

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN MINANGKABAU

A. INTRODUCTION

Little is known about the early history of the political organization of the Minangkabau world. Data which would allow an historical reconstruction are scarce (see Kielstra 1887a, De Josselin de Jong 1951, Dobbin 1975), and the main sources for knowledge and conjecture are embodied in the *tambo*, the historical Minangkabau legends which are transmitted in oral and written form. In this study I shall restrict myself to the description of the socio-political organization of the Minangkabau village states, the *nagari*, and of *nagari* Candung Kota Lawas (CKL) in particular. The analysis of the materials on Minangkabau political organization before the beginning of the 19th century would go far beyond the scope of this study (for a recent attempt see Dobbin 1975). I shall give my interpretation in a different publication, which will also deal with the question of how CKL fits into the general picture. In this introduction I shall therefore only give a very summary account of what is known about the political history of the Minangkabau world.¹

The Minangkabau *tambo* relate the creation of the world, the arrival of the ancestors under the king Maharajo Dirajo, the youngest son of Iskandar Zulkarnain (Alexander the Great), the settlement in the first *nagari* Pariangan Padang Panjang, the expansion of the population and the activities of the two half-brothers Dt. Perpatih nan Sabatang and Dt. Katumanggungan, who devised the political organization and the *adat*. The settled area was divided into the "three districts" (*Luhak nan tigo*) Tanah Datar, Agam, and 50 Koto, and the "two *lareh*" (*lareh nan duo*) Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Caniago. The population lived in *nagari*, village states, which consisted of one or more settlement centers (*koto*). Within

the *nagari*, the population was organized in matrilineages; the matrilineages were each affiliated with a *suku*. The *suku* were and still are named matriclan-like groups. They may once have functioned Minangkabau-wide as true matriclans, but in historic times they have had a group character only within *nagari*. The *nagari* were governed by *panghulu*, the matrilineage leaders resident in the *nagari*. In the 14th century a kingdom was established in Tanah Datar by the prince Adityawarman (an historic figure) who probably extended into West Sumatra one of the great empires which had flourished at the east coast of Sumatra in the second half of the first and the beginning of the second millenium. The kingship was later vested in three offices, *Rajo Alam*, the King of the World and the actual ruler of the kingdom, *Rajo Adat*, the King of Custom, and *Rajo Ibadat*, the King of Religion. The kings resided in the *nagari* Pagarruyung in *luhak* Tanah Datar. Succession to their office was patrilineal, a contrast with the matrilineal organization of the *suku*. Little is known about the position of the kings. They seem to have wielded little power. In the original three districts the *nagari* were sovereign states, whereas in the *rantau*, the area surrounding the *luhak nan tigo*, there was a *rajo* (a king's representative) in each *nagari* (Francis 1839). Howsoever the political organization may have been in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, the Minangkabau kings did not exercise substantial power in the first reports given by western foreigners. The first European to reach Minangkabau from the east coast, the portuguese Dias, who visited the royal courts in Buo, probably a dependancy of the *Rajo Adat* (De Josselin de Jong 1951: 101) in 1684, noted the very limited powers of the king (see De Haan 1897, Schnittger 1939). And the messengers from the Dutch at the west coast who established contact with the "emperor" (*Keizer*) of Minangkabau in 1665, reported that the king himself was not in the position to exercise any authority, but that they had to negotiate with the heads of the two "tribes" (*geslachten*) Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Caniago (Kroeskamp 1931: 46). These two tribes, the *lareh* Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Caniago had been established by the legendary law-givers Dt. Katumanggungan and Dt. Perpatih nan Sabatang well before the Kingdom was established in Pagarruyung. The character of the two *lareh* is rather unclear. De Josselin de Jong (1951) regards them as moieties, out of which the allegedly original, four *suku*, Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Caniago developed. Most authors, however, regard the two *lareh* as political parties (see De Rooij 1890, Leyds 1926). Koto-Piliang, founded by Dt. Katumanggungan, was the "royal party" which supported the King-

ship, and established a rather autocratic form of *nagari* government, which was exercised by the *Datuek nan ampek suku*, the heads of the four *suku*, to which the matrilineages of the *nagari* were affiliated. Bodi-Caniago, founded by Dt. Perpatih nan Sabatang, was the "democratic party", opposing the Kingship and proclaiming complete *nagari*-autonomy and the equality of all lineage heads in *nagari* government. There were additional differences in the penal law, Koto-Piliang stressing the *talion*-principle whereas Bodi-Caniago relied on the principle of compensation in homicide cases. The Four Ministers of the Minangkabau Empire, the *Basa nan Ampek Balai* (The Great Men of the Four Council Halls), all resided in *nagari* belonging to the Koto-Piliang Federation; this supports the hypothesis that the establishment of the Kingship was essentially an effort of the Koto-Piliang party. Each *nagari* had to adopt either the *adat* Koto-Piliang or Bodi-Caniago, but several *nagari* have claimed to belong to neither, a further indication of the "political party"-character of the two *lareh*. Historically the "parties" seem to have lost their original function, but Bodi-Caniago and Koto-Piliang have persisted as distinct *adat* systems into the present. The differences between the two systems have largely disappeared, a process which was enhanced by the imposition of a new political superstructure by the Dutch in the 19th century and the abolition of penal justice according to *adat* in 1875.

The Islamic religion was imported to Minangkabau most probably in the second half of the 16th century, but it seems that it was only gradually accepted. As late as 1761 the inhabitants of the west coast were described by a Dutchman "not as Muslims but mostly pagan, or rather without religion" (Dobbin 1975: 85, with further references). But as we have seen, among the Royal offices there was one of a "King of Religion", and among the *Basa nan Ampek Balai* there also was a minister of religious affairs, the *Tuan Kali* who resided in Padang Gantiang. Religious functionaries were also created within the *suku* administration in the *nagari*: the *Imam*, *Chatib*, or *Malim Adat*. The degree to which the Islamic religion was accepted by the Minangkabau in the first period of Islamization is largely unknown. At the end of the 18th century, at least, they were not devout believers. Variations in intensity of belief in Islam greatly contributed to the civil war which broke out in Minangkabau in the beginning of the 19th century, the so-called Padri-war. The Padri were an orthodox religious movement founded by three hajis who had returned from their pilgrimage to Mecca in 1803. During their stay in Arabia, they had

come under the influence of the very strict religious tenets of the Wahabite sect. After their return to Minangkabau they began preaching the abolition of gambling, opium smoking, cock fighting, and palm wine drinking, pleasures in which the Minangkabau seem to have indulged to a great extent at this time. Their campaign was also directed against the political organization of the *nagari*; they sought to replace the government based upon the heads of the matrilineages by a theocratic form of government through *Tuanku* (Lords), who were to wield both religious and secular power. Against those *nagari* which did not want to submit to their teachings, the Padri waged a holy war. At the beginning of the war, the members of the royal families were murdered, and soon the whole country was engaged in a civil/religious war. As will be described later (Chapter 3), it was the Padri-war which served as a pretext for the Dutch occupation of Minangkabau.

The Padri-war and the subsequent imposition of Dutch colonial rule on the Minangkabau *nagari* had a great impact on the socio-political organization. In the following description I shall indicate the most important changes which occurred as a consequence, but my main aim is to present the basic principles of the *adat* socio-political organization of the *nagari*. The development of the pluralistic situation in the legal and administrative field will be dealt with in the next chapter. I shall order the Minangkabau conceptions which refer to the order of their *nagari* under four headings. At first I shall describe the principles which divide the *nagari*-population into groups and which regulate inter-group relationships. Under the second heading I shall treat the allocation of authority to individuals and groups. The third is concerned with the individual's relationships to other individuals and to groups. Under the heading of residence I shall finally deal with the conceptions which localize the inhabitants' rights and duties and their activities.

The principle which pervades all four sets of organizational rules is the conception of matrilineal descent (*keturunan garis ibu*), which the Minangkabau define as "blood relationships" (*batali darah*). The fundamental socio-political units are structured according to this principle. Matrilineal descent provides an important criterion for determining the eligibility of persons for positions of social and political authority; the same descent principle also provides a criterion for determining the range of persons and groups over which positions of authority extend. The principle also marks off the functionally most important sub-

set of the individuals' kin, and it further functions as a guideline for the continuation of positions of authority and property relationships through time. But although the conception of matrilineal descent is the dominant principle used in social and political organization, it is by no means the only one. In the field of inter-individual relationships, relationships established through marriage are of considerable importance, and the relationships between children and their father and their father's lineage are functionally loaded to an important degree. So far as positions of authority are concerned, selection and communal agreement modify the principle of succession according to matrilineal descent. Finally, the population is divided into groups not only through the matrilineal principle, but there are also group divisions which are based upon political arrangement and on a territorial division of the *nagari*. These additional principles should be stressed, as the principle of matrilineal descent has generally been over-emphasized by previous authors. Further principles divide the population into categories of different social and political rank.² Stratification is based upon type of residence in a *nagari*. In principle, each *nagari* recognizes three categories of inhabitants: the descendants of the original settlers (*urang usali*, "original people"), the descendants of strangers which were accepted in the *nagari* at some later time (*urang datang*, strangers, newcomers, arrivals), and the descendants of former slaves (*locieh* or *kemanakan dibawa lutuik*, sisters' children below the knee) (see De Josselin de Jong 1975: 11, Umar Junus 1964: 292, 308).

B. GROUP FORMATION AND INTER-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

I. THE CONSTITUENT GROUPS

By constituent groups I mean those groups which are presumed to exist in perpetuity and which function as the structural units of the *nagari*-constitution. According to the *adat* of CKL, the basic socio-political units are the groups called *buah gadang*. They correspond to the groups which in the literature on Minangkabau are usually called *buah paruik*, *paruik*, *familie*, or *kam* (for an overview of the varying terminology see De Josselin de Jong 1951: 49 ff.).

1. *The Buah Gadang and Its Internal Structure*

The *buah gadang* is defined as "one" in several respects: The members of the *buah gadang* are said to "have in common" or are "of one" *panghulu*-title (*sasako*), heritage (*sapusako*), property (*saharato*), and graveyard (*sapandam sapakuburan*); they are people who are "offended and ashamed together" (*sahina samalu*). The *buah gadang* can be a matrilineal descent group (MDG), comprising only persons who trace common matrilineal descent from one apical ancestress. It may also be stratified or consist of MDGs of the same rank which do not together make up a MDG. As it is a rule of *adat* that strangers and the descendants of former slaves can acquire *nagari*-citizenship only by incorporation into a *buah gadang*, the social strata are usually indicated through a reference to their status as *buah gadang* members. For this reference the concepts of matrilineal descent are used: All group members are referred to as *kamanakan* ("sister's children"). According to *adat*, there are four kinds of *kamanakan*. To these four kinds of *kamanakan* correspond four different mechanisms of incorporation and the three social categories which have already been mentioned:

1. The first kind of group members is made up by the persons who are directly related by matrilineal descent to the *buah gadang*'s apical ancestress, and who have become members by birth to one of the group's female members. These are the "sisters' children related by blood" (*kamanakan batali darah*) or "sisters' children below the chin" (*kamanakan dibawa dagu*). A *buah gadang* may consist of such blood relatives only, but may also contain *kamanakan* of the following three categories.

2. The second kind of group members are those who have been adopted by the first kind and the adopted members' descendants. These are the "sisters' children below the breast" (*kamanakan dibawa dada*). Adoption is rare in Minangkabau and mainly occurs for demographic reasons: The *buah gadang* is threatened with extinction (*punah, putuih*) or there are no male group members who can effectively lead the *buah gadang* and manage its affairs. In principle, persons should be adopted with whom matrilineal descent relationships are recognized, but exceptions are permitted. Usually, the adopted members are also *batali darah*, blood relatives in the matriline, who were, before their adoption, members of a different *buah gadang* resident in the *nagari*.³ In addition to *nagari* residents members of a *buah gadang*'s *balahan* can be adopted. The *balahan* are

groups formed by the descendants of persons who, in the past, had been members of the *buah gadang* but who, at some time in the *buah gadang*'s history, have split off to move into a different *nagari* (a case in which such an adoption is envisaged will be described in Chapter 5). The adoption requires a formal ceremony and the consent of the *nagari*-government. The new members must be acknowledged as *kamanakan* (*mangaku kamanakan*) and be officially and publicly received as new group members (*dion-jokkan*). After the adoption, the new group member(s) enjoy the same rights and privileges as the blood relatives (see Willinck 1909: 357).

3. The third kind of group members consists of strangers and their descendants, who have associated (*malakok*) with a *buah gadang*. Any stranger wishing to settle in the *nagari* must be incorporated into a *buah gadang*. Minangkabau *adat* says of them: "*tabang manumpuehkan dahan - hanggo mancamkan rantiang*" - "(a bird) leaves the tree branch when flying away - it catches a twig when sitting down" (Kroesen 1874: 22). They must find a *mamak*, a "mother's brother", and they should seek acceptance in a *buah gadang* which belongs to the same *suku* to which they, in their original *nagari*, belonged. These are the "sisters' children below the stomach" (*kamanakan dibawa pusek*) or the ones related by "good relationships" (*batali budhi*).

