate in action with others. Formerly village authorities inflicted deprivations of this type as punishments. The punishment ranged from being forbidden to carry out adat ceremonies to expulsion from the community. Nowadays such punishments are not inflicted formally but are occasionally carried out informally (see p.200).

This type of punishment is ineffective if a man is economically independent. I was told that in 1945 a fairly wealthy man was killed by a group of his fellow villagers. For some time this man had been unco-operative in his actions with others. He allowed his actions to appear to be oriented towards his own ends. He failed to maintain the distinction between public face and private forcefulness.

1. Adatrechtbundels 43:283
He disturbed the peace although he did nothing illegal. He was diligent in carrying out his prayers and in worshipping at the mosque. Nevertheless when he made some sneering remarks about the aims of the revolutionaries the opportunity was taken to kill him.¹

If a member of an informal group such as a rubber tapping co-operative fails to pull his weight the group simply breaks up and reforms without him. An uncooperative member of an agnatic group cannot be got rid of so easily; but in practice joint action by agnatic groups in relation to group held goals is rare. Agnatic groups are mutual help groups in the sense that each member can call on other members for aid in adat ceremonies which help him to his individual goals.

A group will help a member to realise some goal of his own only when specifically called upon to do so and in certain specified situations (Table 14, cell E). The community will give help in a matter which is related to the right of an individual to seek a livelihood in the village. A man can always get community help for a big job like moving a house. For smaller jobs he can call

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¹ It is interesting to note that the leader of the group which killed him is now remembered not as a revolutionary leader but as 'the man who killed his mother's brother'.

on his lineage and wife-receiving group. Payment for help is always given in food. It is assumed of course that the man helped will give similar help in return later on. Reciprocity is implicit in all social actions – it forms the moral basis of all group action on behalf of individuals. But the pervasiveness of reciprocity causes a man to be chary of receiving help informally from other persons. If he does so he owes a debt and loses a certain amount of autonomy. Hence the volume of informal action which is organised on the basis of reciprocity is small.

Groups as wholes rarely take positive action to achieve shared goals (Table 14, cell F). Group enterprises which are not village-wide do not last long. Cooperatives are a case in point. They last from a few days to, at best, a few months. Some cooperatives are maintained by a press of the environment, for example, when there are tigers about men must work in groups rather than singly. In a few cases technological complexity enforces a division of labour, e.g. catching fish in a large dam. But the motivation for engaging in joint action is the prospect of individual economic gain. If an individual perceives a course of action which is likely to be more profitable to him than engagement with the
co-operative, often at a very short notice. In a small co-operative, dissatisfaction with the amount of work done by one member leads others to withdraw. If capital is accumulated by the co-operative and is in the control of one member, that person, it is always suspected, will use the capital for his own benefit. Since each individual usually maximizes his opportunities for economic advantage such suspicions are often justified. In short, the search for autonomy in economic action causes lack of cohesion in the maintenance of group action oriented to economic ends. The framework of expectations which people have of one another in economic affairs is logically consistent with the injunction to seek and strive.

Village wide group action in relation to goals which concern the village as a whole is, first, provided by the administration, e.g. path clearing, second, concerned with recurrent needs which affect everyone, e.g. paying funeral expenses, or third, concerned with maintenance of village property such as the mosque. The first is handled by the village headman who is allowed to fine non-co-operators, the other two by committees (see p. 475). Village wide economic enterprises such as co-operatives are rare and ephemeral. There is always the possibility that the community will take unjust action against an
individual. Should an individual be so threatened he can usually rely on his agnates for support (Table 14, cell G). If a man is threatened by his agnates in the village in so far as they refuse to help him in ceremonial matters he must get help from agnates outside the village. I heard of one case in which this had happened. It is unusual for agnates living in the same village to be at loggerheads for long; usually they patch up their quarrels or one of them emigrates.

There is the theoretical possibility that the community will take action which contradicts its own raison d'être, like a committee which votes itself out of office (Table 14, cell H). In one village a large majority of the population abandoned the village en masse because during the Japanese occupation communications deteriorated so badly that when export production started up again in 1947 the villagers found that they could not get their goods to market without a great deal of work. The usefulness of the village as a place in which to get a living had so deteriorated that the majority of people decided to leave.

In other villages there are visible signs of anomy in the lack of attention to the footpath network, the dirty streets, the lack of village services and the
broken down public buildings. It is possible for village affairs to reach such a condition because the integrity of the village community depends upon co-ordination rather than co-operation and most village headmen are not in a strong enough position to act as effective co-ordinators. Individuals do not care about village affairs when there appears to be no mutual profit in living in common. This state of affairs has been reached because the system of economic production is such that for the most part co-operation between households for production is no longer necessary.

The community as a whole only takes action when there is some pressure from the environment. Action rarely arises spontaneously from within the community itself. People are satisfied with things as they are. It is necessary for the economic situation to deteriorate until a large number of households are effected before remedial action is taken. A half-broken dam will not be repaired until the wet rice fields of a number of households are without water and if there is just sufficient (tuk) water for them to manage the dam will not be repaired at all. The difficulty of organising group action in economic co-operatives has already been mentioned. Group action is always instrumental. It takes the form of co-ordination rather than
that of co-operation and there is no involvement of the members of the group in the group as such. The Upper Mandailingers themselves do not see this state of affairs as a social problem.

The agencies of community action

The maintenance of the secular school, the mosque and religious ritual and teaching are of interest to everybody in the village. Primary education is regarded as a necessity and secondary education as a sure path to economic and social success. Each man is responsible for seeing that his children receive as much secular education as possible.

The moral imperative to care for the child's education is easily transferred to care about the school.

These matters of common interest are expressed through elected committees. There is a constant exchange of ideas between committees and the community. Whatever a committee decides upon has already been discussed around the village; the decisions of the committee express the common will and for this reason are rarely opposed.

The committee often appears to be a set of powerless stooges who cannot step outside their mandate without at once incurring criticism. This is accounted for by two characteristics of Mandailing social action; no-one likes to delegate authority and no-one will assent to a course
of action about which he has not previously been consulted. In Mandailing society it is almost impossible to achieve a fait de accompli.

Sometimes a single individual - the village headman, the religious judge or the prayer leader - is the executor of social action. Again there is a system of interaction between the community and its opinion and the individuals playing these roles. All these men are elected, and controlled by the community during tenure of their office. The prayer leader is easily replaced and his absence from any service in the mosque makes little difference to the sequence of events. On the other hand, the presence of the headman or the religious judge is necessary in some social situations before anything can be done. The religious judge maintains his status by demonstrating knowledge but there is always the possibility of appeal from him to a higher authority; he epitomizes the sacredness of canon law but does not wield its associated sanctions; this is the prerogative of God. His interpretation of canon law is backed up only by the moral consensus of the community. The headman, on the other hand, embodies the will of the community when maintaining order in the village and, at the same time commands the only legitimate sanctions involving force or fines. His interpretation of secular law is backed up by the power of the police.
Sequences of Community Action

Some source external to the community—climatic variations, remarks by visitors of authority figures, or an order from the administration—normally starts off joint action in the village community. The matter is talked about informally in the village, mostly among the men until it is decided to take action. By this time a general policy has been agreed to by the older men who often sit around and talk together in the mosque in the evening. These men are the real determiners of village policy.

A village-wide meeting is called by the village headman in his house or in the schoolhouse. Men and women or only men attend. If women attend they sit at the back, take almost no part in the discussion and none in the decision making. Women are not elected to any offices except those of leader of the marriageable females and washer of female corpses. The headman acts as chairman of the meeting. He outlines the purpose of the meeting and calls for comment. The first remarks are made by older, senior men followed by younger married males; youths say little or nothing. Alternatives are suggested, and precedents are brought up but no suggestions are made which are directly opposite to what it is proposed to do.
Derisive laughter may be used in argument, but there are no displays of anger; negative feelings are shown by silence. The meeting usually reaches some general agreement about what is to be done before candidates for office such as committeeman are proposed. Only one candidate is proposed at a time. If that candidate declines to accept office another is suggested. When the candidates have been elected in this way, coffee is served and the discussion becomes general.

The mandate of a committee is implicit in the discussion which precedes its election. In exercising its mandate the committee maintains a balance between displaying initiative and expressing the common will. By talking around the village the committee draws public opinion behind it, but is also controlled by it. Once having appointed a committee, the villagers expect it to get something done. The committeemen are visualised as workers, as doers rather than deciders. Persons outside the committee do not feel that they have abrogated their powers and the authority of the committee is therefore weak. The level of activity of the committee tends to reflect the volume of interest in the village. This drops quickly once the committee is appointed, but, nevertheless, the committees are most active immediately
after their appointment. Committees may remain dormant for long periods. Men drop out when committee affairs interfere with their own economic activity. When some event stimulates village interest there is a new burst of committee activity. Half-finished committee projects are common. The members of committees can often be named by informants, but there is no evidence of current committee activity.

The pattern of activity of village officers may be similar. The prayer leader, the religious judge, and even the village headman are sometimes figureheads who are of no real importance in village affairs. If leadership is lacking community affairs receive little attention, social activity focuses in various sub groups - the youth group, groups of coffee-house 'regulars', or a teacher and his coterie - and the men of influence within the village are the wealthier merchants.

In one village in 1956 there was a partial failure of the rice crop. A village meeting was held and it was decided to plant maize at a certain site. A day for clearing the land was fixed. Before that day arrived, however, several household heads decided they did not wish to grow maize; five others picked out a different site and proceeded to clear it. On the day appointed
for clearing the main site the men turned up at the site at the agreed time of 7.30 a.m. to find they had been preceded by half-an-hour by the village headman and his two sons who had chosen and marked out the best plots for themselves. No action was taken and the men chose and cleared their own plots, but six days later all these men abandoned their plots and started to clear land adjacent to the alternative site occupied by the minority group of five. This left the headman and his two sons in difficulties since it was clear that later on they would not be able to guard their crop adequately from pests. The original village-wide meeting ratified the decision to open a wide area of land; those who withdrew exercised their privilege to determine their own economic affairs; the abandonment of the village headman was a reminder that the appearance of equality should be maintained. In another village it was decided to re-open some marginal wet rice fields which were difficult to irrigate. A village-wide meeting was held and various groups were formed to open plots in different places. The sites were visited and some work was done. In the meantime the price of rubber rose and some men dropped out of the scheme. Finally the remainder refused to go on with the work of making channels, which they thought
would subsequently benefit others who had done no work on the job, and the whole project was abandoned.
Chapter 12

Village social structure and cohesion

This concluding chapter starts with a summary of the kinship and neighbourship system in the village community in terms of ideal, recognized and actual action groups. The youth group is then described. The way in which religious institutions support the social structure are dealt with followed by an account of the role of the village headman. The contributions of kinship and religion to village cohesion are then analysed and the chapter concludes with an account of village identity and inter village relations.

Social structure of the village community

I have said something about the village community in action, I shall now summarise its structure.

We may recognize three types of 'lineage': the ideal lineage, the recognized lineage and action groups of agnates. The ideal lineage is an agnatic group of large span. Occasionally it includes all persons of like clan identity within the village or all persons with whom any agnatic link can be traced whether they live in the village or not. It does not act as a corporate group. A man rarely refers his actions to membership in such a group (a limiting case was cited on p.233). The terms kahangi, agnatic kinsmen, and ompu, lineage segment, are loosely
used because there is no strict criterion for the definition of lineage size. The recognized lineage is that group which we have called the major lineage. This is the group which acts for a man in marriage ceremonial. The action groups of agnates have been presented in model form in Figure 27 p.440 and some examples of action groups within the village are shown in Figures 20 to 23 p. 334 ff. The action group of agnates or the effective lineage has two parts; the households of brothers living in the same village, i.e. the mutual support or use-rights group, and second the households of brothers who have emigrated. The members of the mutual support group help one another in adat rituals and in sickness. The two parts provide one another with a different type of insurance.

In Upper Mandailing the effective lineage and the groups in woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships are now smaller than they were. This change occurred at the same time as these groups lost their importance in village politics and administration. Lineages of any kind no longer have formal political functions. There has been a change also in the internal structure of the lineage. Status in the lineage was formerly a function of generation level and primogeniture; today it depends more on wealth. In short it has become a matter or achievement. Lineage
structure has changed concomitantly with the growth of economic individualism. Although, of course, recruitment to the lineage depends in the first place on descent, the size of the recognized lineage is larger if there is a wealthy man in the lineage who gives large-scale ceremonial feasts. Nevertheless the action groups within the lineage remain small — their size is complementary to the needs of the average man for help in non-ceremonial affairs.

The goal which members of the lineage pursue is not logically consistent with the interest upon which the group is ideally focussed. The unity of the lineage focusses ideally on the inheritance of goods in common, whereas the economic aims of individual members may be summed up as a search for autonomy. The need to gain this autonomy is felt more strongly in relation to a man's closest kin.

The relationship between brothers consists in a balance between co-operation and competition; co-operation by virtue of the moral bonds of kinship and competition for inherited goods. If a man becomes poor his 'moral' bonds to his brothers are implemented in order to get help to a degree which is consistent with the maintenance of his own autonomy. In the face of widespread distrust
among persons in general brothers are the only source of security and support.

As we see from the above material on the lineage the ideal group is that group which informants say is the perfect example of a group whose recruitment and functioning fulfill certain criteria. The recognized group is the biggest group to which the criteria are in fact applied and the actual action group is that group which normally functions in accordance with the criteria. I shall now apply this three-fold notion to social groups other than the lineage.

The structure of the ideal household is determined by canon law. The recognised and the action group coincide in those households which consist of a nuclear family i.e. in fifty-eight per cent of households. In the remaining households there are accretions of other kin, mainly members of the lineage of the household head. However the household changes to the ideal form if possible. As we have seen there is a tendency for orphans to be expelled from the household. Some old widows are set up in a separate household when their son takes over their former husband's house. Parents who live in their married son's household are expected to give up their organising role. Other accreted members of the household
engage in economic action with the household members proper, but they often are regarded as lodgers.

The nuclear family is a cohesive and well-bounded unit because the obligations of its members towards one another are clearly set out in canon law, most of the goals of individuals can be realized through membership in it and the major part of the work on wet rice fields and gardens can be done by one man and one woman. Other types of production are such that the co-operation between households per se is unnecessary or rather, production of more goods than the household itself requires can be easily arranged by using wage labourers or sharecroppers. From the technological point of view the community consists of households co-ordinated for the control of water supply to wet rice fields and for crop pest control in gardens. As far as the moral imperatives associated with living in common are concerned the ideal group, the recognized group and the action group coincide in the village community and the action group of neighbours. This distinction is different from that drawn between different groups within the lineage, mainly because the recruitment principle of the neighbour group is contiguity, which is physically bounded, while that of the lineage is descent, which is theoretically unbounded. One other
significant difference may be noted: in the case of the village community the ideal and recognized group are jurally bound in relation to access to land, while in the case of the lineage it is the action group which is so bound. Apart from households co-ordinated for production in wet rice fields and gardens, economically oriented groups in the village community are short-lived, owing to the nature of the technology, economic ethics which debar usury and the search for autonomy. Nevertheless, the moral order of the community is largely based on the notion of seeking a livelihood.

The unity of the community focusses on equality of rights of access to village resources. This is consistent up to a point with the right of each individual to seek and strive in pursuit of his own economic goals. Such seeking and striving goes beyond the acceptable point as far as the community is concerned when an individual gets more than his fair share of any kind of resource in the village. The simple notion of interest groups is inadequate; there is conflict of interests within groups which supposedly have a single focus.

Economic and neighbourship ties are important in daily life but relatively impermanent. Mutual support group ties involve less frequent contact but are concerned with the critical matter of access to wet rice fields;
they are permanent and ascribed. The society provides the opportunity for frequent change in those ties which are achieved or in which because of high-frequency of association, disputes are likely to arise.

The ideal woman-giving and woman-receiving groups are those recognized in the abstractions of adat ceremonial speeches in which there is no reference to concrete groups (p.405). The recognized groups are the minimal and minor lineages which are called upon to perform the adat ceremonial of marriage and sometimes to settle differences between a man and his wife. It is doubtful whether this should be regarded as a function of woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships or simply of the support given to either side by their lineages. The actual action groups consist of a man and his father-in-law or a man and his wife's brothers. His father-in-law rarely calls on a man's brothers for help but only on the man himself.

All these relationships are maintained between socially mature, i.e. married, persons. The youth has its own separate organisation, and structure which are independent of the ties between lineages.

The youth group
Old men say that formerly youths assisted their fathers
to maintain the household. Nowadays, according to the ideals of youths themselves, youths do not work, dress in fine clothes and spend their time composing courtship verses and songs. This idea is the antithesis of the realities of adult life. Nevertheless this sort of behaviour in youths is praised by both married and unmarried women and tolerated by men. One youth who spent most of his time in his own village told me he had worked for nine days in the past year. Youths work temporarily in their own village in order to make some specific purchase, but otherwise they earn money by rubber-tapping in other villages, working on buses or petty merchandising in the Kotanopan area. Often they move from village to village or outside the area of Upper Mandailing in search of work. A youth who has followed this general pattern of life returns to his own village when he wants to marry and works consistently while carrying on his youthful courtship activities.

There are a few youths who do not follow the youth culture pattern. One youth helped his father, worked on the wet rice fields and slept in his father's house. He took little part in the activities of other youths, went regularly to the mosque and spent his evenings chatting to the married men in the coffee house.
Although apparently attractive personally and economically well off he was disapproved of by all the women in the village and had difficulty in obtaining a wife. In the same village a youth who did almost no work and practically lived off his mother, but who was clever at flute playing, telling stories and singing songs and was also very polite, was considered most attractive by the women. One young divorcee presented him with two embroidered pillow cases. In some villages in the coffee growing areas youths make their own coffee gardens, market their own produce and retain the proceeds themselves.

There is a special phase in the life-cycle - *marsiadjar na poso* (M), learning to be a youth, which marks the transition from childhood and close association with the nuclear family to membership of a youth group. Boys enter this phase at the age of about thirteen. The novices follow just behind the youths proper in the parades round the village. They learn to play the flute, make jokes and so on and imitate the youth's behaviour towards females and older persons. There is no formal induction to the youth group, the new member gradually becomes accepted by association over a period of a year or so.

The youths have their own sleeping house and headquarters, usually a small hut on the fringe of the
village. In large villages there may be more than one youth's house. The youths sleep or play games there in the daytime and at night make their courtship forays to the sleeping houses of the girls.

Most youths have another youth as their dongan, special companion. Each help the other in whatever he may wish to do. Dongan lend one another clothes and money, carry out many of their activities together and help one another in courtships. The moral tie between dongan should continue for life, but nowadays rarely does so after marriage. In some villages there is a recognized head of the youths, who is usually a younger married man who was himself clever at the skills of youths. He arbitrates among youths when necessary and generally restrains their behaviour. He acts as a buffer and contact between the youth group and the elders of the village.

Formerly a stranger youth who wanted to court the girls of the village had to ask his permission to do so; nowadays he simply makes friends among the youths of the village before beginning his courtship.

Youths are known collectively as na poso (M), the young in contrast with na tobang (M), the old, the married. Youths, old men say are not tontu, certain, in
their behaviour, consequently they are not to be trusted. Youths complain that they find it difficult to become entrepreneurs because no-one will lend them capital. In their relations with elders youths are polite but independent. Older men say that when they make a suggestion to a youth the youth says 'yes, yes' but does not act in accordance with the suggestion. Consequently older men tolerate the activities of youths, but retain control of economic and other village affairs in their own hands.

A marriageable girl is called budjing, but this term is also used for unmarried females as a group, the term na_poso, the young, refers to youths. Nevertheless the organization of marriageable girls' groups parallels that of youth groups. The learning stage for girls is marsiadjar budjing (M), learning to be a marriageable girl. The group may have an informal leader, a young divorcee or widow, in whose house the unmarried girls and youths sometimes gather in the evening to sing songs. There is a good deal of equality in the group. Sisters do not sleep in the same sleeping house. Girls often change from one sleeping house to another. The notion of dongan, person in special relationship, is also found among the unmarried girls, but is less strongly institutionalized than among
youths. In short the unmarried girls' group is not as strongly marked off from the rest of the village community as is the youth group. An unmarried girl has an important economic function in her father's household; she remains more strongly bound to her family of orientation than does a youth.

Religion and the social structure

The woman-giving/woman-receiving system gives a woman two social positions, one in her lineage of origin and one in her lineage of accretion. In both these groups a woman's position depends upon her relationship to men. However there are two types of inheritance - by men from men (the dominant type) and by women from women. Islam encourages this separation of men as such from women as such.

In a few villages women attend the Friday service in a screened-off portion of the mosque. This arrangement occurs elsewhere in the Muslim world but is a relatively new idea in Upper Mandailing. In some villages the screens are only now being built. In other villages the women have their own prayer house and do not take part in the Friday service. In Upper Mandailing this innovation may be interpreted as a concession to the stress of modernists upon the equality of women. But even where screens are provided the women are stuck in a corner; they are not all-
owed to see the religious officers at work and cannot perform this role themselves.

Men and women are segregated at all village meetings, religious and otherwise. Segregation is symbolic of the different jural and ritual status of men and women which is constantly expressed in the Islam of Upper Mandailing. The sexes are contraposed in a manner which cuts across lineage ties. The relation between them is hierarchical not equal. Thus men become religious specialists and assume the responsibility for teaching women. Most women know less about religious matters than men, and they do not use religious knowledge to gain status as men do. There is a small number of women who go to Islamic schools and colleges but apparently they do not return to teach in the villages.