4. The fourth group consists of the descendants of former slaves. These are the "sisters' children below the knee" (*kamanakan dibawa lutuik*) or the ones "related by gold" (*batali ameh*).

Slavery seems to have played only a minimal role in Minangkabau before the Padri-war. The Minangkabau are reported to have made occasional raids on their non-Islamic neighbours and on the islands off the west coast (Verkerk Pistorius 1868: 435 ff.). Only in the Padri-war, could Minangkabau themselves be made slaves. For the padri treated all those who did not want to submit to their rule as *kafirs*, unbelievers, and unbelievers could be made slaves. The *budak* or *locieh*, as the slaves were called, were treated as self-acquired property (*harato pancahari'an*) and after their master's death became *budak pusako*, inherited slaves which were treated like inherited property (*harato pusako*) (see Kielstra 1892: 640 ff.). In general, slaves seem to have been treated rather well and were set free after having rendered good services to their master.⁴ When slaves were set free, they had, as strangers in the *nagari*, to look for a *mamak* and to be accepted in a *buah gadang*, and they in general

chose their former master as *mamak*. When slavery was officially forbidden in the Colony in 1860, the colonial government freed all slaves, and also freed the *kamanakan dibawa lutuik* from their often slave-like obligations towards their former masters by buying them off (Kielstra 1892: 641, 643, Verkerk Pistorius 1868: 435 ff., AB 11: 82). In the district of "Old Agam", where CKL is situated, slavery played no role: Only 504 *kamanakan dibawa lutuik* were bought off at the time (Kielstra 1892: 643). But in some other *nagari*, such as Silungkang and Padang Sibusuk, nearly one third of the population consists of the descendants of former slaves.⁵

The different kinds of *kamanakan* are all group members. They are all subject to the socio-political authority of their *panghulu* who represents all his group members in the *nagari*. Besides, all group members share the same rules of exogamy. Thus strangers of *suku* X who had associated with a *buah gadang* of *suku* Y were henceforth not allowed to marry members of *suku* Y. But in some respects the status of the various kinds of group members is clearly differentiated: The *kamanakan* of the third and fourth kind have no equal vote in *buah gadang* matters. They are ineligible for their *buah gadang*'s *panghuluship*, an exception being sometimes made for the descendants of strangers. They also have no equal rights to the *buah gadang*'s property. As will be described in detail later, only the blood relatives and the adopted members have a right to an equal distribution (*pambahagian*) - the other *kamanakan* are only "given" some property (*pambarian*; a story involving the property relationships between *kamanakan dibawah lutuik* and their former masters will be described in Chapter 5).

2. Subdivision and Cleavage of the Buah Gadang

The *buah gadang* differ in genealogical depth. Some trace their existence to times before the foundation of the *nagari*. Although not all ancestors are remembered (the deepest genealogy, *ranji*, which we saw comprised 11 generations), one "knows" that the *buah gadang* and the first incumbent of its *panghulu* title were among the founding families. Other *buah gadang* have come into existence at a later stage. Some may have branched off from an already existing one, others may have been constituted by the descendants of strangers or former slaves according to the rules which will be described later. In CKL, *buah gadang* are also subdivided into formal subgroups, the *kaum*. Whereas subdivision as such seems to be a

regular feature of Minangkabau *adat*, the form in which it is presently done may have been seriously influenced by Dutch administrative policy. This question will be discussed after the processes of subdivision and cleavage have been described.

a. Subdivision: The *Kaum*

In CKL, the subdivisions of a *buah gadang* are called *kaum*. As the use of the word *kaum* in the Minangkabau literature and in contemporary Minangkabau varies considerably, some general remarks must be made first:

The word *kaum* is Arabic and means group. It has probably been used in Minangkabau since the Islamization, but it is not known to which of the socially defined groups the term was applied, and whether there was a uniform usage throughout Minangkabau. In 1908, the Dutch colonial administration employed the term *kaum* to denote the groups which were to be responsible for the payments of the newly introduced tax (Van Vollenhoven 1918: 249, Joustra 1923: 92). For this purpose the groups were chosen which were presumed to hold property in common. The head of this group was styled *mamak kepala waris* (Min.: *mamak kapalo warih*), the "mamak who is the head of the heirs" (on the term *warih* see below pp. 99 and 196). This use of the term has persisted into post-Independence Indonesia, and it is universally applied in the State Courts. Disputes over group-property are, by definition, over *kaum* property, and the *kaum* must be represented by its *mamak kepala waris* (see also Tanner 1971: 265 ff.). It is, however, very doubtful whether the uniform usage in the courts corresponds to a uniformity on the *nagari* level.⁶

In CKL, the *kaum* are *potential* subunits of the *buah gadang*: The internal formal organization of *buah gadang* is expressed in terms of *kaum*. A *buah gadang* can consist of one *kaum* only, but also of several *kaum*. There are 100 odd *buah gadang* in CKL and nearly 400 *kaum*. The average thus is 3 to 4 *kaum* per *buah gadang*, but there are many *buah gadang* with just one *kaum*, and at the other extreme is one *buah gadang* which consists of 13 *kaum*.

The *buah gadang* is one group (*kaum*, in the most inclusive reference of the term) with "one" property and "one" *panghuluship* and -title. Subdivision of the *buah gadang* into two or more *kaum* involves a formal division of the common property, but not of the *panghuluship*. Of two *kaum* in the same *buah gadang* it is said that "*harato alah dibagi*", the property has already been divided. Both *kaum* have their *kaum*-leaders, the *mamak kepala waris*, as they are nowadays called (the terms *mamak kaum* or

tungganai are also still used, see below), who exercise authority in *kaum*-internal property affairs. According to court-practice, they also represent their *kaum* in all disputes over *kaum*-property. In inter-*kaum* disputes, however, or in intra-*kaum* disputes which cannot be solved at the *kaum* level, the *panghulu* retains the highest authority also in property affairs. No transfer of any *buah gadang* property, share-cropping agreements excepted, may occur without him taking cognizance.

Common holding and division of property are, however, expressed on two levels of socio-political organization: According to *adat*, in the sense of political-administrative relations, the *buah gadang* consisting of more than one *kaum* is still "one"; all *buah gadang* members are still *urang saharato*, people with one common property. The property division in the *buah gadang* between its *kaum* is to be valid only internally. As one of the stories told in Chapter 5 will demonstrate, this principle is still recognized in the *nagari* and has practical consequences in property-politics. On the other hand, the autonomy of the *kaum* in property affairs is clearly acknowledged in the State Courts, where the *mamak kepala waris*, and not the *panghulu*, represent their *kaum* in inter-group disputes. This somewhat ambiguous *kaum-buah gadang* relationship may be due to the fact that in the courts' perspective, *kaum* are the groups which have one property; "one property groups" can be either *kaum* or *buah gadang* groups in CKL.

Subdivision of *buah gadang* consisting of one *kaum* into two *kaum* will mostly be the result of a longer process. The division generally occurs for demographic reasons, when the group members have become numerous enough that they lose the feeling of "really" being one group. Minangkabau *adat* says: "*Panjang dikarek - buntak dikapiang*" - "what has become too large, must be shortened, what tends to become unclear, must be clarified" (Kooreman 1902: 917, Willinck 1909: 353). The division itself, however, must be formalized. When the division is to occur, the rule of "*kok limo kali turun*" - "when there are descendants five times", must be adhered to (Willinck 1909: 352, De Josselin de Jong 1951: 85). This rule indicates the generation level at which the apical ancestresses of the newly formed *kaum* are established: The apical ancestresses whose descendants form the new *kaum* are those women who, at the moment the group split is made, have had five generations of descendants. They thus are determined on the ~~MMMM~~-level of the youngest living generation; the counting proceeds from the youngest living generation upwards, not from the apical ancestress of the former undivided group downwards, through

the generations.⁷

The above description only refers to divisions of *buah gadang* or *kaum* which consist of blood relatives. *Kamanakan* of the third and fourth kind can also be given *kaum*-status, and in this case the *kok limo kali turun*-rule does not play a role as there is no question of a common apical ancestress. The formal recognition of *kaum*-status requires the decision of the *buah gadang* elders.

The above principles do not only pertain to the subdivision of *buah gadang* which are one *kaum*, but to subdivision of *kaum* in general. Due to the varying demographic pressures, *kaum* will generally develop asymmetrically. There may be *kaum* where the common apical ancestress is still remembered by the living *kaum* members. In others, however, where due to failing demographic pressure there was no need for *kaum* splits, the common apical ancestress may be several generations removed, and the actual genealogical relationships between the *kaum* members may be not clear to them any more.

As long as the *buah gadang* as a whole is not split, the newly formed *kaum* still have the same *sako*, *panghulu*-title. This is often kept by the genealogically older *kaum*. But often (and apparently in Bodi-Caniago *adat* in particular) the two *kaum* agree to rotate the title and the *panghuluship* between them. This agreement is called "*gadang balega (bagilieh)*" - "the greatness rotates" (see also Willinck 1909: 801 f., De Josselin de Jong 1951: 87, who speaks of the *adat sansako*). This agreement often leads to difficulties and serious conflicts between the *kaum*. For one, this is due to asymmetric *kaum* development. If a *buah gadang* subdivides into two *kaum*, the two *kaum* should alternatively use the title. But if one of the *kaum* is subdivided again later, and there are three *kaum*, the title should still be rotated between the two original *kaum*, whereas the two "sub*kaum*" should now start rotating their turn. The title thus should be rotated in a sequence like ABACABAC. But after some time, B and C will usually claim the same right as A. In addition, the *kaum* which has held the *panghuluship* more often is loth to give it to the other *kaum* after the *panghulu*'s death and rather tries to install one of its members as new *panghulu* again. Such conflicts often lead to definite splits of *buah gadang*.

b. Cleavage of *Buah Gadang*

By cleavage I mean the establishment of two (or more) *buah gadang* out of one. The rules for cleavage are the same as have been described for subdivision, but there is one important additional rule: As it is one requirement for a group's *buah gadang* status that their members have "one *sako*", the establishment of a new *buah gadang* means the establishment of a new *panghulu* title. Conversely, the installation of a new *panghulu* means the formation of a new *buah gadang*. As the members of the new *buah gadang* must have been members of a *buah gadang* before, the establishment of a new *buah gadang* always means that an existing *buah gadang* is divided. The process of cleavage is generally preceded by the subdivision of the *buah gadang* into *kaum*.

There are four principle modes of establishing a new *panghuluship*.⁸ The concepts used to denote these four modes are not uniformly used throughout Minangkabau,⁹ but the processes indicated by the sometimes varying terms denote the same mechanisms: They deal with the cleavage of *buah gadang* consisting of blood relatives (1 and 2), of the descendants of strangers (3), and of the descendants of former slaves (4):

1. *Gadang manyimpang* (The Greatness branches off)

In the case of *gadag manyimpang*, a new *buah gadang* is formed by one group of the blood relatives after an agreement over the cleavage has been reached. The typical situation is, that the *kamanakan batali darah* have increased. The *buah gadang* has already been subdivided into two *kaum* and one *kaum* may already have moved to cultivate land in a different part of the *nagari*. So one decides "that the time has come" and that independence should be given to that *kaum*. The new group is given its own *panghuluship* and title, which in many *nagari* generally is (or even has to be) derived from the *panghulu* title of the old *buah gadang*. Thus if the *buah gadang* of Dt. Sinaro establishes a new *buah gadang*, the new *panghulu* title may be Dt. Sinaro Panjang. To speak of "old" and "new" *buah gadang* only makes sense if it is related to the group which keeps the original title, and this often is the genealogically older group (descending from the older sister of the sisters who are apical ancestresses). Another and mostly corresponding reference is to the residence of the groups. The old group usually stays at the original settlement area, the "new" group moves away. But the two *buah gadang* may also agree upon "title-rotation": Each *buah gadang* wears the original and the new title in rotation. This was quite common in CKL.

2. *Baju sehelai dibagi duo* (One shirt is divided into two)

In this case, the *buah gadang* of the blood relatives is divided into two groups of equal rank, which both keep the original *panghulu* title. Thus one *buah gadang* Dt. Sinaro becomes two *buah gadang* with the *panghulu*-title Dt. Sinaro. According to "old" *adat*, this was forbidden, but it seems to occur so often that most Minangkabau consider it an unpleasant but hardly avoidable practice. Such a cleavage only occurs in case of trouble: mostly when there are two or more *kaum* which cannot agree which *kaum* is to keep the *panghuluship* or when the title-rotation does not function. If the dispute cannot be solved by the other *panghulu* or not even by the highest *panghulu* in the *Karapatan Adat Nagari*, the *Nagari* Council, this kind of division may be the last resort.

3. *Mangguntiang siba baju* (A piece of the shirt is cut off)

In this case, a new *buah gadang* is formed by the descendants of former strangers, who had at some time associated with the *buah gadang*. If their descendants have increased, and when they have demonstrated their worth, it may be decided to give them independent *buah gadang*-status. They will be given their own *panghulu* title, which should in general be derived from the title of their former *panghulu*. The new *panghulu* thus may get a title like Dt. Sinaro nan Panjang.

4. *Mambuek kato nan baru, mambuek panghulu baru* (To make a new *panghulu*)

In this case a new *panghuluship* is created for the descendants of former slaves which have been given independent *buah gadang* status. The title is new insofar as it may not contain part of the *sako* of their former masters; a new title has to be invented.

The same processes hold, of course, true for future cleavages of the newly formed *buah gadang*. If at a later stage the *buah gadang* which has been formed by the descendants of former strangers is split, this will follow the rules laid out in 1. and 2., the rules concerning cleavage of groups of blood relatives.

II. OTHER GROUPS

The *buah gadang* and *kaum* have been described as the constituent socio-political units. This constituent character is rooted in *adat* and the *nagari*-constitution. In addition, there are other references to groups, which partly overlap with *buah gadang* and *kaum*: *jurai*, *rumah*, *kampung*, and *pariuak*. In CKL, these terms have the following connotations:

1. *The Jurai*

The term *jurai* can be used to denote any MDG which traces common matrilineal descent to one common apical ancestress, irrespective of its genealogical depth and formal structure. *Jurai* thus can be used to refer to a mother with her children, to a *kaum* or a *buah gadang*, and it can also denote a group of several *buah gadang* which share common matrilineal descent. In general, however, the term *jurai* is employed to indicate lineages *within* the formal groups, the *kaum* or *buah gadang*; i.e. the apical ancestresses of the *jurai* can be taken from each genealogical level below the one on which the *kaum*- or *buah gadang* ancestress is located. *Jurai* means both the actually living members of a *jurai* as well as the group in perpetuity. It has a purely genealogical connotation: A *jurai* is always formed of blood relatives (*batali darah*), whatever their social status may be.

2. *The Rumah*

The term *rumah*, house, refers to the *rumah gadang*, the Minangkabau long-house, which is the center of *kaum* activities and ceremonies and in which the female group members sleep together with their husbands and children. *Rumah*, or the people who are *sa-rumah*, "of one house", can be used to indicate the kin group sharing the same *rumah gadang*. The eldest matrikinsman, the head of the house, is styled *mamak rumah* or *tungganai*. But *rumah* can also be used in reference to all persons whose ancestresses, howsoever far removed, once shared the same *rumah gadang*. It thus can indicate all members of a *buah gadang*, even if they now live in several houses. In *suku* Caniago, e.g., there was a subdivision called Caniago 5 Rumah, the Caniago of the 5 Houses. In this case, the 5 houses indicated the five original *buah gadang* of that subdivision. In CKL, as probably in most *nagari* in Minangkabau and as in many other societies, "house" has both a genealogical and residential/territorial meaning. In former times, the genealogical and residential rules were probably

matched insofar as a residential unit was also a genealogical unit recognized as a formal group. In a given historical situation, the people who were *sarumah* constituted the *kaum* or even the *buah gadang*. When the group members increased, at first new rooms would be added to the *rumah gadang*, or a smaller house would be built adjacent to it. In this case, the group members in the small house would still be "of one house" with the others. If the group continued to increase, people would start thinking of building a new *rumah gadang*. This is an important matter, to be decided by the whole group and the *panghulu*. If the new *rumah gadang* was built, the group members going to live there would have their own *mamak rumah* or *tungganai*, and the residential split would probably be accompanied by a formal subdivision of the group.

As far as I can judge, the genealogical principle, however, was the decisive one. It certainly has proved to be the persistent one in CKL, where the residential referent has lost most of its importance. For *rumah gadang* are no longer regularly reconstructed (it is too expensive and people appreciate some more privacy) and the *rumah gadang* which are still used usually do not house a formal group any more. The majority of people live in smaller houses, which have space enough for a *jurai* of three generations. Whether these houses can be called *rumah* in its *adat* meaning is questionable. In CKL, the eldest male matrilineal relative of a group living in a small house is sometimes designated *mamak rumah*, but in general *mamak rumah* or *tungganai* is used to denote the *kaum*-heads, also when the *kaum* members lived in several small houses.

3. *The Kampuang*

The concept *kampuang* is also used with both genealogical and territorial reference in Minangkabau. In the literature, it is used to refer to groups such as *buah gadang* in CKL as well as to larger groups composed of several *buah gadang* of the same *suku*. This seems to be the general case for *nagari* with Koto-Piliang *adat* in the district 50 Koto. *Kampuang* is also used to indicate the settlement area in which a genealogical *kampuang* lives. In CKL, the word is only used in a residential/territorial meaning.¹⁰

4. *The Pariuak*

The word *pariuak* literally means "rice-pot". It is used to denote the people who share one rice-pot - the group of matrilineal relatives who eat together.

III. GROUP FORMATION ON MORE INCLUSIVE LEVELS AND THE SYSTEM OF INTER-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

The *buah gadang* are the basic socio-political units in the *nagari*. Their mutual relationships, hierarchical order, and the formation of more inclusive groups of *buah gadang* are regulated in the *nagari*'s constitution. The constitution is partly subject to Minangkabau-wide *adat* which contains principles according to which a *nagari* must be constituted; in part it consists of constitutional arrangements which have been made by the *nagari*'s political leaders.

One of the most important principles of *nagari* organization is that each Minangkabau individual, and consequently each group, must belong to a *suku*, and that there must at least be four *suku* in a territory before the territory may be declared a *nagari*. The description and analysis of the Minangkabau *suku* organization is complicated by the fact, that the term *suku* is applied to groupings of different character - in the literature as well as in the various *nagari*: *Suku* refers to the named groups which are generally considered to have been Minangkabau-wide matriclans, and which are said to have developed out of the "original" four *suku* Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Caniago. At present, there are more than one hundred of such *suku* in Minangkabau, but they have group character only on the *nagari* level. Secondly, *suku* also refers to administrative associations of *buah gadang* which may not be related to each other by actual or assumed common matrilineal descent and which may even belong to different clan-*suku*. A detailed discussion of the Minangkabau *suku* system and of the interpretations given to it in the literature would go far beyond the scope of this study.¹¹ Here, I shall only describe the situation as it was in *nagari* CKL.

In CKL, there are two kinds of most inclusive groups, the *suku* and the *hindu*. The *suku*, also called *suku pusako*, are formed according to the principle of common matrilineal heritage, and are known by the matriclan names. The *hindu* (from *induek*, mother, *genetrix*) or *hindu adat*, which formerly had been called *suku adat*, are formed according to the principle of *adat* in the sense of political arrangements not (or not exclusively) based upon common matrilineal descent. The *hindu adat* are named after its dominant *suku pusako* group or after the number of its component *suku pusako* groups.¹²

In CKL, there are 9 *suku pusako*: Sikumbang, Guci, Koto, Jambak, Caniago, Selayan, Melayu, Pili, and Tanjung. There is unfortunately no exact information on the number of the *suku* members, but the relative strength can be indicated by the number of *kaum* and the multiplication of the number of *kaum* by the average number of the members of one *kaum* (25.5):¹³

<i>Suku</i>	Number of <i>kaum</i>	Estimated number of members
Sikumbang	76	1.938
Pili	11	279
Tanjung	10	255
Guci	80	2.040
Melayu	10	255
Koto	93	2.371
Caniago	32	816
Selayan	27	688
Jambak	39	995
	<hr/> 378	<hr/> 9.636

Genealogical relationships are not acknowledged between all the *buah gadang* of one *suku pusako*. Those which are related to each other by common matrilineal descent and which have developed through the processes of cleavage from one original *buah gadang* are characterized as being "*saparuiik*" - "of one womb". (Note: In the literature the term *saparuiik* is generally used as a formal group term for the groups called *buah gadang* in CKL.) But with other *buah gadang* of the same *suku* no such relationships are recognized. Some *buah gadang* had, at the time of the first immigration, come from very different parts of Minangkabau. With these *buah gadang*, only a very vague and putative common descent is recognized on the basis of common *suku*-membership, and the notion that all members of one *suku* ultimately had descended from one original group. With other *buah gadang*, even those relationships are not recognized as they had been formed by the descendants of strangers (who before their incorporation may have belonged to another *suku*) or the descendants of slaves. This, at least, is the conception held by the *adat* experts in CKL. The different kinds of relationships are clearly distinguished by them, and one still "knows" the actual kind of relationships. The charter of relationships is orally transmitted, and it is also written down in

the *tambo* of the *nagari*. We were shown excerpts, containing the lists of *panghulu* (*buah gadang*) and their grouping according to *saparuiik* relationships. In the *tambo* excerpts, *adat* experts had also written down the places of origin of the *buah gadang* which had moved to CKL from elsewhere.

The *buah gadang* of the 9 *suku pusako* are grouped together differently in the 12 *hindu adat*. The composition of the *hindu* is as follows:¹⁴

1. *Hindu* Sikumbang Tengah (the Sikumbang in the middle). This *hindu* comprises at least two unrelated (in the sense of *saparuiik*) groups of Sikumbang *buah gadang*.
2. *Hindu* Sikumbang Koto Ambalau (the Sikumbang in Koto Ambalau). This *hindu* comprises at least two unrelated Sikumbang groups and the four *buah gadang* of *suku* Pili.
3. *Hindu* Sikumbang Koto Kubang (the Sikumbang in Koto Kubang). This *hindu* consists of at least two unrelated Sikumbang groups and the three *buah gadang* of *suku* Tanjung which originally settled in the northern part of CKL.
4. *Hindu* III Saniniek (the three of one grandmother, ancestress). This *hindu* comprises *buah gadang* of *suku* Koto, Guci, and Melayu.
5. *Hindu* Jambak Ujuang Balai (the Jambak at the end of the council hall). This *hindu* consists of two unrelated Jambak groups.
6. *Hindu* Jambak Batu Baji (the Jambak at Batu Baji). This *hindu* is composed of two unrelated Jambak groups and one group of Sikumbang *buah gadang*.
7. *Hindu* Caniago 5 Rumah (the Caniago of the five houses). This *hindu* comprises 8 *buah gadang* of *suku* Caniago which form at least two *saparuiik* groups.
8. *Hindu* Caniago-Selayan. This *hindu* consists of two unrelated Selayan groups and three *buah gadang* of *suku* Caniago.
9. *Hindu* Koto Jantan (the male Koto). This *hindu* comprises several (at least three) unrelated groups of *suku* Koto.
10. *Hindu* Koto Batino (the female Koto). This *hindu* is also composed of several unrelated Koto groups and in addition comprises those *buah gadang* of *suku* Tanjung which originally settled in the southern part of CKL.
11. *Hindu* Guci Tengah (the Guci in the middle), and
12. *Hindu* Guci Ateh (the Guci high up (the mountain)), which are both composed of at least two unrelated groups of Guci *buah gadang*.

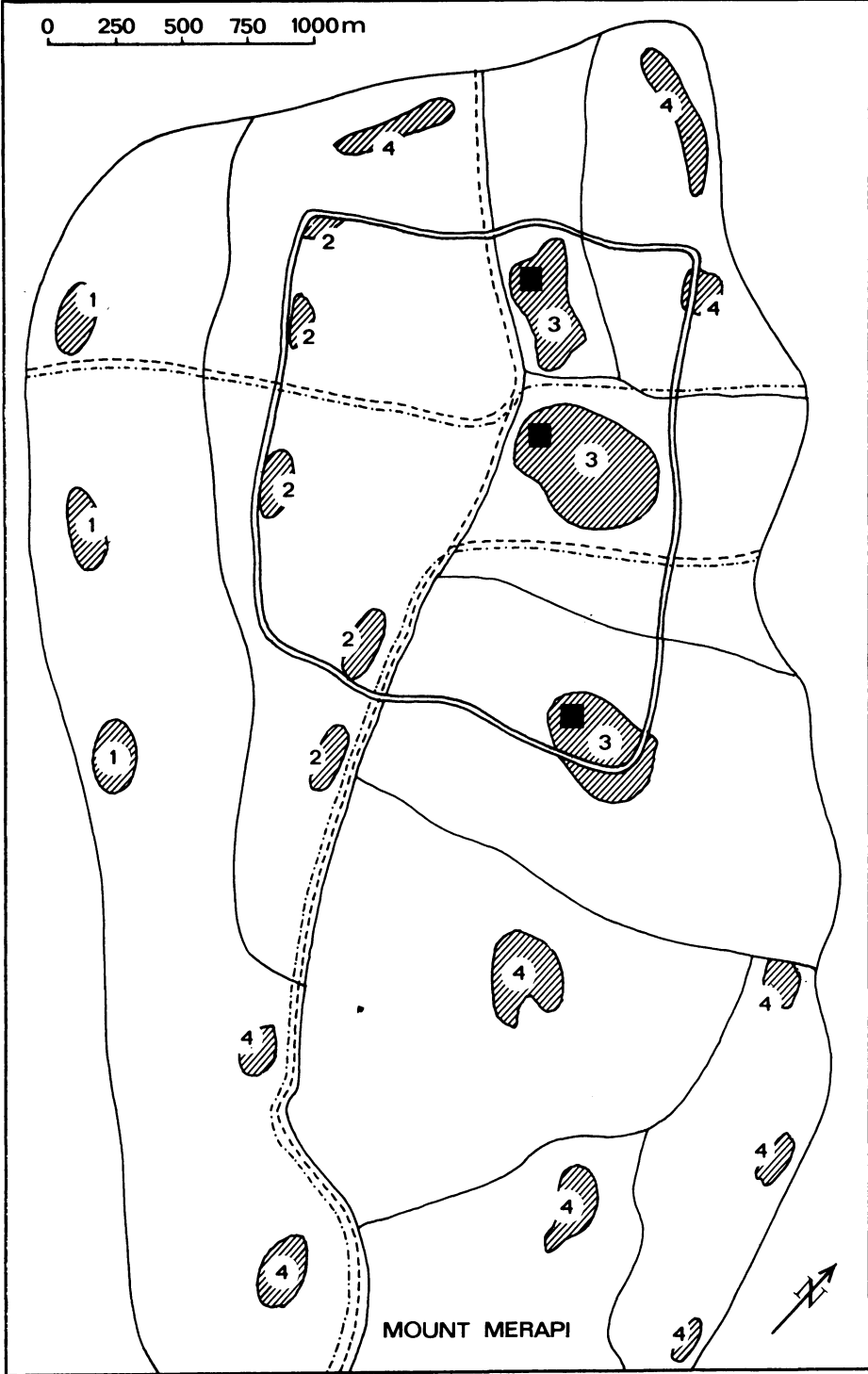
The *hindu adat* are formally subdivided into *sabuah paruiik*. The *sabuah paruiik* comprise *buah gadang* of one *suku pusako* within the *hindu adat*. Depending on the number of *buah gadang* within one *hindu* there are one or two *sabuah paruiik*, 4 *buah gadang* being the average of a *sabuah paruiik*. The *sabuah paruiik* are grouped together as far as possible according to genealogical closeness, but even they contain *buah gadang* which are not considered to be related to each other. As will be remembered, the related ones are called *saparuiik*. Experts in CKL laid great emphasis on the difference: *Buah gadang* which are *sabuah paruiik* were "*disabuaikan*", were made into one *buah paruiik*. (Note again: In the literature the term *sabuah paruiik* is often used for what is called *buah gadang* in CKL).