Men represent the villages in religious affairs. In most villages, women do not attend the Friday service in the mosque but this does not detract from the obvious symbolic function of this service in relation to village solidarity. In some big villages there is more than one mosque but the Friday service is held in only one of them. Theoretically all worshippers are of equal status in the mosque but it is more praiseworthy to say one's prayers in a position near the northwest wall (the closest to Mecca).
The better positions are taken by old men and positions of importance in the village. A young man, even if he arrives early would not take such a position. Youths and boys sit at the back. Theoretical 'equality before God' is therefore overruled, even in the carrying out of ritual, by the social rule that respect must be paid to one's elders.

Islamic ethics rationalize differences in wealth among villagers. The definition of each person responsible for his own actions leaves open to question of the manner in which he shall be controlled. Similarly, the injunction to seek and strive leaves open the question of how wealth should be distributed in the community, or rather, it rationalizes inequality. Charity is praised, and miserliness stigmatized, but religion has nothing further to say about inequalities of wealth. Believers ascribe such inequalities to fate and wealthy merchants are strong supporters of religion.

The existence of inequality is implicit in the provisions for the collection and distribution of religious tax.  

1. In Shafite law zakat should be paid to the eight classes of persons mentioned in the Koran, Sura IX, 60, namely: the poor, the needy, the collectors of zakat, recent converts to Islam, slaves, debtors, unpaid warriors in the Holy War and travellers (Juhnboll 1930:86-87). When asked to whom zakat should be paid Upper Mandallingers usually say to the poor and to orphans. The tax is usually but not always collected by a small committee known as amal M. Different ways in which the tax is paid are summarised in Table 21 Appendix 7 p. 561.
There is some feeling that great differences of wealth constitute a social injustice and distribution of religious tax to the poor is supposed, in some measure, to redress the balance. Nevertheless, loss of income by paying the tax is often circumvented, by giving it to a relative who then returns it to the giver in some way.\footnote{When asked about this practice Upper Mandailingers say somewhat speciously that their relatives are in any case poor and so entitled to receive zakat.} The Upper Mandailingers have reinterpreted tax paying in terms of their own kinship system. In Batahan Djai for example the rice tax is paid to a closely related member of the lineage, the woman-giving or the woman-receiving group as shown in Table 16 p. 494. One man paid the tax to his wife's brother and received his wife's brother's tax in return.

However, one type of religious tax (zakat fitra), a small annual head tax, is always paid to the tax committee. It is collected from every household in the village and used to pay religious officials and mosque running costs. This endorses the coincidence of congregation and community.

The corporateness of the community is affirmed in Islamic rituals other than the normal services and prayers.
Table 16  Relatives to whom rice tax (religious) was paid in 1955 in Batahan Djai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative to whom tax paid</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger brother</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's father</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's brother</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's sister</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's husband</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister's husband</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax paid to helpers at reaping</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No tax paid</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: One man paid tax to three relatives and one to two relatives. There are thirty-nine households in the village.
Meetings at which verses are read are held in many villages. On the anniversary of the flight to Medina, the death of Muhammad and the revelation of the Koran; candles are lighted throughout some villages on the twenty-seventh night of the fasting month (when the angel descends from Heaven). Socially, the year culminates in the expensive orgy of Ari Rajo. Some emigrants return to their own village and there is feasting all day long, first in one house and then another, throughout the village. This invervisiting lasts for one week. Invitations are sent to persons outside the circle of immediate kin such as neighbours, the village headman and other important members of the community. A wealthy man invites almost the whole village.

Islam offers little support to the lineage system - it gives the lineage no work to do. On one hand it cuts across lineage ties by emphasizing membership in the community, and on the other breaks up the lineage by emphasizing the individual responsibilities of members for their own nuclear family. The society has two structural frames of reference: that of the lineage and woman-giving/woman-receiving system which is associated with adat and that of the individual householder in the community which is associated with Islam.
The Village Headman

The formal functions of the village headman are: keeping the village register of births and deaths and acting as a channel of communication between the village and the administration. He may delegate either or both of these functions to an elected assistant, but he remains officially responsible for them. A headman who cannot write gets a younger man to keep the register; a relatively old headman who rarely goes to market asks a younger man to call at the administrative office in Kotanopan. The village headman and his assistants function as one in their official roles and, for present purposes, we need not differentiate between them. Both receive a small salary paid — somewhat irregularly — by the administration.

The headman represents the involvement of the village in the Indonesian state, the widest policy to which the Upper Mandailingers feel themselves to belong. But the Upper Mandailingers as a whole are not ardent nationalists. They feel anti-Dutch but not pro-Indonesian. The Indonesian Declaration of Independence is celebrated on Hari Kemerdekaan (I), Freedom Day, which is a public holiday. A ceremony and a concert are held in Kotanopan but in the villages work goes on as usual. The villagers
act as if they had closer ties to Mecca than to Djakarta. They know more about the geography of Arabia than that of Java.

The headman also represents an external authority, the administration, which influences the village from time to time. Villagers have a clear idea of administrative action, which they regard as interference in village affairs. They know how the processes of arrest, trial and fine or imprisonment work. The administration expects the village headman to organise meetings when officials visit the village and see to other administrative matters such as cleaning the paths and disbursing government sugar.

Finally, from the villagers' point of view, the headman symbolizes the unity of the village. The job of the headman is to guard the village from external enemies and to prevent internal disruption. In some villages the headman symbolizes peace (damai) within the village because in addition to his official functions he acts as a de facto judge in cases of disagreement or petty crime. He should see to the safety of the village, for example, prevent the entry of thieves, and ensure that behaviour within the village is patut (M,I), seemly.

The definition of the role of the village headman is sometimes equivocal because, first, the role of headman
is in process of redefinition, second, the villagers are reluctant to delegate powers of control over others to a single person or group and, third, there is an antithesis between the assertion of village moral superiority which the headman should logically represent and the 'facts' of everyday existence.

The role of the headman as guardian of the peace within the village has been supported by the administration. In 1956 it was policy of the administration to encourage the village headman to settle disputes within the village, thus freeing the courts from a multitude of petty actions. Village headmen were tacitly allowed to inflict small fines in cases such as petty theft, although strictly they do not have this legal power.

Although the village headman can call in the police the villagers expect him to do so only in serious criminal cases such as murder or violent assault. He is expected to deal with minor offences in accordance with community opinion by inducing confession, reparations, apologies by the guilty party, the return of stolen goods and possibly by inflicting fines. The village headman has been granted a certain authority by the administration but the exercise of the authority is controlled by community opinion.
Apart from dealing with crime village headmen are sometimes asked to settle civil cases which either cannot be settled by discussion between the agnatic kin of the parties or arise within a single agnatic kin group. Wives who are ill-treated by their husbands sometimes complain to the village headman. Women who have been threatened with divorce or themselves wish to get divorce sometimes ask for help. The headman has no jural authority in these matters; he can do no more than give advice.

The village headman is entitled to considerable respect. In one village in 1955 a village headman was assaulted. The case was not serious and would normally have been settled in the village. I was told it was referred to the police because the victim was the village headman. If the headman is skilled in the management of social relations and has a knowledge of adat he may be asked to settle disputes, especially those about the use of property. In this field the village headman has no jural powers— he must rely on persuasion. It is felt, however, that he can apply sanctions to make individuals conform to government orders. Nevertheless, a wise village headman does not use threats, but relies upon whatever influence he may be able to exert through kinship and economic channels.
He attempts to mobilise community opinion in getting things done by representing the threat as coming from the administration. Many headmen complain of their lack of jural powers. Generally, for whatever control of village affairs they have, headmen depend upon personal influence, the support of kin, and other aids unconnected with the role of headman, such as wealth, which implies a coterie of clients, and a knowledge of medicine, which implies a village-wide circle of possible patients requiring help. One village headman who was a leech described his knowledge as his 'rifle'.

The village headman is involved in the relationships between lineages. He is always invited to adat ceremonies at which there are discussions between two or more parties and ratifies the final decision at each stage of the negotiations. This is a pro-forma matter, but first it symbolizes the involvement of the whole community in the kinship affairs of the agnatic groups of which it is composed, and, second, it shows that the adat used is that common to the whole village.

This ceremonial function enhances the status of the village headman since it draws attention to the fact that he plays the same role as the radja of former times, although he is not, of course, the lineal descendant of the radja; but it does not imply that he has a judicial
capacity in adat. Familiarity with adat ceremonial has now become a special brand of knowledge and is a qualification which any good headman should have.

The village headman is expected to extend hospitality to visitors who have no kin in the village - officials, teachers and the like. Sometimes he provides youths who wish to work outside the village with letters of good conduct. Some modernist village headmen occasionally make goodwill visits to nearby villages at Ari Rajo. In these ways the village headman represents the moral order of the village in relations with the outside world.

Criticism limits the power of the headman in two ways. First, the headman is himself subject to criticism and if he wishes to remain in office he must take action to avoid it. In short, the village headman must be primus inter pares as a manipulator of the social scene. To call in the police or refer a matter to the courts represents a failure on the village headman's part. Such a happening contravenes the myth of the moral superiority of the village, reveals disharmony, and exposes the village to criticism from outsiders. Second, the process of social control by criticism is self-contained; there is, as it were, no point in the process at which the village headman can break in except by adding his own
voice to that of others. Since everyone is theoretically equal, every person may take part in the process of criticism.

As an official put it, when a village headman is elected everyone is enthusiastic about him, a year later they are indifferent, and after two years are opposed to him. There is a gradual build-up of criticism of the village headman, but in order to maintain an appearance of village solidarity (i.e. in accordance with the precept of interaction demai, peace), the village headman is rarely deposed upon a single issue. When criticism and dissatisfaction have become general, he is given the opportunity to resign. Thus once again, the appearance of harmony is maintained.¹

¹ This is the Upper Mandailing equivalent of what Professor Gluckman calls 'the cycle of one symbolically unifying, recreational activity after another' when speaking about the Welsh mining village described by Frankenberg (1957:6). The recreational activities to which Gluckman refers are football matches, carnivals and the like; intra-village tensions are expressed and partly resolved in the meetings of committees which run these activities. There is a series of committees, each committee being focussed in a new activity. In Upper Mandailing the new role of headman is conceived in ideal terms; there is no explicit recognition of the ambivalence of the role such as is found, for instance, in the ceremonies for installing deputies among the Fort Jameson Ngoni (Gluckman, Mitchell and Barnes 1949:104-6).
The criteria which are important in choosing a headman are economic success, knowledge of the outside world, secular education, knowledge of adat, honest and upright character, and ability to handle officials. The significance of most of these criteria is obvious, but a further comment is needed about wealth. The headman handles money and property in which the community has an interest, such as collected fines and cheap government sugar. It is thought that any man who is not fairly well-off will use these things for his own benefit.

Among the headman of the villages of the Thirty-Village Survey (see Table 15), seventeen are merchants (almost all merchants are also farmers the rest hire all their land out), two are farmer-religious specialists, one is a farmer-leech, one is an ironsmith-leech and nine are farmers who have no other occupation. Of the last, seven are in remote villagers where there is less trade. In the thirteen remote villages three of the headmen are merchants, one is a farmer-religious specialist, one a farmer-leech, one an iron-smith-leech and seven are simply farmers; but, in the seventeen non-remote villages, fourteen headmen are merchants, one is a farmer-religious specialist and only two are simply farmers. We may conclude that in non-remote villages there is a tendency for merchants to be chosen as village headmen. There is
a further difference between remote and non-remote villages which is worth noting. Four of the headmen in the thirteen remote villages are close agnates of the former radja, but in the seventeen non-remote villages only two. This suggests that more importance is attached to the traditional behaviour patterns of kinship and adat in the remote villages. Merchants are less likely to be chosen as village headmen there, because the problems which headmen are expected to solve and the matters they are expected to djago, guard, are couched in kinship terms. In non-remote villages it is the administrative aspect of the role of headman which is emphasised.

The turnover of village headman usually proceeds more rapidly than the official term of three years would suggest it should. The elections are supervised by officials and may sometimes be postponed for three or four months to suit official convenience. Although the administration cannot insist on a headman serving his full term, some pressure is put on the headman to stay in office when they wish to resign because it is usually better for the administration to maintain established contacts. The administration has the power to depose a headman, but has never done so. Candidates who openly represented political parties have been proposed as headmen in only one village since 1947. The administration
Table 15

Occupation of headmen in remote and non-remote villages of the Thirty-Village Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remote or non-remote village</th>
<th>Occupation of headman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-remote</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-remote</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. in class: 14 3 1 1 0 1 0 1 2 7
No. in each occupation: 17 2 1 1 9
refused to accept the nominations, otherwise the administration has not interfered in the selection of candidates. Very few men are re-elected for a second term.

The village headman has two major functions: he guards the moral life of the community and he is an agent of the administration. Different headmen combine these functions in different ways. In the remote villages the headman is expected to stop the administration interfering in village affairs but to get out of the administration anything the village may want such as a new bridge or materials for repairing the school. The administration tries to control headmen by giving these supplies to those headmen who co-operate with officials.

In larger villages and especially in those near to Kotanopan the headman has more official business to attend to and there are more visits by officials and police. The village community is not a single, self-regulating, criticism-controlled group but a group containing sub-groups organised around different interests. Since the role of village headman is ill-defined and changing the headman may be a nonentity with very little influence at all or an enthusiast of some kind who exerts a de facto authority in accordance with his own interests. In a
large village which is a satellite of Kotanopan the energetic village headman is always urging the villagers to try new crops, mend the village streets, repair the school and so on. Village headmen of this kind are proponents of bangun (I), waking up, a theme of the post-Revolution period. As secular modernists they sometimes come into conflict with conservative religious judges. I heard of two villages in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan in which this had happened. Usually differences between a headman and a religious judge are due to personal rivalry and the community maintains the peace by forcing one or the other to resign.

Village Cohesion

It will be apparent from the above account that the village headman no longer functions as the king-pin holding village society together. I hope in this section to show why Upper Mandailingers live in villages at all.

Birth takes place in private, but agnates, affines and fellow villagers all come to look at the baby. Sickness mobilises neighbours, agnates, affines and members of the community as message carriers, treatment organisers, medicine fetchers and sympathetic visitors respectively. A visitor may be relative of the sick man, his pupil
client, or dongan, special companion. Kin groups have a special function in marriage ceremonial. In a village of moderate size virtually all the members of the village participate in the marriage as a festivity. Each adult female visitor represents her household's interest in the marriage by making a small contribution to the feast; on her departure she receives a package of food in return. The same gifts - though this time without any return - are made when visiting a household in which a death has occurred. All work in the village ceases on the morning of the burial. In one way and another almost the whole village is organised to help - as food preparers, cooks, religious officials, coffin makers, pall bearers, grave diggers or simply as mourners. All the males in the village go to the burial ground and take part in the prayers.

On birth, marriage, sickness or death close agnates have special duties - such as washing the corpse in the case of death or seeking medicine in the case of sickness - but the role of more distant relatives is indistinguishable from that of members of the community at large, sometimes, in fact, the latter also have a specific job, e.g. digging the grave for a burial. All persons in the village are visualized as relatives of a kind, they are spoken of as koum kampong, relatives of the village as distinct from koum, relatives in
general (including cognates and affines) and *koum kahangi*, agnates.

If the extension of the kinship idiom to all persons in the village is not justified by the facts it is given a basis in fiction. All persons in a small to medium-sized village are referred to and addressed using the limited range of kinship terms with which we have already dealt. The relatively small number of classes of relatives simplifies the problem of social behaviour for each individual and at the same time enables him to extend the notion of family to all members of the village. From the point of view of the individual the matter is simplified still further. The members of the village are divided up into those who are addressed familiarly as *ho* (M) and those who are addressed respectfully as *hamu* (M). This system is maintained by the day-to-day observation of the social ritual of deference and demeanour. Forms of address are an important part of this ritual. The term used after this opening gambit is either *ho* or *hamu* depending on the degree of respect due from the speaker to the person addressed. Relatives outside the village are known as *koum bolak* and towards them the same system of address is used. But all other persons are addressed simply as *saudara*, brother, which implies no more than 'fellow Indonesian'. This extension of the notion of family takes place
from the point of view of each individual— for each individual the family of the village is differently constituted. There are no 'sides' to this family. The notion of the village as a family is reified. There is a correspondingly general moral injunction i.e. one should support and respect the members of one's village. An ambitious assistant village headman told me it was impossible to get things done properly in his village because he could not speak harshly to anyone since all persons in the village were members of one family.

The entailments of membership vary from village to village; for example the women from a distant village sit close together in the market town to sell their goods while those from villages near Kotanopan do not. There is a certain esprit de corps associated with all villages. The members of each village like to think of their village as being generous and hospitable to strangers. In practice entertaining strangers is always to the village headman who rarely gets any help. Villagers speak of their own village as being particularly free from crime and especially from theft; persons in other villages they say are 'stuck-up', sombong (M,I), but in their own village persons have easy social relations In short, the members of each village insist on the moral superiority of their own village. The only exceptions are people who have made up their minds to emigrate; these people
compare their own village unfavourably with the place to which they want to move.

In many villages informants can point out the old and the new inhabitants usually in terms of birth within the village or outside. This is a shorthand way of differentiating between those who have inherited land and hence are morally and jurally tied to a lineage and those who have bought it. The latter group now boast of having achieved their position by their own seeking and striving. In other words, the self-made man now epitomizes the good in contrast with the man who has ascribed position of wealth and power.

To the villager the village has become the-place-where-I-get-a-living. Usually a man will admit that his village is inferior to another only in terms of its economic prosperity. But the ties of a man to his village are now much looser. Anyone who thinks he has reasonable economic prospects outside the village will emigrate. The various jural and moral ties which provide a man with a social identity in complex but well-knit society have given way to a commitment to the village based only on the economic potential which the village offers. Immediately after the Indonesian Declaration of Independence each village governed itself. A feeling that the village should be autonomous has arisen. This is encouraged by the present system of administration - even small units of 150 persons have their own village headman.
Officially only a village of five hundred or more is allowed to have its own headman but the regulation has not been enforced. I was often asked in small villages to prevent their amalgamation with a larger village under one headman. Villagers feel that they should control their own village lands and remould their own institutions in whatever way they please. In other words that the village should have the political autonomy which according to Wilier, Ris, and Heyting it enjoyed in former times.¹

The three notions - village autonomy, place-where-I-get-a-living, and village superiority - are unified by the notion of the village as a family. But this is an ideal. The total social system consists of a large number of ties of different kinds. The cohesion of the village consists in the fact that these ties cross cut one another. But many of the ties are ephemeral. Patron-client ties, landlord-tenant ties and membership in co-operatives change from year to year. The stable elements in village social structure are lineage and kahangi ties, nuculear families, the division into males and females and the division into the married and the unmarried. However there are no contraposed groups with complementary functions.

¹ See Keuning (1948:57)
Islamic ritual provides occasions for affirming corporate identity in affective contexts which give rise to 'we feeling' and so contribute to village solidarity. One such item of ritual is a communal nazar (M,I). A nazar is a vow to carry out certain devout acts should certain (beneficial) events take place. For example 'if the rice crop is good this year, we will perform so-and-so many chants in praise of God'. The nazar is fulfilled in the mosque and specially prepared sweets are eaten at the same time. It is very sinful not to fulfill a nazar if the relevant benefit has been received. In one village the majority of persons has a relatively poor rice yield in 1956, but the communal nazar was carried out. The good fortune of a few was identified with that of the whole congregation, but there was no attempt to readjust fate by gifts from the more to the less fortunate. A number of other Islamic beliefs allow the tensions within the social structure to be projected, to use the psychological term, in a socially approved way. The indigenous Mandailing notion of begu (M), spirits, has been replaced by the Islamic notion of djihin (M,I), which are classified with human beings as maknusia (M,I). Djihin, are pre-human, earthly inhabitants who have been made invisible as a punishment for their sins; they have their own villages in the forest, but individual djihin live alone in the rice
-fields or gardens. In Upper Mandailing, with one significant exception, djihin are all thought to be harmful. They steal crops which are just ripening and cause sickness. Thus the Upper Mandailingers project their implicit belief in the untrustworthiness of human beings onto the djihin world and thereby ease the internal tensions of community life. There are no djihin inside the villages, but the market place, where because of his concern about money the Upper Mandailinger's fears are high, is swarming with them. The only non-evil djihin are helpful djihin familiars with whom a few people are said to have social relations. The relation to a djihin familiar is the counterpart of the only relationship within the social structure which is based on mutual trust, i.e. the relationship of dongan. A djihin familiar must be treated with respect. There are a few stories of the abduction of males by female djihin which suggest an underlying distrust either by females of one another or by males of females.

Certain religious leaders, the ulama, (M,I), are said to have the power of seeing at a distance and - quite contrary to theological teaching - of being able to foretell the future. Lesser men have lesser powers. This idea not only gives Islamic teachers a high status but it represents the power of control over events which every Mandailinger would like to have. There is a particular type of prayer,
supposedly well-known to many of those who have attended an Islamic college, which demonstrates the mechanistic and essentially amoral nature of ritual. This prayer, when carried out at a certain hour, ensures the death of a designator person.