This rather complex arrangement will briefly be outlined in its historical development (as could be reconstructed according to the information given by CKL experts): At the time when the territory of the later *nagari* CKL was still forest, 7 *panghulu* with their *buah gadang* moved into the area. They took possession of as much land as they wanted and started to cultivate it. These were 3 *panghulu* of *suku* Sikumbang, and one each of *suku* Selayan, *suku* Guci, *suku* Koto, and *suku* Jambak. In the course of time, the original *buah gadang* split and other immigrants moved into the area. The first settlers allowed them to settle nearby and to occupy and cultivate land. At that time, the newcomer groups retained their *suku pusako* membership but had to submit to the socio-political authority of the *panghulu* of the oldest lineages. The 7 *panghulu*, the leaders of the first *buah gadang* to occupy the area, were styled *panghulu 7 suku* and their following *suku adat*.

The population increased and new immigrants settled in the area adjacent to the original settlement area. In the course of time, the inhabitants of the various small residential clusters established three *koto*. *Koto* are settlement centers which have already some formal structure but not yet the status of a *nagari*. They could be established in an area over which no *nagari* yet claimed sovereignty but also within a *nagari* area. In the latter case, the founders of a new *koto* could be given *nagari* status, too, by the government of the original *nagari* which forthwith had the position of a "mother-*nagari*" towards the new one. In CKL, however, no *nagari* had claimed sovereignty over the area.

The centers of the three *koto* were located at some distance from the original settlement area (see map p. 76), and their foundation must have occasioned a shift in the traditional power-system from the old to the

0 250 500 750 1000m



- *koto* borders
- *sidang* borders
- *jorong* borders
- original *nagari* territory
- 1-4 settlements in order of historical development
- *koto*-fortifications

CKL - First settlements and territorial divisions

new and more heavily populated settlement clusters. Apparently, not all newcomers wanted to subject themselves to the authority of the *panghulu 7 suku*. So when the inhabitants of the three *koto* decided to establish one *nagari* in the area, the former *7 suku* system was changed into the 12 *hindu* constitution. In each of the three *koto* were 4 *hindu adat*.

The 12 *hindu* system is said to be the "*cupak usali*" of CKL - the "original measure/standard" which cannot be altered.¹⁵ All new groups had to be incorporated into their framework. The *sabuah paruik* division, on the contrary, was flexible. A comparison of the *sabuah paruik* groupings in the *tambo* excerpts with the groupings given for the contemporary system shows that there had been several rearrangements of the *buah gadang*.

When the *nagari* was founded, there were 60 *panghulu* recognized as *buah gadang* leaders, and each *hindu adat* consisted of 5 *buah gadang*. These 60 formed the *Karapatan Adat Nagari*, the *nagari adat* council. For administrative and governmental affairs, the *hindu*-functionaries constituted the highest executive. Each *hindu* has one *panghulu bahindu* - a *panghulu* for *hindu* affairs, one *juaro adat* ("adat champion"), who has the function of an executive official, and an *anak mudo* ("young child"), who functions as assistant to the *juaro adat*.¹⁶ The *juaro adat* form a separate council under the chairmanship of the *tambang adat* (the "mine of adat"), who generally is a *panghulu*. The original *7 suku (adat)* are still acknowledged, and the 12 *panghulu hindu* are normally referred to as "the *panghulu* of the *7 suku*", although they number 12. The *panghulu* of the *7 hindu* which have grown out of the *7 suku adat* are regarded as having a "somewhat" superior status, and in formal ceremonies their former position is indicated by special seating-arrangements. The *juaro adat* are likewise distinguished and one speaks of the *juaro* of the *7 suku* and the *juaro* of the 5 *hindu*.

Both *suku/hindu adat* and *suku pusako* have different spheres of competence and a different, though overlapping, hierarchy of socio-political authority. CKL- *adats* says: "*Pusako sakato niniek mamak - adat sakato nagari*" - "*Pusako* is a matter of the lineage elders - *adat* is a matter of the *nagari*". *Pusako* matters are subjects dealing with heritage, property and *panghulu* titles. Disputes about such problems should be settled in the *suku-pusako* hierarchy. *Pusako* also regulates the question of exogamy. In principle it is the *suku pusako* which are the exogamous units (see below D III 2). Inter-*buah gadang* inheritance is also regulated according

to *pusako*: If one *buah gadang* is extinct (*punah*) its property must be inherited within the *suku pusako*.

The *hindu* system is concerned with *adat*, which is used here in the sense of *nagari* administration and government, from which *pusako* (intra-lineage-, *suku pusako*-) affairs are exempt. Though the *hindu* are also spoken of in terms of matrilineal descent, *hindu* relations are irrelevant for matters such as property and marriage. *Hindu*, *induek*, means "mother". The *hindu* III Saniniek, the "three with a common grandmother", for instance, contains *buah gadang* from *suku* Guci, Koto, and Melayu. In *adat*, they are "one" - but they may intermarry, and if the Guci in III Saniniek should become extinct, their property would be inherited by Guci *buah gadang* of another *hindu*, not by the *buah gadang* of Koto or Melayu in their *hindu*.

When the *nagari* was founded, there were 60 *buah gadang* and *panghulu*. Since then the number of *buah gadang* has increased, and in CKL 100 *panghulu* are recognized as legitimate *buah gadang* leaders and members of the *Karapatan Adat Nagari*. The imposition of a new political superstructure by the Dutch has, however, seriously affected the *adat* constitution (see also Chapter 3). The Dutch had not recognized all *panghulu* as being of equal rank, and only a limited number had been given "*panghulu*-offices" in terms of the new administrative system. At the end of the last century, the Dutch had further forbidden the establishment of new *panghulu* titles, and the 100 *panghuluships* most probably are the number at which the *buah gadang* and *panghulu* system was "frozen in" by the Dutch. They do not seem to have realized that with the prohibition to create new *panghulu*-ships they also disturbed the *adat* mechanisms of group formation. A number of "wild" *panghuluships* have been established, and the *panghuluships* have risen to a number between 113 and 139. It is not easy to determine which *panghuluships* are the "wild" ones; even among the acknowledged *adat* experts of CKL there is some disagreement about that. In 1975, there were only 20 *panghulu* who had officially been installed, among them two of the *panghulu* 7 *suku*. Their authority has decreased, but the *adat* constitution and the *adat* functionaries still play a considerable role in *nagari* politics. The *Karapatan Adat Nagari* still holds meetings, and so do the *juaro adat* under the leadership of the *tambang adat*, who also functions as the chairman of the *Karapatan Adat Nagari*. In terms of western conceptions of effectiveness, they cannot govern the *nagari*, but they are still influential enough to sabotage the national *nagari* administration, which, to a great extent, is also recruited from their numbers.

IV. THE TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE *NAGARI*

The territorial structure of CKL is as complex as the *adat* and *pusako* structure. There are several and partly overlapping territorial divisions of the *nagari* (see map. p. 76), which divide the inhabitants into *adat*-, neighbourhood-, religious- and administrative local communities (see also below E II on Residence).

1. *The Adat Divisions of CKL*

Traditionally, CKL is divided into three *koto*. Besides being a territorial division of the *nagari*, the *koto* division is also a division of *adat*. The members of the four *hindu* localized in a *koto* formed semi-autonomous groups in *adat*. *Adat* matters and disputes usually came to the attention of "the *nagari*", i.e. the combined three *koto*, only after they had been discussed and decided within the *koto*. In former times, the people of one *koto* also shared collective liability in unsolved homicide cases.

In the course of time, the *koto* division has been overshadowed by another *adat* division of the *nagari* territory. When the Dutch used the Minangkabau *nagari* as units of local government in the 1830's, some *nagari* were divided, others united for administrative purposes. CKL was divided into two *nagari*, Candung and Koto Lawas. There were 5 *hindu* in Candung and 7 in Koto Lawas. Besides the division into *koto*, one spoke increasingly, but not exclusively, of an *adat* of Candung and an *adat* of Koto Lawas. When Candung and Koto Lawas were reunited in 1915, this distinction was retained.

2. *The Buek Division*

Another important division of the *nagari* is the one into *buek*. The *buek* may best be described as neighbourhoods which have been constituted by agreement of the members of the various *suku* residing in the same residential cluster of the *nagari*. The *buek* are subdivided into *umpuek* (Ind.: *kelompok*, group, cluster), which are the smallest territorial units consisting of members of more than one *buah gadang* of one or of different *suku*. The *buek* have their own rules and regulations, *buek perbuatan*, concerning community and neighbourhood matters. Probably since the Padriwar, each *buek* has developed its own regulations about the *surau* (prayer house) and mosque.

Besides the two basic principles of group and authority structure in

CKL which have already been mentioned (*adat sakato nagari - pusako sakato niniek mamak*) there is a third one concerning the *buek*: "*Buek sakato balingka*" - "neighbourhood matters are decided by the neighbours". The *buek* council is formed by the oldest men of the *kaum* resident in a *buek*. Besides, each *umpuek* has a *panghulu buek*, a *panghulu* for *buek* affairs, who usually is no *panghulu* according to *adat*, i.e. no incumbent of a *buah gadang's sako*. The *panghulu buek* are *umpuek* representatives, who are responsible to the *buek* for the maintenance of *umpuek* affairs.

The *buek* structure probably precedes the foundation of the *nagari* and can be regarded as the oldest form of cross-*buah gadang* (*suku*) political and social organization.¹⁷ After the *nagari* had been founded, the old *buek* structure was retained, but with the increase of the population some of the old *buek* have been subdivided and new *buek* have been formed in formerly unsettled parts of the *nagari*. The *buek* borders partly cut across all other territorial divisions of the *nagari*. As *buek* are not concerned with *adat* (which is a *nagari* matter) the *adat*-territorial division into the three *koto* and later into Candung and Koto Lawas was less relevant than the actual territorial neighbourhood. In some parts of the *nagari*, settlement clusters which belong to two *koto* are much closer to each other than the other settlement clusters in their respective *koto*, and *buek* were formed across the *koto*-divisions or *vice versa*.

3. The *Sidang* System

The territory of CKL is further divided into four *sidang*. The *sidang* are religious councils, which are attached to the four main mosques. Their function is decision making in religious matters, mainly in disputes about marriages.

The contemporary *sidang* system in CKL most probably is the remainder of the attempt to establish a theocratic governmental system, which in the Padri era had been undertaken in most *nagari* which had come under the political domination of the Padri forces (cf. AB 39: 212 ff.). In CKL, it was based upon the *buek* system. Several *buek* were united to form one *sidang* which, with the mosque as its center, was to be governed by the mosque officials and representatives of the *buek*. The highest *buek* representatives were called *Tuangku* or *Angku* in CKL; according to the number of *buek* united in one *sidang* their full title was *Tuangku nan 3* or *Tuangku nan 4*. In CKL, the *sidang* system has been "*adatisized*", integrated into the *adat* political structure in the course of time. A sharp distinction was made between the "four *sidang* according to *adat*" and the

religious village council which has been created within the local government system (see Chapter 3: 125 f.).