Suspensions about poisoning are common in the village. Suspected poisoners are often women. Because this suspicion attaches to concrete persons within the community and cannot be blamed on some external course it usually leads to community disruption. There is only one wet rice village in Upper Mandailing whose households are scattered over the rice fields. The village assumed this form in 1952 when it was suspected that there was a poisoner in the community. In another case of suspected poisoning several households migrated from a village and complete disruption of the community was only prevented by the intervention of the local administrative officer who made every member of the village swear under oath that he would not use poison.

Occasions on which a display of emotion is allowed are relatively rare in Upper Mandailing; emphasis is laid upon the maintenance of an appearance of social ease and harmony. But in the dikir (M,I) Islamic ritual provides for the abandonment of self-control. A dikir is performed by a group who repeat a short Arabic phrase such as alla-ilaha-illalla
(there is no God but Allah) in a rhythmic chorus. The pace of the repetitions is gradually stepped up on signals from the leader of the dikir. At the same time each person sways his head and body from side to side in time with the rhythm of the chorus while sitting cross-legged on the floor. Towards the end of a stirring dikir the building is shaken to the foundations and some participants attain a trancelike state. Communal evening prayers in the mosque culminate in a dikir. The dikir provides an occasion for self-abandonment in a communal setting, i.e. in the very context in which self-control is normally most strongly enforced.

The dikir contributes towards the maintenance of the moral ties between the members of the community by allowing the release of tension. Dikir are not usually performed at the Friday community service which women sometimes attend. Since few women go to daily prayers in the mosque — and when they do they are placed in the screened-off portion of the building — the experience of the dikir is confined to men. There is no equivalent of the dikir for women. The greater interest of the men in religious experience and their control of religious affairs is from one point of view a matter of ascription but, from another, a function of the psychological economy of the culture. Since men control the affairs of the community it is appropriate, from the point of view of
the dynamics of community cohesion, that they should have this tension-releasing experience. In this sense also religion contributes to the self-containment and stability of the village community.

We may compare the Islamic rituals with the large-scale adat rituals which were described in Chapter 9. The performers are much more involved in the former than they are in the latter. The Islamic rituals occur regularly according to a fixed calendar of events, the adat rituals according to the dictates of circumstances. Most of the Islamic rituals are organised by a group of elected village officials and paid for by the community, the adat ritual is initiated and paid for by an individual or a small group of agnates. Formerly the adat rituals symbolized the contraposed positions of groups in the society but, as we saw in Chapter 9, they have now lost this function. In short the Islamic ritual is concerned in the main with community cohesion while the adat ritual is concerned with the place of the individual in village society.

Ris noted in 1896 that Islam and 'civilizing' influences had changed Mandailing society considerably since Willer's time. He also noted that the influence of Islam and its leaders would have been much greater if the radjas had not insisted in their rights (Ris 1896:88). Even Keuning,
who accentuates the place of adat in Mandailing society, says that the adat marriage festivities were used by the radjas to maintain their political position (Keuning 1948:99). The Dutch administration took over some of the radjas rights but at the same time regulations were promulgated which held back the pressure which Islam exerted on the social structure. For example, the *surat izin nikah*, letter of permission to marry, which was issued by village authorities and without which a religious judge could not perform a canon law wedding ceremony, had to state that there was no impediment to the proposed marriage in adat; if a man willed away part of his property as *wakap* this had to be assented to by heirs who were entitled to inherit the property according to adat (Adatrechtbundels 41:329). In modern times however since the radjas have been deposed Islam has become increasingly influential and is gathering a new political momentum.

As a result the naivete of the villagers in religious matters there is a certain mechanical simplicity and rigidity in their religious behaviour and no room for manoeuvre in religious interpretation within the community. Strangers, including the Islamic Menangkabau, say that the Upper Mandailingers are religious fanatics because they adhere to religious formalism. This adherence arises on account of the release from tension which religion offers, the useful-
ness of religious practices carried out in a quasi-magical fashion in solving social problems and the logical support which a few simple religious beliefs offer for the social structure.

Finally we may note the simple solution which is achieved in the village problem of the simultaneous existence of the different models of behaviour of adat, canon law and modernism. The dominant goal of modern Mandailingers is to get a livelihood; the village is for each individual the place-where-I-get-a-living. What is of consequence to everyone is that peace, damai, should be maintained in order that this goal may be satisfactorily pursued. There is therefore no criticism of the religious short-comings of individuals, for which punishment is left to God. Achieving a compromise between models of behaviour turns out to be an intra-lineage affair and is only of real importance in questions of inheritance.

Each individual householder does not subscribe to only one point of view, i.e. adat, Islam or modernism. If this were so there might be a simple division of function between two, three or four groups within the village, the groups being different in culture from one another, or the village might split into, say two villages, one dominated by adat, and the other by religion, or there might be recognized enclaves holding minority views within a single village.
All these solutions occur, at present, only in prototypical form. For example, there are 'marginal men' who live on the village fringes, youth groups with their own special activities and small groups centered on a minor prayer house. Finally the large villages situated near Kotanopan and which form its dormitories appear to lack any overall community organization. But in case of the modal village, a solution which involves the segregation of the village community into units other than households is not adopted. In fact, any other kind of segregation is explicitly abjured; because there is a strong sense of living in common and an idea that the village is and should remain a single social unit. On the other hand, it is also thought that each person should be allowed to have his or her own point of view. In order to meet both these ideas at once it is necessary that the integrity of the village community be guaranteed by some semblance of outward consensus while at the same time each person is accorded a certain freedom of action. Consequently we sometimes find that there are commonly accepted definitions of 'correct' ways of behaving to which only lip service is paid. In other words individuals may not be involved in their actions, they may have little feeling about the 'rightness' of actions which they carry out in conformity with social norms. Sociologically this implies that there are, or may be, considerable differences between patterns of ideal behav-
iour and actual behaviour. While persons may agree verbally about the norms of conduct associated with certain social positions they do not in fact act in accordance with their verbal statements.

This gives what might be called an indeterminate social structure - a generally agreed upon system of definitions of positions and the norms that go with them, but with actors who are only partly involved, sometimes scarcely involved at all, in the acting out of the system and whose behaviour may vary considerably from the ideal. A major problem of such a system is the maintenance of the system as a going concern. In Upper Mandailing this problem is solved by the differentia­tion of public face and private forcefulness and the common acceptance of the precepts of interaction.

Islam and village identity

The basic tenets of Islam about interpersonal behaviour do not differentiate behaviour towards fellow villagers from behaviour towards Muslims in general. According to the con­cept of idjma (I), general agreement, the community can make its own interpretation of religious practices. Religious judges and teachers trained in an Islamic college understand this concept and for them it may rationalize inter-village variations but it is not widely understood. It does not provide the logical basis for differences in religious
practices in different villages. The source of inter-
village variation appears to be the different ideas and
experience of religious judges who are accepted as the in-
terpreters of canon law and ethics and balance their own
role of villager against that of religious expert.

The calendar of religious events is, of course, the same
for every village. Each village performs the sequence of
ritual in parallel with every other village. There is a
difference of a day or so in the timing of the events, since
particular contingencies in any village, such as a market
day, are often allowed for. The carrying out of the rituals
reaffirms the membership of each community in the whole
Islamic body, but the form and content of the rituals vary
considerably from village to village. Some parts of the
ritual may be omitted entirely, others specially emphasised.
In some villages, for example, the lighting of the candles
is not carried out, while in others this night is a great
occasion when everyone eats lomang (M), sweet rice cooked
in bamboo cylinders. In some villages there is an Ari Rajo

1 The end of the fasting month and the celebration of Ari
Rajo were formerly determined by the observation of the
moon, a task which each village community undertook for
itself; nowadays, however, a simultaneous holiday through-
out the Republic of Indonesia is assured by an official
radio announcement of the appropriate day from Djakarta.
procession through the village led by standard bearers and young girls who walk along in their best clothes singing religious songs in chorus. In other villages this procession is not held. The venue for any ritual varies from village to village. The readings on the anniversary of the flight to Medina may be held in the house of the village headman, in that of the religious judge, in the religious school or in the mosque. The role of reader may also be taken by different persons - the religious judge, some other person with pretensions to learning within the village or even some outside person who is specially invited.

In short, each village community not only forms a congregation of individuals worshipping together, but it possesses a distinctive set of observances which mark off from other villages. Inter-village variation in religious practices parallels that in other social practices. Moreover, each village considers its own set of observances as quite proper, while these differences are perceived as 'we do things one way, they do them another'. There is a well-known Indonesian proverb which expresses this easy-going attitude—lain lalang, lain bilalang, a different grass, a different insect.

Relations between villages

The former mother-child village complex has been changed into the negeri system. At present (1956) the
latter is purely administrative in function. According to the official regulations the affairs of the negeri are managed by a negeri council. Each village in the negeri has a representative on the council which elects its own chairman. So far the chairman have been appointed by the administration but the councils have not been organised. The villagers themselves are not conscious of belonging to a negeri. There are no activities which are organised on a negeri basis.

Some villages in the Kotanopan area have their own football teams which enter a competition organised by the administration but, like other village activities run by committees, football teams come and go.

Nor do the social links between villages divide off one group of villages from another. The men of a village marry girls from all surrounding villages but there is no organised exchange of women between villages. Villagers in any village are linked in woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships with a number of lineages in several other villages, but these links do not involve the villages as wholes.

The relationships between villages are a function of the clash between precedents established in the pre-revolution period and the new-found village autonomy. The relations of Pagargunung with its five neighbours illustrate some variations on the theme of live and let live which usually
characterises modern inter-village relations. Simpang Pining, Pagargunung's nearest neighbour, was in a different village complex and is now in a different negeri. (The ancestors of a number of Pagargunung people came from Simpang Pining.) There was a court case about 1949 to determine the boundary between the two villages but the relationships between them now are quite amicable. People from Batahan Djai and Batahan Djulu walk through Pagargunung on their way to market. Both these villages were offshoots of Pagargunung founded two generations ago. They had no radja of their own. After the Revolution there was a fight in Pagargunung between Batahan Djai men, most of whom are of a clan only weakly represented in Pagargunung, and Pagargunung men. The Batahan Djai people objected to what they regarded as the superior manner of the Pagargunung people. The boundary between the two villages was never properly fixed; Batahan Djai men usually walk through Pagargunung without stopping to chat or rest. A Batahan Djai man to whom I promised medicine asked me not to send it by a Pagargunung man as he suspected poison might be substituted for it. A number of Pagargunung people continued to work rice fields after the Revolution and there was never any trouble between the villages. Torrumbi was also founded by Pagargunung people but there was never much inter-visiting between the two villages.
After the revolution a boundary was fixed between them which was greatly to the parent village's advantage. In 1955 a Torrumbi man requested permission to put permanent crops on a plot which he had been allowed to use on the Pagargunung side of the boundary for growing vegetables, but this was refused. Pagargunung people walk through the small hill village of Si Bio Bio on their way to market and buy drinks at the wayside stall there. Si Bio Bio people do not have relatives in Pagargunung and never visit there. No clash between the men of the two villages has ever occurred. On the other hand a number of Pagargunung men complained that when they walked through Sajurmaintjat, which is near to Kotanopan, on their way to market they were treated disrespectfully and called hill-billies. As a result the modernist village headman of Sajurmaintjat visited Pagargunung at Ari Rajo and made a speech in praise of Pagargunung.