4. *The Jorong Division*

Finally, the *nagari* is divided into village districts, *jorong*, as part of the local government system. The *jorong* borders to some extent run parallel with old *buek* borders. Each *jorong* has a village district headman, *wali jorong*, as administrative head, who is subject to the village mayor, the *wali negeri*. In his daily affairs, the *wali jorong* is assisted by a *jorong* deliberation-committee.

C. THE ALLOCATION OF AUTHORITY

I. THE BASIC NOTIONS OF AUTHORITY IN MINANGKABAU ADAT

The basic notions of authority in Minangkabau *adat* are well expressed in one of the most frequently quoted *adat* sayings (see e.g. R.M. Dt. Rajo Panghulu 1971: 80):

*"Kamanakan barajo ka mamak
mamak barajo ka panghulu
panghulu barajo ka mupakat
mapakat barajo kapado alua
alua barajo kapado mungkin dan patuik
patuik dan mungkin barajo kapado bana
bana itulah nan manjadi rajo."*

"The *kamanakan* are subject to the *mamak*
the *mamak* is subject to the *panghulu*
the *panghulu* is subject to the *mupakat*
the *mupakat* is subject to the power of reasoning
the power of reasoning is subject to what is appropriate and possible
what is appropriate and possible is subject to truth
it is truth which is the highest authority (which becomes king)."

Final authority thus is vested in abstract values, but what is appropriate, possible, and true, must be found through the exercise of human reasoning. As far as authority is vested in man, the *adat* saying well expresses the two basic notions of authority which pervade all Minangkabau *adat*:

1. There is the idea that authority is vested in individuals (*mamak*, *panghulu*) who occupy social positions which are defined by sex, age, and offices. This authority is hierarchical. It gives the individual occupying such a position authority over other persons. The hierarchy of social positions corresponds to the political structure of the *nagari*, starting on the most exclusive group (*jurai*) level up to the most inclusive group, the *nagari*.

2. There is the idea that authority is, somewhat diffusely, vested in groups of persons. This finds its expression in the principle that all decisions affecting groups must be taken in a process of common deliberation, *musyawarah*, and lead to a unanimous decision, *sakato* ("one word") or *mupakat*. This principle applies to all group levels, and it complements and restricts the first principle according to which authority is vested in individual persons.

The groups, in which authority is vested according to *adat*, are the groups we already have discussed: structured by matrilineal descent or at least modelled on this principle. Authority is allocated to individuals as members of such groups. In the following, I shall describe the manifestations of the *adat* principles. The territorial and politico-religious group structures have already been discussed and the offices of these structures have been mentioned. As they are of less relevance for property affairs, they need not be described in detail here.

II. AUTHORITY VESTED IN SOCIAL POSITIONS

1. *Group Leadership*

The clearest manifestation of authority vested in social positions which are filled by individuals is the rule that each group has, or must have, a leader. This rule finds its expression in the notion of "*mamakship*". Each group from the smallest *jurai* to the *hindu adat* must have a *mamak*. *Mamakship* in this sense denotes group leadership. It involves authority over the group members and the representation of the group or the individual group members in inter-group relationships. This pertains to all kinds of social relations: political, where the group is represented in the *nagari*; economic, where all property transactions between members of different groups (or between groups) need the presence and the consent

of the group leader; social, like cases of marriage, where the group leader must give his consent and represent his group and his marrying *kamanakan* in the ceremony.

As regards intra-group affairs, the *mamak* (on whichever group level) is responsible for the maintenance of order in his group. He is the person whom one must notify when one wants to leave the *nagari* and to whom one must report when one returns.

With respect to outsiders, the *mamak* is responsible for any acts which his group members may have done in violation of *adat*. He must take care that the fault is atoned by the appropriate measures. If not, it is he who will be sanctioned, too, not his group member only. Thus if a group member has violated *adat* by not adhering to the marriage rules, it will be his or her *mamak* who will be banned from *nagari* political and social activities, unless atonement for the fault has been made. In CKL, we observed several such cases where a *mamak* was held liable for an offence of his *kamanakan*. The *mamak* is also responsible for the execution of any decisions taken at more inclusive group levels.

Mamakship in general is vested in the male sex (but see Korn 1941 on the "female *mamak*") and is defined by age: The *mamak* is the oldest matrilineal kinsman of the group, of a *jurai* of any size. No official process is required to make him *mamak*. If the present *mamak* dies, or when he is unable to fulfill his function, the kinsman next in age will automatically assume the function of *mamak*. These principles are modified for those *mamakships* which are vested in offices, which exist from the level of *buah gadang* upwards. The system of offices will be described later.

2. Authority Vested in Females

The *mamakship* is not the only individualized social position in which authority is vested. The *mamak*'s authority covers the representation of the group completely, but in matters internal to the group authority is also vested in the position of the eldest woman of the group (*jurai* until the size of *buah gadang*). She is the "*limpapeh rumah gadang*", the "strong pillar of the family house", and the "*amban puruek - kunci nan tagueh*" - "the strong lock of the chest" in which the *harato pusako*, the group's inherited property, is kept (see Willinck 1909: 392, 403, 601; Korn 1941: 319; R.M. Dt. Rajo Panghulu 1971: 50; I.H. Dt. Rajo Panghulu 1973: 50 ff.). She wields the highest authority within the house. But her authority is not restricted to purely domestic matters. For the oldest woman is the one "*nan pagang harato*", who controls and keeps the

property, who has the dominant voice in the distribution of the group's property and any surplus the group's property may have yielded (for more details see Chapter 4). That these references to the woman's position are not just idealizations of the female's/mother's role but a concrete reference to her function in social organization is amply borne out by the knowledge we have of Minangkabau social life during the last one and half centuries (compare Willinck 1909, Korn 1941, Tanner 1971), and it will also be apparent in the stories of property affairs (Chapter 5). In group internal affairs, she is even characterized as the *highest* authority: Willinck states "that in the Minangkabau family circle, the oldest common ancestress, if still alive, actually stood above the *mamak*. She remained in each case where family affairs had to be decided in the *sabuah paruik* or *jurai*, the highest authority (1909: 391 f., cf. Korn 1941: 320).

Yet in general, women cannot assume the function of group leader and outward representative. If males are absent, this function is generally assumed by the leader of the group which is most closely related according to matrilineal descent. Occasionally exceptions are made, but this seems to be restricted to group leadership in property affairs.¹⁸ According to our findings, the principle that women cannot act as group leaders is adhered to. In one case in CKL, where the problem arose whether a woman could represent her *kaum* in a property transaction, the *adat* functionaries decided that she could not and that the *mamak kepala waris* of the most closely related *kaum* should do so. The principle is also, with some exceptions, applied in the State Courts.¹⁹

3. Authority Vested in the Father

According to *adat*, only little authority is vested in the role of the father. The *mamak* is the center of authority; it is he who should discipline his *kamanakan* if necessary. The *mamak* represents his *kamanakan* in social and political matters, and the childrens' *pusako* affairs are also subject to the authority of the *mamak* and the childrens' *matrikin* in general. Minangkabau men as fathers are supposed "to carry their children", as *mamak* they are supposed to "lead their *kamanakan*". However, in their role of in-married husbands (*urang sumando*), men participate in the decision making processes which affect their childrens' property affairs and in the ceremonies which accompany their *rites de passage*. Besides, fathers can exercise some economic control over their wives and children by transferring their self-acquired property or some of their

own *jurai's pusako*-property to the conjugal household. But in principle the father's authority is limited to minor domestic matters (see also below the sections on marriage and residence).

The *adat* conceptualization of the father's role, however, is modified through the Islamic notions about the father's position. In religious matters, fathers usually represent their children. In particular, fathers act as marriage guardians "according to religion" (*wali syarak*) besides the *mamak*, the marriage guardian "according to *adat*" (*wali adat*). The extent to which fathers can exercise authority over their children has also changed considerably during the last 150 years, mainly as a consequence of the decrease of the *mamak's* authority and an increasing economic orientation of men towards their conjugal household (this development will be analyzed more fully later in Chapters 5 and 6). Men live more permanently in the houses of their wives, they contribute more to the economic budget of their wife and children, and they usually pay the school fees which in former times were paid by the *mamak*. But the fact that they do so, and that they are consequently less in the house of their *kamanakan* (which means that their childrens' *mamak* also will stay most of the time with his children) does not mean that the authority over the children has been shifted from *mamak* to father. It rather has concentrated on the childrens' mother. According to our experiences, both with villagers and educated townspeople most serious decisions and disciplinary measures were taken by the wife/mother, the husband/father taking care not to interfere with the education of "her" children (cf. Tanner 1971; Thomas 1977).

III. AUTHORITY VESTED IN OFFICES

The leadership positions of the *buah gadang* and of all more inclusive groups formed by *buah gadang*, are vested in offices. Offices are social positions that in principle exist independently of their incumbents. If the office is vacant, the function is either fulfilled by an office holder of another group acting as representative, or by the group's *mamak* as non-office holding "normal" group leader. Only within the *buah gadang* are there some offices which are attached to concrete individuals. The offices are titled, and the office titles (*gala bapangkat*) and particularly the title of the *panghulu* (the *sako*) belong to the inherited property (*pusako*) of the *buah gadang's* blood relatives (see below Chap-

ter 4: 164 ff.).

1. *The Offices of the Buah Gadang*

a. *The Panghulu*

The leadership of the *buah gadang* is vested in the *panghulu*. The *panghuluship* is the *sako* of the group, which descends through the generations. But the *panghulu* is also the group's leader in the *nagari*. Thus if a *panghulu* is to be installed, two sets of rules have to be adhered to. One set refers to the choosing of the *panghulu*-candidate by the persons to whom the *panghuluship* belongs. The other refers to the rules by which the *nagari* political community accepts a new *panghulu* as one of its leaders.²⁰ According to the principle of *pusako*, the appointment of the *panghulu* is the concern of the group which holds the *sako* as inherited property (*pusako*). No *panghulu* can be installed without the unanimous "round" decision of the group, without a *kebulatan kaum buah gadang*. As a general guideline, the title is to descend from *mamak* to *kamanakan*, from MB to ZS. But this is, at least in the *adat* Bodi-Caniago, not a prescriptive succession rule in terms of genealogical positions.²¹ It rather indicates that succession must be between matrilineal relatives and that it should be from a senior to a junior generation. But in principle, the candidate must be *chosen*, and have all the attributes that Minangkabau *adat* demands of a *panghulu*.²² The principle of MB-ZS succession is further mediated through the institution of *gadang balega* according to which the *panghuluship* is rotated between the *jurai* or *kaum* of the *buah gadang* (see above). So the successor may well be a brother or grandnephew or even a very distant matrilineal relative of the former *panghulu*. If the *buah gadang* members cannot agree upon a candidate and the *musyawarah* does not lead to *mupakat*, the *sako* is *dilipek*, "put aside", for the time being. In the case where there is no suitable candidate at all (no male *buah gadang* members, or only too old or too young ones etc.) the *sako* is *tatarueh*, "deposited". If the *sako* is *dilipek* or *tatarueh*, the *buah gadang* has a "normal" *mamak* as group leader (or a *parungkek*, see pp. 82,88). He will act as *mamak* in all intra-group affairs and will in principle also represent the group in the *nagari*. Only on the occasions where a *panghulu* must act in *nagari* affairs, will the group be represented by one of the *panghulu* who is "*saparuiik*".

According to the principle of *adat*, the installation of a *panghulu* is a matter of the *nagari*, and the other *panghulu* must accept the new candidate as their equal. Non-acceptance is expressed by not attending the ceremony at which the highest *nagari* officials, the *panghulu* of the 12 *hindu*, the *juaro adat* and the *anak mudo*, finally invest the new *panghulu* with his title.

The selection and installation of a *panghulu* is a long and expensive process. Several meetings must be held, in which the approval for the candidate must be formally secured from different groups of persons, starting with kin groups moving up through the more inclusive political groups and finally culminating in a meeting in which only the *panghulu* of the 12 *hindu*, the *juaro adat*, and *anak mudo* participate and in which the new *panghulu* is officially installed "by the *nagari*". At all these meetings, ceremonial meals are held, and for the final ceremonies a buffalo must be slaughtered, a certain amount of rice must be given, and the *adat*-money must be handed to the *adat*-officials.²³

The *panghulu* can be installed in three different ways, which are distinguished according to the distance in time from the end of the previous *panghulu*'s office-holding. The descriptions given in the literature are rather uniform, but there is some variation in the terminology.²⁴ The following categories are used in CKL and also in the *nagari* III Balai and Padang Tarab, where we were able to attend altogether 4 *panghulu* installations:

1. *Hidwik Bakarilahan*

In this case, the succession occurs during the lifetime of the old *panghulu*. This happens very rarely. Informants in CKL could not remember a single case, but there was a rumour that one *panghulu*, while still alive, wanted to give his title and office to a *kamanakan*.

2. *Mati Batungkek Budi*

In this case the successor is determined shortly after the *panghulu*'s death and publicly declared *panghulu* in a formal meeting of the highest *adat*-functionaries. This meeting should take place on the day of the death or immediately afterwards. The actual installation ceremony is then held after the funeral ceremonies, but must not exceed three weeks from the day of death. Until the installation ceremony has been held, the new title holder cannot act as *panghulu*, although the transfer of the *panghulu* title is and remains valid, and the new *panghulu*-to-be is

addressed with his new title. In CKL, there are several of such "half-*panghulu*" who have not yet held the installation ceremony, and who cannot "go to *adat*" as *panghulu*. During our stay, one *panghulu* died, and on the same day a *buah gadang* member was selected and declared new *panghulu* in the manner described above. Due to *nagari* politics, however, the installation ceremony was not held in due time, although it had been scheduled during the meeting in which the candidate was declared *panghulu*. Unfortunately, the resulting problems had not yet been solved before we left the *nagari*.

3. *Mambangik Batang Tarandam*

This is the ceremony by which a *panghulu* is installed if his predecessor has been dead for a longer period than for which *mati batungkek budi* is allowed. This is the most elaborate and most expensive way to install a *panghulu*.

b. The *Panungkek (Tungkek)*

In CKL (as well as in other Bodi-Caniago *nagari*) a *panghulu* can have one or more *panungkek*, "aides". The *panungkek* also carry the title *Datuek*, and their title is generally derived from the title of their *panghulu*. So if the *panghulu* is Dt. Sinaro, the *panungkek*'s title may be Dt. Sinaro nan Tungga. The function of the *panungkek* is to help the *panghulu* in the administration of the *buah gadang*. If the *buah gadang* consists of several *kaum*, a *panungkekship* may be created and the administration of one or more *kaum* may be entrusted to the *panungkek*.

The office of *panungkek* is closely connected with that of his *panghulu*. The *panungkek* is installed together with his *panghulu*, and continues to function as long as a new *panghulu* is not installed. If a new *panghulu* is installed, he may confirm the old *panungkek*, but the *panungkek* may also be relieved of his office and a new one appointed. If the *panghulu* dies, the *panungkek* assumes most of the *panghulu* functions in *buah gadang* internal matters. In *adat*, in the *nagari*, he can represent his *panghulu* only to a limited degree. It is not unusual that *panungkek* try to establish themselves as successors when the *panghulu* has died. This is called "*bulan manjadi matahari*" - "the moon becomes the sun". Particularly in cases of *gadang balega*, where *panghuluship* and *panungkekship* are rotated, this often leads to *buah gadang* cleavage in the form of *baju sehelai dibagi duo* (see above p. 69). In contemporary CKL, there are several groups the status of which - *kaum* or *buah gadang* - and the

status of their leader - *panungkek* or *panghulu* - are unclear.

c. The *Angku*

In CKL, each *panghulu* who is not the eldest lineage member, has an advisor, an *angku*. *Angku* is used here to denote the *adat*-office. Besides, it is a title of Islamic functionaries, it can be conferred upon elderly persons as an honorary title, and is also used as a polite form of address. The *angku* according to *adat* is the eldest and wisest man of the *buah gadang*, who is to give advice in all matters, particularly in *adat* matters, to the young and perhaps inexperienced *panghulu*. He is installed together with the *panghulu*, and his title is the same as the *panghulu*'s, with the difference that, instead of the *Datuek* title prefix, the *angku* has the "Angku" prefix. The *angku* of Dt. Sinaro thus is Angku Sinaro. In CKL, the groups under a *panungkek* usually also have their *angku*.

2. The Offices in the Hindu System

The offices in the *hindu* system are quite complex. The information which was given in CKL by informants and which could be found in the excerpts of the village-*tambo* was partly ambiguous or contradictory. It seems that some offices were created after the Dutch had established their administrative system as it has been also reported for some offices in district 50 Koto (see De Rooij 1890; Leyds 1926).

a. The *Panghulu Bahindu*

Each group in the *hindu* system has a *panghulu* as leader who is responsible for the management of *hindu* (*adat*) affairs, but who for the rest functions as *primus inter pares* with the other *panghulu*.

On the *buah gadang* level, the *panghulu* are the *panghulu* of the *buah gadang*. On the *sabuah paruik* level, there is a *panghulu babuah paruik*. This is one of the *buah gadang panghulu*, who has the additional function of running the *sabuah paruik*'s *adat* matters. The *hindu* also has a *panghulu bahindu*, who is responsible for all *hindu*-internal *adat* matters. The authority of the *panghulu bahindu* thus can extend over *panghulu* of different *suku pusako*. Such *panghulu bahindu* exist in each *hindu*. But besides, there are also *panghulu basuku*, as leaders of the *suku pusako* within *hindu* groups.

The actual practice is as follows: The *panghulu 7 suku* are "*panghulu suku*". In their *hindu*, they function as *hindu*-leaders, in the other *hindu* it is the *panghulu bahindu*. The *panghulu 7 suku* are the oldest

panghulu in their *hindu*, the heads of the *buah gadang* which in former times had founded the *suku adat/hindu adat*. In their *hindu*, the *panghulu bahinduship* is usually given to the oldest *buah gadang* of the younger *sabuah paruk*. In some *hindu* (of the other 5) the *panghulu bahinduship* is rotated between two *buah gadang*, the oldest *buah gadang* of the *hindu*. Thus in the *hindu* III Saniniek, the *panghulu bahinduship* is rotated between a *buah gadang* of *suku Guci* and of *suku Melayu*, and similar arrangements exist in other *hindu* where no "oldest" *buah gadang* is recognized. When a meeting of the 12 *panghulu* of the 12 *hindu* took place, the *panghulu 7 suku* went to represent their *hindu*; in the other *hindu* the *panghulu bahindu* were the representatives.

The *panghulu bahindu* offices are connected to the particular *panghulu* titles. If a new *panghulu* is installed, his status within the *hindu* is determined and restated. If the *panghuluship* is vacant, another *panghulu* of the *buah paruk* will fill the vacancy of *panghulu bahindu*, not as office holder in his own right, but as representative. His acting as *panghulu bahindu* for his colleague does not make him a representative of the non-installed *panghulu* in *buah gadang* matters, too.

b. The *Juaro Adat*

The *juaro adat* are the "executives" of the *hindu*, who have to manage *hindu* affairs under their *panghulu*. *Juaro* carry titles, but there are two or three titles for each *juaro*, one of which has to be assumed by the newly installed *juaro*. The installation of the *juaro* is similar to, though less elaborate than, the *panghulu* installation. The office of *juaro* is the property of the *buah gadang* of the *panghulu bahindu*. This also applies to those *hindu* which have a *panghulu 7 suku* as leader. When the *panghulu bahinduship* is rotated, the *juaro* is rotated as well, the *juaro* being then held by the non *panghulu* holding group.

c. The *Anak Mudo*

The *anak mudo* act as assistants to the *juaro* and *panghulu*, and are used as messengers and go-betweens in *adat* affairs. In addition, the *anak mudo* have to be well versed in the *pidato*, the ceremonial recitals of history and *adat* which fill a large part of the *adat* ceremonies. In *adat* ceremonies, such as *panghulu* installations, they serve the *panghulu* and *juaro*. The *anak mudo* also carry titles, but no special installation ceremony was held for them. They could be installed whenever a more important ceremony was held in the *nagari*. In principle, the *anak mudo*

were chosen for their capabilities, and their office was not the definite property of a *buah gadang*. In the two Sikumbang *hindu* in which other *suku* were incorporated, the other *suku* (Tanjung and Pili) also had one *anak mudo* so that the actual number of *anak mudo* was 14.

3. The Hierarchical Structure of Social Positions of Authority

The *adat* saying already quoted "*kamanakan barajo ka mamak - mamak barajo ka panghulu*" - "the *kamanakan* are subject to the *mamak*, the *mamak* is subject to the *panghulu*", expresses the hierarchical order of the leadership positions within the *buah gadang*. Leadership positions derive their status from the status their group has in *adat*, and a definite hierarchy exists, from the smallest group, the *jurai* with its *mamak*, to the largest, the *hindu adat* with the *panghulu bahindu*. This hierarchy is relevant for two fields of social activity:

1. It must be followed in the processes of decision making in conflicting issues. The conflict should be solved at the lowest level. If it cannot be solved, it must be brought to the next higher level until it reaches the highest forum, the *Karapatan Adat Nagari*. For *adat*- and *pusako* matters, different though overlapping hierarchies exist.

In *pusako* matters, the way to be followed is from *mamak* to *panghulu*; from the *panghulu* to all the *panghulu* of the *sabuah paruik* who are of the same *suku* in the same *hindu*; then to all *panghulu* of the same *suku* in the same *hindu*; then, such matters go to all *panghulu* of the same *suku* in the *nagari*.

In *adat* matters, conflicts go from the *mamak* to the *panghulu*, but then the *juaro adat* should take over, exercising his function for the *panghulu bahindu*. If the problem cannot be solved by the (*Juaro*) *hindu*, it must be brought to the 5 *hindu* (in Candung) or the 7 *hindu* (in Kota Lawas). The final forum for both hierarchies is the *Karapatan Adat*.

2. Decisions made on a higher level (i.e. in matters concerning the implementation of *nagari* politics or *suku*-wide problems such as a change in the exogamy rules) have to descend according to this hierarchy. Minangkabau *adat* expresses these two principles with the *adat* saying: "*Bajanjang naiek - batanggo turun*" - "One has to go up the stairs - one has to go down the ladder". No step may be left out. If people approach a higher forum immediately, this is "wrong" according to *adat*; the parties will be reprimanded and the issue not entertained.

This is, of course, the ideal order which has been heavily influenced

by the other available means for conflict resolution provided by the *buek/sidang* system and the local government and judicial systems. But the principle of *bajanjang naiek-batanggo turun* is still used in *nagari* politics and processes of conflict resolution, and has been extended to include the State Courts, which sometimes refuse to hear a case unless the *adat*-hierarchy in the *nagari* has first attempted to deal with it.²⁵

IV. AUTHORITY VESTED IN GROUPS

The second basic principle of authority makes the exercise of authority a matter of all group members. Here the ideas of togetherness, unanimity, and equality of the group members are stressed. This finds its expression in the principle of the "*musyawarah* until *mupakat*": "Decisions concerning group interests must be taken by the group members and lead to a decision in which all concur". Minangkabau *adat* says: "*Bulek aie dek pambulueh - bulek kato dek mupakat*": "(as) the water gets round in the bamboo-pipe - the words (decisions) get round through the *mupakat*". This principle is highly valued in Minangkabau, and the Minangkabau use it to define the character of their society in the terms of the *mupakat*-democracy, which they consider superior to other forms of allocation of social authority.²⁶ The principle minimizes the power exercised by individuals by virtue of their social positions of authority, for the most important issues in Minangkabau social and political life (property, *panghulu* installation, marriage etc.) are matters which affect the group and are decided by *musyawarah*.

The general principle works at all group levels. However, a distinction must be drawn between those groups which are, in this respect, regarded as a group of individuals, and those groups which are regarded as being composed of sub-groups. In the former, all group members of "reasonable" age and of both sexes take part in the decision-making process. In the latter, only the leaders of the sub-groups, thus males only, participate as their groups' representatives in the decision-making process on a higher group level. In former times, the border case probably was the *buah gadang*, in contemporary CKL it is the *kaum*: On the supra-*kaum* level, the representatives of the groups decide, within the *kaum* all *kaum* members participate.

The *musyawarah* until *mupakat* principle is, of course, an ideal, and a brief comment may be made on the actual practice. Actual decision

making is generally prepared in smaller groups or by individuals who make their own policy and recruit support for it. The decision has often been taken already when the formal meeting, in which the *mupakat* is to be secured, starts. The ideal equality of the participants is modified to a great extent by the personal authority, economic status, and, in the political field in particular, by power sources outside the *adat* system. There is a multitude of evidence, both in the early literature on Minangkabau as well as in our own field-experience, that these sources are manipulated as far as possible.²⁷

In *kaum*-internal affairs the same holds true, but here another factor heavily influences decision making: the strong position of women, the older women in particular, who "swing" most decisions or prevent effective decisions from being made. It must be a very strong *mamak* who wants to control his female lineage members effectively - within the *kaum*. Externally, the *mamak* skilfully operate power sources which are usually not available to women. The principle that the *kaum* must be represented by the *mamak kepala waris* in property matters in the State Courts has led to frequent abuse of the *mamak* position.²⁸ This has led to a shift in *kaum*-internal authority relations and to the not uncommon occurrence of *mamak* cheating their female *kaum* members on the basis of their artificially strengthened *mamak*-position. Yet the force of the *musyawarah/mupakat* principle should not be underestimated. It is true, that "round" decisions are less frequently taken, but the actual force of the principle resides in its negative aspect: If no *mupakat* is reached and no unanimous decision taken, nothing will happen, and undecided problems and conflicts dominate the social and political life of the *nagari*.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The two basic conceptions of authority are clearly objectified in *adat*. In practice, and particularly in *kaum*-life, they are hardly distinguishable and seem to flow into each other. It is striking how closely the two Minangkabau principles correspond to the two analytical principles of governmental activity, which Smith has elaborated in his famous essay "On Segmentary Lineage Systems" (1956). The allocation of authority to the group leaders and the *kamanakan barajo kamamak* principle correspond to the principle of "administration" (1956: 49), and the allocation of authority to the groups and its exercise through *musyawarah*-processes to

the principle of "political activity" (1956: 48 f.). Whereas one may question whether "administrative" and "political" are the best labels for these different kinds of processes, the distinction itself is extremely valuable and fully supported by the Minangkabau data. As Smith has noted, the principles, though analytically distinct, frequently occur together (1956: 48) and this certainly is the case in Minangkabau, most obviously in *kaum*-social life and decision making. Yet what goes on in these processes could not be better described than in Smith's words:

"Whereas the form of political systems is segmentary, and only displays hierarchical patterns to the extent that the political structures are directly involved in administration, the form of an administrative system only displays segmentary patterns to the extent that the administration itself constitutes a political system" (1956: 49).