The accentuation of village autonomy after the Revolution is particularly marked in the more distant villages and takes place of course within the framework of the modern Indonesian administration. But the administration is, or was in 1956, anxious to placate the villagers — for instance tax has been collected in only two or three years since the Revolution — the villagers have been allowed to interpret Freedom (Merdeka) in their own way.
Conclusion

Finally I should like to draw together a number of points which I have tried to make in this and previous chapters. I shall group these points under headings representing processes which appear to have characterised social change in Upper Mandailing in the past thirty years or so. The first of these is democratization. When they first assumed their two roles of adat head and administrator the radjas probably found that their position was strengthened. But the Dutch policy of paternalism gradually forced the radjas to identify themselves with the administration. Village life became self-regulating and this change was revealed during the Japanese Occupation when, although the radjas ceased to function, village society did not collapse. At the same time the clan segments ceased to regulate the lives of their members. Within the clan segment itself a command heirarchy remained effective only among siblings of the same sex - there was a breakdown of the seniority principle among lineage segments. This process of making everybody equal may have been assisted by the coalescing of generations of ancestors but it was primarily due to the emphasis of Islam on equality in the congregation. But although Islam introduced uniformity in world outlook and in social position it did not provide a means for regulating
social life. The commoner section of the community main-
tained its integrity by retaining not the adat symbols of
social position but the principles of social organization
with which adat was imbued and which we have called pre-
cepts of interaction.

With this levelling out process went an increase in
autonomy both for the individual and more recently for the
group. Personal liking as a criterion for choosing a
spouse and a desire to avoid having close relatives as
affines had their sociological counterpart in the breakdown
of established woman-giving/woman-receiving relationships.
At the same time the prohibition of duplicate affinity —
probably an old adat principle — was inadvertently preserved.
Autonomy for youths, which was greatly increased by the
Revolution, has resulted in the segregation of the youth
group from the rest of the community. Autonomy for the
village has emerged only recently. Although all villages
have a similar framework in their social structure and
social organization they are differently endowed and have
different functions in the economy of the area as a whole.
There is an accentuation of normality (making everyone the
same) within the village and no interdependence between
villages. What we have called the process of cultural drift
therefore results in different social and religious prac-
tices in different villages. The Indonesian administration has taken over the integrating role of the Dutch but has struck no roots in village life. It is significant that the regulation setting up local inter-village councils has not been implemented.

The penetration of Islamic economic ethic has accentuated entrepreneurship and encouraged competition. Within the village the community is composed of households which want and usually get a large degree of autonomy in economic matters, although the technological controls of hydraulic agriculture have enforced some degree of co-operation. A shortage of wet rice fields has meant that the latter have become the focus of lineage solidarity. The size of the effective lineage is determined by the timing of the irrevocable division of an inheritance.

These liberalizing processes - democratization, an increase in autonomy and the growth of economic individualism - have accentuated the ambivalence which characterises the social position of women. While on the one hand marriage has become a private, interpersonal affair and the law of co-operatives an integral part of man-wife relations women cannot usually inherit property. There is an ambivalence in Islam itself: women are allowed to inherit but are regarded as the inferiors of men in religious affairs. The
secular modernists on the other hand are willing to grant women equal rights with men and in the field under their control – voting in elections – have already done so. From the kinship point of view matrilineal ties among women contrast with patrilineal ties among men. What is of considerable interest is that the matrilineal ties are envisaged in the society in the 'pure' form of matrilineal links between females and are activated in the inheritance of minor pieces of property not inherited among males. Matrilineal ties might be regarded as 'surviving' in a form which continues to exert an influence upon Mandailing social thought but does not significantly affect the socio-economic structure based as this is on the patrilineal inheritance of land by males. The system as a whole therefore supports the suggestion of P.E. de Josselin de Jong (1951:91) that 'the various Sumatran social systems may prove to be based on a double-unilateral organisation, which assumed a patrilineal stress in the Atjeh and Batak territories, and a matrilineal stress in Menangkabau...'

Islam is increasing in influence. The ritual of adat symbolizes the social structure but there is a dissonance between these symbolic statements and the facts of the social order. Moreover Mandailingers are not involved in the adat ceremonies. Islam on the other hand provides ritual
occasions which assist community cohesion. The presence of different models for behaviour in an era of change is the most obvious problem of modern Mandailing society. For this reason I have accentuated the consistent elements in social organization. It did not appear profitable to attempt to draw an ideal structural picture for a society whose members have various ideas about what constitutes proper behaviour. The presenting problem of Mandailing society appears to be the maintenance of social cohesion. I have not attempted any historical reconstruction in depth since, although interesting and valuable in itself, this does not appear to be an economical way of solving the problem. Instead I have made an analysis of what social action I was able to observe. The Upper Mandailingers lack any strong sense of moral guilt and there are no formal agents of punishment within the village. People are controlled socially by criticism. During the process of socialization there is a differentiation of public face and private forcefulness; this double standard of behaviour in adult life is allowed by religion and socially rewarded. Paradoxically, it is because all Upper Mandailingers are bengkok, crooked, as one informant put it, that they manage to maintain their communities intact.
APPENDIX 1  Clan identity of headmen
(referred to in Ch. 5 p.

Table 17

Clan identity of headmen in villages in 'areas of dominance' of clan Lubis and clan Nasution, 1956, in Ketjamatant Kotanopan  n = 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Area of dominance</th>
<th>Clan identity of headman</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angin Barat</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batahan Djai</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Batubara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huta Baringin</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Daulai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutapadang</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutapungkut Djulu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Nasution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagaran Dolok</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagargunung</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Nasution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patahadjang</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patialu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Nasution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasar Laru</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rao-Rao Dolok</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saba Dolok</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si Bio Bio</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Nasution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Banjak Djulu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Dulu Dolok</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Pining</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambangan Djai</td>
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<td>Hasibuan</td>
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<td>Tamiang</td>
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<td>Tolang</td>
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<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tombang Bustak</td>
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<td>Hasibuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangun Purba</td>
<td>Nasution</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botung</td>
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<td>Nasution</td>
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<td>Hutananmale</td>
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<td>Nasution</td>
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<td>Hutatinggi</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Pangkat</td>
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<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siantona</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lubis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2  Intra-clan and inter-clan marriages  
(referred to in Ch. 5 p.)

Table 18

Number of intra-clan and inter-clan marriages among intra-village and inter-village marriages in eighteen villages in the Ketjamatan Kotanopan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Intra-clan marriage</th>
<th>Inter-clan marriage</th>
<th>Per cent of intra-clan marriage ages</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intra- village</td>
<td>Inter- village</td>
<td>Intra- village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Baru</td>
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<td>Tambangan Djai</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Simpang Pining</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangun Purba</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutanamale</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangkat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botung</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siantona</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Dhu Dolo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutapungkut Djul</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasar Laru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Banjak Dji</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saba Dolok</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batahan Djai</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patialu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simangambat</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
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</table>

Column Totals: 29 27 413 473

Total number of intra-village marriages = 442
Total number of inter-village marriages = 500
Per cent of intra-village marriages which are intra-clan = 6.6%
Per cent of inter-village marriages which are intra-clan = 5.4%
APPENDIX 3 Example of a Mandailing Genealogical Chart (Torrombo) from a member of the Batubara clan in Pagargunung

Tuangkodo Radjo (Hindustani)  
Mangaradja Sinondang (Si Lampujung)

Mangaradja Rindang Sibolawan (Kuala Bila)

Si Deman (Lomba Djonng)

Si Tabar  
Si Tangkin  
Si Pamaon

Si Tabar  
Si Lombok  
Si Pamonang  
Si Halandjo  
Si Nabang  
Si Sangki  
Si Rapun (Menambin)

Sadaa (Menambin)

Si Boning (Menambin)

Si Sobi (Pagargunung)

Asal ni Parmato sapia taporan ni tuongka Nangkodo radjo sian na Gori Hindustan kehe tu tano Atjeh dung malamba lolot adong ma anahna dio Simandjudjung
Notes: The earlier generations are at the top of the chart, the later at the bottom. All the names on the chart are those of men; women do not as a rule appear on the charts. The chart is set out in the way in which it was set out in the original. Most of the proper names at the top of the chart are preceded by titles such as Mangaradja, Datu and Bagindo. The place at which a person lived is shown in brackets after his name. Islamic names are given only to living persons.

This chart was written in ink on a piece of brown paper and was said to have been copied from an original which was written on bark.

If an ancestor had more than one wife the names of his wives sometimes appear on the chart and descendants from each wife are shown separately.
APPENDIX 4  Relationships in Pagargunung
Figure 29  Agnates of Hadji Malik
Figure 30  Agnates of Lelodagang
Figure 31  Patrilateral relatives of Saat
Figure 32  Relatives of Kotisali
Figure 32  Relatives of Kotisali
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Household Composition</th>
<th>Angin Barat</th>
<th>Bangun Purba</th>
<th>Batahan Djai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No. of % of total house households holds in village</td>
<td>No. of % of total house households holds in village</td>
<td>No. of % of total house households holds in village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Man + wife (young couple)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>53.33</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Man + wife + son + daughter</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>53.33</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>Man + wife (stepm.) + son + daughter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>Woman + husband (stepl.) + son + daughter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>Woman (div.) + son or daughter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Woman + son + daughter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>Man (div.) + son or daughter</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>Man + son + daughter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Man + wife + son + son's wife + son's son or dr.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>Man + son + son's wife + son's son or daughter</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Woman + son + son's wife + son's son or daughter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Man + wife + daughter + son's son</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Youth + sister</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Woman (aged)</td>
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<td>2.67</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Man + wife (old couple)</td>
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<td>2.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Man (aged)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Youth</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Special type</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.67</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Man with more than one wife
Man never married
Not scored

<p>| Man with more than one wife | 2 |
| Man never married | 4 |
| Not scored | 2 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of total households in village</th>
<th>No. of total households in village</th>
<th>No. of total households in village</th>
<th>No. of total households in village</th>
<th>No. of total households in village</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>Hutangan</td>
<td>Paku Raya</td>
<td>Pasar Ianu</td>
<td>Pasar Mama</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. of households in village</td>
<td>No. of households in village</td>
<td>No. of households in village</td>
<td>No. of households in village</td>
<td>No. of households in village</td>
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APPENDIX 6  Marriage Ceremonies

There are three methods of effecting a marriage: Proposal (manjapaek), abduction (mangalodjonkon) and running away (nikah lari). The initial steps in each form are described in Chapter 9. Once these steps have been taken the ensuing ceremonies are as described below (see also Table 20 p. 538).