The words "administrative" and "political" have only to be substituted by the two Minangkabau principles of authority: *Kaum* administration is in the hands of the *manak* and is hierarchical as far as it involves the execution of *musyawarah* decisions taken at higher group levels as well as everyday organization of *kaum* life. But insofar as decision making is concerned that touches the interests of the whole group, the *kaum* constitutes a political system (in Smith's words) in which authority is segmentary, the individual *kaum* members being the segments. On higher group levels, characterized by their hierarchical order expressed in the saying "*bajanjang naiek - batanggo turun*", this "hierarchic devolution of authority and functions is transformed into a segmentary contraposition of components" (Smith 1956: 49) when policy decisions (*musyawarah*-decisions) are taken by the representatives of the component subgroups.

D. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Each Minangkabau has a complex set of relationships to the other members of his *nagari* and to the groups which exist therein. These relationships are expressed in a similarly complex system of references and, to a much lesser degree, by the system of terms by which the Minangkabau address each other. Some of the relationships and their social functions have already been described in the previous part of this chapter: The relationships arising out of common group membership. As

groups play an important role in social and political life, reference to common group membership is often made when inter-individual relationships are characterized. This is done by the expression that one is/is not of "one" (*sa-*)group with the other person/group referred to, the kind of group being specified. Most of the groups have already been described: It can be a territorial group (*sa-buek, sa-koto, sa-nagari*), a descent group (*sa-jurai, sa-kaum, sa-buah gadang, sa-paruik, sa-suku*), or a group formed according to *adat* (*sa-buah paruik, sa-hindu*). Another quite frequent mode of reference is the indication of the common sharing of a social function or relationship, which is specified in the reference. Thus ego will denote his relationship to another individual or to a group by naming the social function which they share or which pertains between them. E.g. ego will state that his relationship to X is of one property (*sa-harato*), one heritage (*sa-pusako*), of the same *adat* (*sa-adat*), or that one pays debts together and receives outstanding debts together (*utang samo dibaie - piutang samo ditarimo*). These functions are generally attached to groups, but the reference is made without explicitly naming the group. Within the complex set of relationships with his *nagari* co-citizens, a person's kinship and, to a lesser extent, his marriage relationships take a central place. These shall be described in some more detail.

II. THE KIN

The Minangkabau are of the opinion that both father and mother have a part in procreation, and that social relationships come into existence by the fact that a child is born to his married parents. By extension, ego is related to all persons to whom his/her parents are related by a series of filiative links. This aspect of bilateral filiation in Minangkabau kinship has often been overlooked or not sufficiently emphasized by previous authors on Minangkabau.²⁹ The *adat* saying "*ayam gadang indak batalua*" - "the cock lays no eggs", is often quoted in support for statements that "there are no kinship relations between the father and his children" or that "the children belong to the mother's side only". However, this saying merely refers to the principle of incorporation into groups on the basis of matrilineality; it contains no statement about the establishment of relationships through procreation in general: Fathers do not bear children in patrilineal societies either.

Ego can denote most of his kin by two modes of reference: By individualizing reference where ego refers to a kinsman/woman as an individual, and by the use of social group terms by which ego either refers to his relatives as a group, or to individuals as members of such a group, or where ego, as a member of his own group, denotes individual relatives (for a more systematic account cf. Thomas 1977).

1. *Individualizing Reference*

The recognition of "abstract" bilateral kinship is reflected in the terms by which ego denotes his kin as individuals. With two exceptions, the terminological system for cognates is of the generation (Malayan) type: The same term is used for relatives on the same (known or assumed) generation level, and the kind of the relationship is specified by qualifiers indicating sex, relative age, or closeness.

On ego's generation level, all kin are labelled *dansanak* - "sibling". Separate terms can be used to indicate younger (*adiek*) and older (*kakak*) siblings. Older siblings can be distinguished according to sex, *uni* (elder sister) and *uda* (elder brother).

On the +2 level, all grandparents and their *dansanak* are called *niniek* or (*in*)*yiek*.

On the -2 generation level, ego's and his *dansanak*'s grandchildren are called (*anak*) *ucucu*.

On the +1 and -1 levels, there is an exception to the general principle: All matrilineally related males on the +1 level are called *mamak*. In CKL, *mamak* is usually employed to denote the +1 generation males within one's *suku pusako*. Only in the case of Caniago and Selayan this use of *mamak* was extended to both *suku*, which were said to have been "one" in former times. The inverse term for matrilineally related persons of both sexes, on the -1 level, is *kamanakan*. The father and his matrilineal collaterals are called *bapak*, the inverse term is *anak*, children. All kinswomen on the +1 level are uniformly called *biyaiik* or *anak* (in CKL), and often the Indonesian *ibu* is also used. The inverse term for the children is *anak*.

As has been mentioned before, the terms *mamak* and *kamanakan* are also used to denote group leader and group followers, irrespective of their genealogical position.

These terms are qualified by additional terms which indicate:

- * the sex of the person referred to: *laki2*, male, and *parampuan* or *padusi*, female.

- * nearness: Nearness can be expressed explicitly as genealogical nearness through the reference to the common ancestor/ancestress which ego shares with the person referred to. Thus one speaks of being *dansanak saibu* or *dansanak saniniek* - siblings of one mother or siblings of one grandmother. Through this usage, also half-siblingship is expressed: *dansanak saibu (saja)* - siblings with a common mother (only) and *dansanak sabapak*, siblings with a common father (only). Nearness can also be indicated in a more general way through the terms of *dakek* (near) and *jaueh* (distant, far), but it is clear from the usage of these terms, that nearness is here also conceived of in terms of the genealogical levels of the respective apical ancestresses (cf. Thomas 1977).
- * ego's direct ascendant or descendant: This is generally expressed by leaving away qualifiers.
- * the relative age of one's direct ascendants' siblings: *tuo* (older, oldest) *tengah* (in the middle) and *(k)etek* (younger). Thus *anak tuo* means MeZ, *bapak etek* means FyB.

2. References Involving Group Terms

In addition, groups of kin can be denoted by the use of social group terms. Reference to individuals as members of some group can also be made by saying that he/she is a member of that group. As most social functions in Minangkabau are attached to groups, this part of the referential system most clearly shows the basic principles of social organization. In contrast to abstract bilateral thinking, here emphasis is put on matrilineal descent. The kin groups referred to are all structured according to matrilineal descent. Relationships to them are based either on matrifiliation or patrifiliation. By matrifiliation, ego becomes a member of his mother's group. By patrifiliation, ego does not become a group member, but important relationships are established between him/her and the matrilineal group to which his father belongs.

a. Relationships Involving Patrifiliation

Any ego's father's matrilineal group is called *bako*. In CKL it was applied to the *kaum* and *buah gadang* of the father. The term designates the group as a whole. Each member of the *bako*, with the exception of the father himself, can be referred to as being *bako*, without any further differentiation according to the sex or age (relative or genealogical). Reciprocally, all the group members (the *bako*) refer to the real children

of their male group members (thus excluding ego as a group member) as *anak pisang*, no matter in which genealogical position the respective male *kaum* member stands to the speaking ego.

In some *nagari*, there are still special terms which denote the *bako* of the father and the *anak pisang* of the *anak pisang* (Thomas 1977). In CKL, only the father's *bako* was recognized as such and labelled *induek bako*, the 'mother *bako*'. This was done in reference to *panghulu* installations, where the father's *bako* still has a specific function. In general, however, the terms *bako* and *induek bako* were employed coterminously in CKL. A category of "*anak pisang* of the *anak pisang*" was not conceptualized in CKL. The *anak pisang* in CKL were all children of one's male group members in the same *kaum/buah gadang*. However, the expression *anak ujuang ameh* was used in reference to children of the male members of other *kaum* in one's *buah gadang*; the same expression was also used to refer to the children of males of other *buah gadang* in one's *sabuah paruik*. The *anak ujuang ameh* also had a function in *panghulu* installations, but no inverse term was used for the group to which the *panghulu* belonged. The *panghulu* in this case was not *bako*. The relationship between the *bako* and its *anak pisang* is loaded with important social functions (see Korn 1941; Fischer 1964) which will be described in detail for property matters in the following chapters.

b. Relationships Involving Matrification

By matrification, ego becomes a member of his mother's group and of all groups of which his mother's group is a sub-group. Ego can denote all his group members by indicating common group membership and specification of the group.

Besides the group terms already given in the previous parts of this chapter, the category *warih* must be mentioned. *Warih*, in Indonesian: *waris*, is derived from the Arabic *warith*, which means heir. It is used with this meaning in Indonesians as well as in Minangkabau. In concrete cases of inheritance, *warih* is used to denote the heirs, also called *ahli warih*. In contemporary usage, all heirs - be they the children or the *kamanakan* - are called *waris/warih*. But besides, *warih* is also used to indicate all of ego's living group members, whether or not ego would actually inherit something from them or they from ego. It is in this sense that the group head is the *mamak kepala waris*, the *mamak* who is the head of the *warih*.³⁰

In addition, the *warih* category can also be used to express relationships between groups. Ego as a member of his own group refers to other groups as his group's *warih*. These group-*warih* are qualified by terms which indicate distance:

sajari (Ind. *sejari*) - one finger

satampo (Ind. *setempap*) - the breadth of one hand

saeto (Ind. *sehasta*) - from finger to elbow

sadapo (Ind. *sedepa*) - from fingertip to fingertip (fathom)

Distance can mean genealogical distance, measured in common matrilineal descent, or distance in *adat*, or both. In the literature, the *warih*-categories are described in both contexts, sometimes by the same author (I.H. Dt. Rajo Panghulu 1973: 57 for genealogical meaning, and 1974 :44 for *adat*-meaning). This is probably due to the fact that the term is used in the context of the Minangkabau conception of inheritance, and of inter-group inheritance in particular, which can also be based upon *adat* (i.e. non-genealogical) relationships. In CKL, the category was usually employed in the genealogical meaning to indicate matrilineally related kin groups.

The Minangkabau referential system is complicated in that the same labels may be used to denote both kin, according to the Minangkabau conceptions of filiation and descent, and non-kin. During the description of the internal structure of the *buah gadang* I already mentioned that the vocabulary of matrilineal descent is also employed to denote persons with whom there is definitely no filiative or descent relationship. Likewise, some of the terms denoting kin are also used to address kin and non-kin, and the same holds true for references based upon common functions. I shall not attempt here to analyse which meaning, in the case of multiple meanings, is to be considered the "primary" and which the "extended" one. In my view, all terms should be regarded as social categories which are defined by different specifics, genealogical and others. But I should like to draw attention to Thomas' recent study in which data bearing on the so-called Leach - Lounsbury (social categories vs. extensionist) controversy are discussed. His conclusion, that the modified version of the extensionist approach which he proposes is the most fruitful way to explain Minangkabau kinship categories, seems very plausible to me.³¹

III. MARRIAGE

As in most societies, marriage in Minangkabau is not an affair of just the two spouses but involves their kin as well. Through marriage, relationships are established between the spouses and the spouses' kin. For a better understanding of these relationships, a brief account must be given of the rules according to which marriages are organized and which affect the choice of marriage partners (for a recent description of Minangkabau marriage *adat* and ceremonies see Sjafnir et al. 1973).