Following manjapaek, proposal, or ulang agoan, saying (the girl is) not lost, as the case may be, the next important ceremony is mangkobari, the speech making or the news giving (see Table 20). The essential elements of mangkobari are the exchange of the girl for fictional gold and the giving of the guardianship. The ceremony is held one evening in the house of the bride's father who provides the food. He calls members of his lineage (kahangi in the broad sense) and woman-giving group, more, to take part in the speech making. The most important member of the latter, usually his wife's father or elder brother, occupies a place of honour on

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1 Keuning (1948:83) mentions that prior to the news giving the youth's party paid a formal visit to the girl during which the couple exchanged betrothal presents. Such a formal visit may have been made before radja weddings only; it is now omitted.
a red-edged mat at the inner end of the front room. The front room is occupied by male guests who carry out all the speech making and negotiations, and the back room by the wives. The cooking is carried out by the bride's mother, her mother's mother and accreted women of the bride's lineage, and served by her father's unmarried sons or sons-in-law. The visitors include the bridegroom's father, and older members of his lineage and of his boru, woman-receiving group. A special guest is a person who functions as patobang, elder, usually a senior member of the village who in effect represents the former village council, the namora natoras. His role is to 'finish off', to ratify and announce the final decision. Nowadays, this role may be played by the elected village head, the kepala kampong, or in one or two villages by a member of the former radja family.

After all have been fed the proceedings open with the presentation of the betel of the visitors to the patobang and the important members of the lineage and woman-giving group of the bride's father. The betel represents the pangkal hata, the origin of words: it signifies that what follows is adat, i.e. if the betel is accepted the participants are bound together in a legal order. The first stage of mangkobari is mangariri, the repetition of the proposal, which introduces the topic of the meeting and establishes
that the marriage is acceptable in principle. A member of the bridegroom's lineage makes the request and replies are made on behalf of the bride's lineage and her woman-giving group. The final decision is referred to patobang, the elders, and the decision received (terimo) by the lineage of the bridegroom. The next phase is hobar boru in which the status of the girl is discussed. The woman-receivers of the bride's father give their opinion after which the other parties speak in the same order as above.

Then follows hobar sere. The bridegroom's lineage ask how much sere, gold is required for the girl. The lineage of the girl cannot make the decision. This is the right, hak, of the woman-giving group of the bride's father to whom it is referred. Two types of gold are discussed, the sere na godang, great gold, and the sere na menek, the little gold. The former is fixed by the bride's mother's brother in terms of two measures of gold, tail and pa. The lineage of the bridegroom point out that they have no such gold with them but have nevertheless brought a great possession, namely their boru, their woman-receiving group; they are therefore not moneyless and moreover their woman-receiving group is indebted to them. They request that the payment remain as a debt. This is agreed to. When talking about the little gold the lineage of the bride's father say
that the girl has nothing; she is quite without clothes, and
the little gold is required in order that she may be suitably
attired. In reply the lineage of the bridegroom may ask for
time to pay or they may hand over the little gold in cash
right away. The bride's father's lineage ask for guarantor,
okuandar. Two are usually appointed, one from the lineage of
the bridegroom's father and one from his woman-receiving
group. The next stage is mangido izin mangoban, requesting
permission to take (the girl) away; this is followed by
mangido woli (or sora) requesting the guardianship, and
mangido izin nipatobang, literally, requesting permission to
make (the girl) old, i.e., to make her the subject of an adat
wedding. These requests are agreed to by members of the
lineage and woman-giving group of the bride's father who speak
in turn. The final decisions are referred in each case to
patobang, the elders, because they are na puna halok, those
who own the person. Finally, after the presentation of the
betel of the bride's party to the bridegroom's party and with
the intention of demonstrating humility, a member of the
lineage of the bride points out that she is poor and not
clever (malo) and the bride-takers should have no later re-
grets or anger towards the bride-givers on this account;
furthermore he exhorts them to treat the bride carefully.
This is received by a member of the bridegroom's lineage.
The formal adat proceedings are now finished; sweet rice and sugar is served and general discussion follows. But if the bridegroom lives in a different village and it is intended to take the bride there the following morning, a canon law wedding, nikah, is usually carried out immediately following the end of the adat speeches.

In other than runaway marriages, when the bride leaves the house of her father to go to that of the bridegroom's father she does so ceremonially. A short speech is made by a male representative of her father from the steps of the latter's house. He implies that the bride is being delivered for safe-keeping into the hands of the bridegroom and members of his lineage who wait below. They reply in kind acknowledging the receipt of the bride. One or two companions, pandongani, go with her, usually young females of her lineage and a married father's sister. The party carry with them at least two white mats and one red-edged mat which represent the fundamental basis of a household—a sleeping mat, an eating mat and an honorific mat for guests. A whole crowd of women and children accompany them to the boundary of the village. There the bride shakes the hand of each of her former companions, dabbing her eyes with her headcloth and asks their pardon for any faults she may have.
At the entrance to the bridegroom's village the party is greeted by a crowd of women of the same clan identity as the bridegroom and a number of other women who 'just come to look'. The party goes in semi-formal procession (marudur) to the bridegroom's father's house, the bride wearing a special cloth (kendang-kendang) over her right shoulder and down to the waist at the left which is similar to a carrying cloth for a baby; it is 'to ask for children'.

As she enters the house the bride is greeted by the bridegroom's mother or some other accreted woman of the bridegroom's lineage who shakes her hand. At that moment or a little later the same woman places some cooked rice on top of the bride's head and says

horas tondimu
son do bagasta

 greetings to your spirit
here is our house

In some villages this treatment is extended to the bridegroom. In the case of runaway marriages this is carried out when the couple arrive at the bridegroom's house.

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1 This is also done at a death ceremony in a speech by a member of the dead person's lineage when the corpse is about to be moved from his house to the grave.
We have now reached the end of the first phase, that of negotiation, and enter upon the second, the preparation and carrying out of the adat wedding proper. The first step is for the bridegroom's father to inform his relatives, koum, of what has happened. A meeting known as pobotohan utang, the informing of the debt, is held. The bridegroom's father calls members of his lineage (kahangi in the broad sense), wife-giving and wife-receiving group to his house, together with a representative of na patobang, the elders. Proceedings are opened by the presentation of betel to all the visitors by the bride, who kneels in front of each in turn. The father of the bridegroom, or failing him the father's brother, explains that the bridegroom is of age, that he has sought a bride who has consented to marry him and that she has been brought to the house. They have therefore contracted, he says, an utang na denggan, a beautiful debt; will those present acknowledge this. The various parties do so speaking in the following order: close lineage, close woman-receivers, distant lineage, distant woman-receivers, woman-givers, elders. The first speaker then asks for the help of those present and puts the matter of the organisation of the adat wedding into their hands. They ask what type of beast is to be killed, thus
fixing the type of adat which will be used and then appoint the necessary functionaries. The meeting closes with an expression of thanks from the first speaker and the visitors are then fed. The woman-giving group should not stay for the second part of the meeting or be fed. Formerly they were distinguished by wearing a leaf in their caps.

The wedding will now take place in about a week. In the meantime many of the unmarried females of the lineage of the bridegroom sleep in the same room. For three nights before the wedding itself, youths of the village other than those of like clan identity with the bride gather in the house in which she is staying to mangido burangir, beg betel. They sit round the room in a circle, and the bride-to-be with modestly lowered head, goes round offering them packages of betel one by one. The youths tease and joke with her, pull out the package a little way, ask what it is, refuse to take it and so on.

Just before the day of the wedding there is pabuat amak, (or patibal barang) the bringing of the goods, i.e. of the bride's marriage portion, which has in fact been bought with the sere na menek, the little gold, given in cash by the bridegroom. The articles concerned, usually mats and clothes, are carried to the bridegroom's house by two older females of the bride's lineage and three or four of her
former female companions. The members of the party are given a meal in the bride's father's house before they depart. Besides the marriage portion they take with them rice and a specially cooked chicken. On arrival they are met by one or two men and several old women and girls of the bridegroom's lineage. The old women receive the gifts of food and the marriage portion, the latter is checked and the contents are sometimes listed.

In the meantime large quantities of food and firewood have been collected under the houses of the bridegroom's father and his neighbours, and arrangements have been made to borrow crockery and to house any guests who stay overnight. On the morning of the wedding day, ari markaroan, male members of the boru of the bridegroom's father and of his lineage are first on the scene. They set up the large iron cooking pans in the open, split open the coconuts, peel and slice the bananas, grind the red peppers and prepare any food except the rice. There is no strict allotment of tasks, and members of either lineage or woman-receiving group may perform any job, but it is usually a member of the latter who undertakes the grinding of the peppers, which is normally a female task. In general, it is the younger men who do most of the work; the father of the bridegroom and his close agnates do little except put
things in the right place at the right time. The rice is cooked by the older women of the bridegroom's lineage in a separate place. The animal which is to provide the meat is killed by a religious specialist and cut up by the younger males. The guests begin to arrive about 10 a.m. In a small-to-medium sized village they comprise virtually the whole village (the close woman-giving group of the bridegroom's father being excluded); up to four hundred guests is not uncommon. Ideally, they include all agnatic kin and woman-receiving groups of the major lineage of the bridegroom. In practice some invitations are issued on the basis of other criteria - the wealth of the guest or his status as medicine man, teacher or village political officer. Implementing the cross-cutting network of village ties results in the wedding having the appearance of being a village affair with some guests from outside, i.e. the woman-receiving groups of the minimal lineage of the bridegroom.

The first adat ceremony is nipatobang, the making old, which is conducted by the older males. The use of betel, the order of speech, the reference of decisions and the making of the final decision take the same form as in the

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1 For a radja wedding in a large village there were about three thousand guests.
ceremonies already described. The essential element of 

ni:patobang is the choice of a new name for the bridegroom by his agnatic kin group and its being conferred upon him by the senior member. The representative of authority within the village, usually the village head, proclaims that henceforth no person shall address the bridegroom by any other than his new, married name. The older men are usually fed following this ceremony.

In the meantime in a nearby house the younger men perform barzandji, a series of chants in praise of Muhammad lasting an hour or so. They also are then fed. The bride is prepared for martanding, the sitting up, in yet a third house. She puts on traditional bridal dress assisted by her mother-in-law, father's sister and pandongani, 'bridesmaids', who are usually one of her former companions and an unmarried sister of the bridegroom. Nowadays, the old adat wedding dress for the bridegroom is usually lacking; he simply wears his best hat, shirt, trousers and palekat (skirt). The couple then sit down side by side on cushions on one side of the front room of the house and maintain a relatively rigid posture for some two or three hours. The pandongani sit on either side, their function being to keep the couple cool by fanning them. There is a procession of people through the house, especially of women and children
who come to stare at the bride and bridegroom, comment on the ornaments and so forth. During this period the youths and young women of the village may present a bouquet of flowers with a card bearing greetings in Bahasa Indonesia to the couple. While the sitting up is going on, a further adat ceremony may also be carried out. This is mengupah. The main role is performed by the medicine man, datuk. A specially prepared dish of fish and eggs is presented to the bridal couple and each eats a little of it. The medicine man addresses the ancestors, draws their attention to the wedding and invites their blessing upon it. He also addresses the spirits (tondi) of the bride and bridegroom, expresses the hope that they will not be disturbed by the excitement which is going on and will accept the union in marriage which has been effected.

The sitting up is followed by murudur tu tapian, the procession to the bathing place, now more familiarly known and practised as kehe tu aek, going to the stream. This was formerly a much organised spectacle which represented the climax of public excitement. All political elements within the village were represented in the procession as well as the various kin of the bridegroom. The procession was preceded by a man carrying a gong and incorporated in it were standard bearers, sword carriers, spear bearers, a gong
orchestra and the bride and bridegroom in full wedding dress, supported by their companions on either side. Nowadays the equivalent of all this in the normal wedding is a modest procession of the bride and her companions with some members and accreted females of the lineage of the bridegroom, perhaps ten people in all. But the essential elements of murudur tu tapian and kehe tu aek are the same - the showing to the bride of her correct bathing place as a married woman and the symbolization of her future function as child-bearer for the lineage of her husband. When the female party reach the stream, the bride places seventeen stones one at a time into a container held by an elderly woman of the agnatic kin group of her husband. As each stone is put in the woman asks 'What is that?' and the bride replies 'A boy', or 'A girl' alternately. In some villages the bride is first taken dressed in the clothes of an unmarried woman to aek budjing, the girls' stream, and then dressed in the clothes of a married woman to aek tobang, the married woman's stream.

The bride's wedding clothes are removed in the ceremony of mangguang hoas. It is customary for the bridegroom to retain a gold ring and return it to the bride a few days later but this is dying out.

By about 3 p.m. the main excitement is over, all have
been fed and most of the guests have gone, leaving only the closer relatives and elders. The latter gather once more in the evening in the house of the bridegroom's father or father's brother for two further ceremonies. The first of these is adat mengadjar, the teaching or nasehati, the advice. A close agnate of the bridegroom points out that the couple are young people who know nothing of being married, and he requests the elders to give the pair their advice. The elders do so, speaking in turn from the younger to the older and the bridegroom responds with an appropriate speech of thanks. Finally, in the second ceremony of the evening, the bridegroom's father or his father's brother speaking on behalf of his father, thanks the members of the lineage, the wife-receiving group, boru and the elders generally for their co-operation in the carrying out of the wedding, emphasizing the ties which bind them together and requesting their pardon for any omissions which have occurred. He then goes on to point out how expensive the ceremonies are and requests the help of the lineage and wife-receiving group in bearing the costs. In reply the members of the wife-receiving group acknowledge their responsibility. Further, they say that according to the adat which has been handed down to them the costs should be born half by the lineage and half by the wife-receiving
group. This is agreed to. Nowadays, no strict system of payments is enforced nor do the woman-receiving units as such make contributions, the latter, if forthcoming at all, are made by the wealthier individuals.

We have now completed phase two, that of the wedding itself, and enter upon the third and final phase, that of post-wedding inter-visiting. The first event is mangaloi na marpantang, the invitation of the forbidden, i.e. the visit of those bride's kin who were not invited to the wedding to the house of the bridegroom's father. The male visitors with their wives may amount to about ten or twelve in number and they bring gifts of a fowl and rice with them. They are first given sweet rice though not betel and afterwards short speeches are made. The hosts assure the visitors, their woman-givers, that they did not have a large amount or special food at the wedding and they intend no dishonour by the food they are giving. The visitors reply that they had no great hopes of gifts on this occasion from their woman-receivers, but they will pray to Allah for the benefit of the newly married. The visitors may also be given a full meal on this occasion, but if so the food cooked for the wedding may not be given to them. The object of the visit is said to be that the woman-giving group will not be afraid to come to the house.
The reverse visit is made by the bride and bridegroom and a few females of the latter's lineage to the house of the bride's father. This is less formal; the visiting party may be fed, but nothing special is prepared. The bride's father presents certain household necessities, cups, saucers, plates and pots to the young couple and they take them with them on their return. These are contributions from the bride's father's household itself.

In some villages there is confusion as to whether this visit should be called *mulak ari* or *mebat*. Formerly *mulak ari*, return day, referred to a visit which the couple made to the woman's father's house if the woman was not pregnant after one year of marriage. The woman was dressed again in her bridal clothes (i.e. she returned to her status as a new bride). *Mebat* was a visit the couple made to the house of the woman's father immediately after the birth of a child (Ris 1896:75). Nowadays *mebat* normally takes place within a few weeks and sometimes within a few days of the marriage. Its function may be to indicate that intercourse has occurred, thus making the marriage completely valid in canon law. This hastening of the ceremonial visiting cycle is consonant with the modern pattern of residence immediately after marriage - newly-weds do not usually stay in the house of the groom's father longer than a few weeks. They need
the goods they are given at mebat to set up their own household.

Table 20

**Adat ceremonies associated with marriage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Upper Mandailing Title</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. <strong>Marbo</strong></td>
<td>Afraid</td>
<td>Informing the bride's father of her whereabouts after abduction marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1 <strong>Mendokon ulang agoan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Placating bride's father after abduction marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 <strong>Mangaritit</strong></td>
<td>Investigation</td>
<td>Asking the girl her intentions on arrival at the bridegroom's house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. <strong>Mangkobari</strong></td>
<td>News giving</td>
<td>Negotiations concerning marriage payment and the transfer of the bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 <strong>Hobar boru</strong></td>
<td>News of the woman</td>
<td>Discussion of status of the bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 <strong>Hobar sere</strong></td>
<td>News of the gold</td>
<td>Determination of amount of marriage payments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 <strong>Mangido woli</strong></td>
<td>Requesting the guardianship</td>
<td>Requesting transfer of guardianship from the girl's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 <strong>Mangido izin mangoban</strong></td>
<td>Requesting permission to carry</td>
<td>Requesting permission to take the girl from her village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20 – continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Upper Mandailing Title</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRE-WEDDING cont.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mangido izin nipatobangkon</td>
<td>Requesting permission to make old</td>
<td>Requesting permission to carry out the adat marriage ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Mangalap boru</td>
<td>Fetching the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mangaloalo</td>
<td>Greeting</td>
<td>Meeting the bride at the entrance to the bridegroom's village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Manggugut sira</td>
<td>Eating salt</td>
<td>Greeting of bride by bridegroom's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. 1 Pobotohon utang</td>
<td>Telling of the debt</td>
<td>Informing lineage of the bridegroom that the bride has arrived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Marpokat</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>Arranging the details of the wedding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mangido burangir</td>
<td>Begging betel</td>
<td>Presentation of betel by the bride to the youths of the bridegroom's village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Markaroan</td>
<td>Wedding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Patibal Barang</td>
<td>Bringing goods</td>
<td>Bringing marriage portion from bride's to bridegroom's house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Nipatobang</td>
<td>Making old</td>
<td>Giving new names to bridegroom and bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Martanding</td>
<td>Showing</td>
<td>Public sitting up of bridegroom and bride</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20 - continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Upper Mandailing Title</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Mangupah</td>
<td>? blessing</td>
<td>Calling on ancestors to witness the marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Kehe tu aek</td>
<td>Going to the stream</td>
<td>Visit of the bride to the stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Mangguang hoas</td>
<td>Taking off of clothes</td>
<td>Removal of the bride's wedding dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Nasehati</td>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>Giving of advice to the couple by old men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Giving thanks to the marriage organisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Mangaloi na marpantang</td>
<td>Invitation of the forbidden</td>
<td>Visit of the bride's father to the house of the bridegroom's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Mulak ari (mebat)</td>
<td>Returning day</td>
<td>Visit of bride and bridegroom to house of the bride's father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: In A and B in the above table it is assumed that the marriage is an abduction marriage. Mangaririt (B2) refers also to the first sounding out of the girl's father in a proposal marriage (Keuning 1948:83).
## Appendix 7  Payment of religious rice tax

Table 21

Summary of available information on payment of religious rice tax

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Method of payment of tax</th>
<th>Amount collected by tax committee in 1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angin Barat</td>
<td>75% to tax committee, 25% to poor relatives</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batahan Djai</td>
<td>All paid to relatives and persons who help with reaping (see Table 16)</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botung</td>
<td>All to tax committee which divides among the poor</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutagodang</td>
<td>Some persons pay to tax committee; others pay to whom they like</td>
<td>20 kalings from 4 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutatinggi</td>
<td>Part given to tax committee, part to poor persons</td>
<td>100 kalings from 40 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasar Maga</td>
<td>All given to tax committee</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si Antona</td>
<td>All given to tax committee</td>
<td>270 kalings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simangambat</td>
<td>Some given to tax committee, others not. Tax committee use it to build mosque</td>
<td>amount n.k; from 10 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Banjak</td>
<td>All to tax committee</td>
<td>60-70 kalings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Duhu</td>
<td>Some persons give to tax committee; others give to relatives</td>
<td>50 kalings from 6 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Method of payment of tax</th>
<th>Amount collected by tax committee in 1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Pining</td>
<td>Given to relatives and persons who help with reaping</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambangan Djai</td>
<td>Most given to tax committee who are asked to give it to poor relatives of donor</td>
<td>200 kalings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambangan Tonga</td>
<td>Some given to tax committee, some to relatives. Tax committee give to anyone who comes to the mosque to ask for it; this said to be procedure recommended by Ministry of Religion</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Figure 3: A model of the larger kinship units of the social structure
Figure 5: The structure of the minimal lineage
Figure 6. Terms used by males for siblings and patrilateral relatives (the lower term in each pair is the reciprocal of the upper).

Figure 7. Terms used by males for matrilateral relatives (the lower term in each pair is the reciprocal of the upper). The term iboto may also be used by men or women to refer to mother's sister's children of opposite sex.
Figure 8. Terms used by females for siblings and patrilateral relatives (the lower term in each pair is the reciprocal of the upper).

Figure 9. Terms used by females for matrilateral relatives (the lower term in each pair is the reciprocal of the upper).
Figure 11: Diagram showing the payment of respect in the minimal lineage
Figure 12: The structure of the minor lineage

Figure 13: Diagram to show the relations of Kahangi solkot and ompu
Figure 14: ter Haar's conceptualization of the movement of women among clans

Figure 15: New conceptualization of movement of women
Figure 16: A model of woman-giving, mora, and woman-receiving, boru, relations

Figure 17: Relationships between members of mother-giving, mora, and mother-receiving, boru, groups
Figure 18: The wider context of woman-giving, mora and woman-receiving, boru, group relations