1. *The Organization of Marriage*

According to *adat*, marriages must be arranged by the spouses' kin. This rule particularly pertains to first marriages. In former times, boys were reported to be married off at about the age of 15 and girls at the time of their first menstruation (Loeb 1935: 114). In contemporary CKL, the average age at which people marry has risen considerably. Of the 186 marriages contracted in the years 1973 and 1974, only 15% of the boys had married at an age below 19, 58.6% had married when they were between 20 and 25 years old. 74.2% of the female marriage partners were between 17 and 33 years old, and only one marriage had been with a 16 year old girl.³² The main organizers of a marriage are the girl's *kaum* members. The *kaum* of the girl must take the initiative. Once a girl has reached a marriageable age, her *mamak* must organize a meeting of the *kaum* in which the problem of the marriage is discussed. The girl's father and some other members of the *bako* are invited. At this meeting, the potential candidates (there should always be more than one) are discussed. Once a preliminary choice has been made, the respective elders of the boy are approached. Marriage involves elaborate ceremonies which are held in the (*jurai*'s) houses of the groom and the bride, and the groom is officially "fetched" from his (mother's) house to his new house, the house of his wife (for more vivid accounts see Verkerk Pistorius 1871; V.d. Toorn 1881; Van Eerde 1901; for a recent description of such a meeting see Tanner 1971: 289). In contemporary CKL, marriage involves no major economic transactions. Each group pays its respective costs, which may be substantial as the ceremonies and the meals given during the ceremonies involve a large number of guests. But there is no major gift giving or gift exchange. From earlier accounts of Minangkabau marriage, and also from contemporary accounts from other *nagari* it seems, however, that this is not the dominant practice and

rule in Minangkabau. It seems to be (have been) customary in Minangkabau that the bride's *kaum* makes substantial gifts to the groom and his *jurai* (see Loeb 1935: 115; Naim 1974: 428; Thomas 1977: 66).

Islamic law has had an important impact on marriage in Minangkabau. It has been taken as the basis for the official administrative regulations concerning marriage. The marriage is officially validated (in terms of Islamic and statutory law) by the Tuan Kali, the mosque official, and it must be registered at the office of the village Registrar of Marriage and Divorce, and Remarriage (P3NTR, *Pembantu Pegawai Pencatat Nikah, Thalak, dan Rujuk*). Marriages are officially valid even though *adat* rules have been violated. However, if the marriage has not been contracted in accordance with *adat*, if e.g. the *adat* ceremonies have not been held, the marriage will not be recognized in the *nagari*, and the spouses and their *mamak* will be punished by banning them from certain activities as long as they have not atoned for their fault by inviting the *ninieki mamak*, the community's *adat* elders, to a ceremonial meal in which they admit their fault and ask for forgiveness. In practice, marriages thus are subject to a dual set of rules. In general, both sets of rules are adhered to by combining the necessary actions in the marriage ceremonies.

In 1974, a new uniform marriage law was enacted for Indonesia, which had not yet come into force when we left Minangkabau. Some details of this law will be discussed later in the study (Chapter 4: 213).

In CKL, as well as in other parts of Minangkabau, the number of marriages initiated by the young people themselves, has been increasing. This is normally tolerated so long as the young lovers "keep to the rules". This means, that they have to report their choice to their *mamak*, and then the indicated boy will be "chosen" as future husband in the *kaum* meeting in which the candidate is discussed and the usual formal contacts will be determined by the girl's *kaum*. Failure to "keep to the rules" will mean that the girl's *kaum* will not consent to the marriage and not stage the ceremonies, which has the consequences described above. In the *nagari*, young people are usually not in the position to evade the social pressure following such an affront to their elders.

2. Rules Affecting the Choice of Marriage Partners

Minangkabau *adat* poses several restrictions upon the choice of potential marriage partners and considers some unions as particularly appropriate.

a. *Nagari* Endogamy

Until the middle of this century, the *nagari* were endogamous units. Exceptions were made for those *nagari* which had developed out of one common mother-*nagari*. The rule was prescriptive, violations were punished with temporary or even permanent³³ expulsion from the *nagari*. Due to growing inter-*nagari* relationships and the increasing mobility of the *nagari* inhabitants, dissatisfaction with the endogamy rule grew, and it was officially abolished by decisions of the *Karapatan Adat Nagari* in most *nagari* in the 1950's.³⁴ Breaches of the rule were known in CKL, and one informant, now aged 72, claimed that he had been the first person to marry out. He was punished by exclusion from *adat* activities until he had atoned for his fault.

In contemporary CKL, most persons still find their partners in the *nagari*. Of the 186 marriages contracted in 1973 and 1974, 9 men (4.8%) and 12 women (6.4%) had married out. In two cases, both spouses did not originate from CKL.

b. *Suku* Exogamy

As a general principle, it is the *suku pusako* which is the exogamous unit in CKL. The acknowledged exceptions to this rule are said to be based upon agreements made by the respective lineage elders in times which were not remembered any more. These exceptions pertain to *suku* Sikumbang, where marriage is allowed between some (but not all) sub-groups which are formed by *sabuah paruik*, or groups of *sabuah paruik*, in the *suku-within-hindu* of Sikumbang. This was explained by the fact that these groups had, when settling in the *nagari*, no genealogical relationships whatsoever. The other main exception was, that persons of the *suku* Caniago and Selayan could not intermarry. It was explained, that Caniago and Salayan "perhaps" had been "one" in former times.

In CKL, *suku pusako* exogamy, with the exceptions mentioned, still is the legal and statistical rule: Of the 186 marriages contracted in the years 1973 and 1974, only 10 (5.4%) were between members of the same *suku*, and 6 of these marriages were between members of *suku* Sikumbang where intermarriage is partly permitted.³⁵ Violations of the exogamy rule are still regularly sanctioned in CKL: the parties must invite the *adat* elders to a communal meal and they must admit their fault and ask for forgiveness. The character of this sanction, however, seems to change slowly from "punishment" to "fee".

These data from CKL should not, however, be taken as being representative for Minangkabau in general. Other reports suggest that in other Minangkabau *nagari* the formerly common *suku* exogamy rule has lost most of its force and that much smaller social groups have become the exogamous units.³⁶

c. Second and Further Marriages

Polygyny is allowed. According to Islamic law, men may be married simultaneously to as many as four wives. Whether polygyny was allowed in Minangkabau before the coming of Islam is not known.

There are several *adat* rules which restrict the taking of a second (and third etc.) wife: During the lifetime of the first wife, no woman from the first wife's group may be married, "group" meaning the *suku*-within-*hindu* groups in CKL (for *nagari* Gurun compare Thomas 1977: 98 f.). A man should further not be married to two (or more) women from the same residential area (*umpuek*). According to the rationalization of the villagers, the wives' houses, their bathing place, and also their property should not be close to each other. For they would become ashamed, *malu*, if they saw their husbands working with or going to the house of the other wife.

d. Social Rank

Marriage partners should in principle be of the same social status. In determining a person's social status, not only his status as *kamanakan* (i.e. his or her status within the *buah gadang*, and of his *buah gadang* in relation to other *buah gadang*, with respect to the original settler, ex-stranger, ex-slave differentiation) is considered but also the status of his father and his *bako*. It is, however, open to the deliberations of the girl's *kaum* to choose a partner of different rank. Hypogamy for females was said to have been forbidden in former times, male hypogamy tolerated (compare Thomas 1977: 102). In the course of history, these rules have undergone change; in particular they have been influenced by the new status attributes provided by the administrative, economic, and religious status hierarchies.

e. Parallel Cousins

Parallel cousin marriages are forbidden. For matrilateral cousins this already follows from the principle of *suku* exogamy. Patrilateral parallel cousins are considered to be "too closely" related; the explanations

given for this rule differ widely (compare Besseling 1904; Fischer 1964: 105; Thomas 1977: 93 f.).

f. Preferred Unions

There are some kinds of marriages which are considered ideal in Minangkabau. The most ideal form of marriage is with one's cross cousin. The two forms of cross cousin marriage (CCM) are expressed by distinct expressions which take the point of view of the male spouse. Matrilateral CCM is expressed as "*pulang ka anak mamak*", to return to the child of the *mamak*, meaning a marriage of a male with his MBD. Patrilineal CCM is expressed by "*pulang ka bako*", to return to the *bako*, indicating marriage with the FZD. Villagers in CKL explain the ideal character of the CCMs by reference to their value in property strategies and by the fact that they reinforce affinal relationships which have been established one generation before.

Among anthropologists, the form and social function of CCM in Minangkabau are topics of discussion. De Josseling de Jong (1951) developed the hypothesis that in early Minangkabau social structure, the matrilateral CCM was the only ideal marriage, and that the Minangkabau social system was based upon a system of asymmetric marriage alliances. The patrilineal CCM by this interpretation is a recent development. This view has been accepted, though with less caution than it had been originally proposed, by some writers (see Umar Junus 1964; Maretin 1961; Kahn 1976). Other authors have received this hypothesis with some reservation (Leach 1952; Kloos 1963; Fischer 1964); and Thomas (1977) has systematically refuted it on the basis of his recent field research. My reading of the literature and our own field research has led me to essentially the same conclusions which Thomas has drawn. The issue, however, is too complex to be dealt with adequately in this study. I shall discuss the property argument which bears on it later in this study (Chapter 5: 295 ff.). For the rest I content myself with stating that in all reports on Minangkabau both forms of CCM are given as ideal marriage, and that there is rather a bias in favour of the patrilineal CCM.³⁷ In my interpretation, which will be justified more fully elsewhere, CCM was an option given to the girl's *kaum*: It had the right to ask a cross cousin in marriage; and such a union was considered ideal; but the exercise of this option by the girls's *kaum* was in no way prescriptive. And I further tend to support the view that the patrilineal CCM was the "more ideal" match in former Minangkabau (see below Chapter 5: 297 ff.).

The marriage of a sister and brother of one *kaum* with a brother and sister of another *kaum*, "*batimbang baluak*", freely: "balanced opposition, balanced exchange" is also considered ideal as it is said to produce "strong connections" between households (see Thomas 1977: 97).

The remarriage of a widower with a sister of his deceased wife, and the remarriage of a widow with a brother of her deceased husband are also considered ideal. Both marriages are called "*ganti lapiek*" or "*batuka lapiek*", "to replace" or "to change the sleeping mats".

3. *Divorce*

Divorce is regulated according to Islamic law. Men can divorce their wives by uttering the Islamic phrase of *thalak*. Women must obtain a declaration of divorce from the Religious Court. In Minangkabau, women can obtain a divorce rather easily due to the *thalak taklik*, the "suspended" *thalak*, an agreement in which the husband declares his *thalak* as having fallen under certain conditions. In Minangkabau, as in most Indonesian societies, the *thalak taklik* is a regular part of the marriage contract, which is already printed in the marriage book, *buku nikah*, which the spouses are given when registering their marriage. The husband declares in written form: If I leave my wife for an uninterrupted period of longer than 6 months, or if I do not support my wife for a period longer than 3 months, or if I treat my wife "indifferently" for a period longer than 6 months, then my wife is free to file her request for divorce at the Religious Court. Under the condition that she pays the divorce-fee (*uang 'wadl*), my *thalak* falls automatically.

Divorce is easy and frequent in Minangkabau, and both men and women remarry quickly.³⁸

4. *Relationships Established Through Marriage*

Through marriage, relationships come into existence between the spouses and the spouses' households. Formalized and socially defined relationships are further established between each spouse and his or her spouse's *kaum/buah gadang*.

Affinal relationships are partly expressed through individualizing reference. Husband and wife speak of each other as *laki*, male, and *padusi* or *bini*, female. In contemporary Minangkabau, the Indonesian (-Indian) terms *suami*, husband, and *isteri*, wife, are also frequently used. On the 0-generation level, the in-laws of both sexes are designated as *ipa*. Children refer to their parents-in-law as *mintuo*, and parents to

their children-in-law as *menantu*. Co-spouse kin types are labelled *pambayan*. *Pambayan* is used between wives of a man or the wives of a male sibling, and between the husbands of female siblings (cf. De Josselin de Jong 1951: 45 ff.; Umar Junus 1964; Thomas 1977).

Besides, there are terms by which ego as a group member designates all husbands and wives which are married to members of his group. The term *urang sumando* is given to husbands of the women of one's own group. The term is used by male and female speakers, except that women do not ordinarily refer to their husbands as *urang sumando*. The group in this respect is the *kaum* or *buah gadang*. The term *urang sumando* is used to denote the single in-married husband as well as the sum of all husbands. It is not used to designate the *urang sumando*'s *kaum*. In fact, there is no special term by which the *urang sumando*'s *jurai*, *kaum*, or *buah gadang* could be referred to. The only way to do so is to speak of "the *kaum* of X (of our *urang sumando*)", or, if the couple has children, of the "*bako* of our children/*kamanakan*".³⁹

The term *pasumandan* is used to denote the wives of one's male lineage members. In CKL, little use was made of this term. In how far *pasumandan* is and was also used to designate the wife's *kaum* or *buah gadang* in other parts of Minangkabau, is not clear from the literature.⁴⁰

In contemporary Minangkabau, the people do not have a "conceptualization of the groups linked by marriage as a triad: ego's group, its bride givers, and bride receivers" (De Josselin de Jong 1975: 19); and it is improbable that they ever had. Marriage does not establish socially defined relationships between the constituent social groups, but only temporary inter-household relationships and relationships between the individual spouse and his or her spouse's socio-political unit (*kaum* or *buah gadang*).

E. RESIDENCE

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Under the heading of residence I include the complex of legal conceptions which localize a person's or group's activities in terms of pre-defined alternatives, duties, and rights (see K. and F. von Benda-Beckmann 1978).⁴¹ In Minangkabau *adat*, no distinct residence-r ule category exists, but the rules drawn together here are part of the various fields

of relations which have already been discussed.

The residence rules in Minangkabau, the post-marital residence for men in particular, have suffered various and divergent interpretations. The Minangkabau have been cited as one of the few societies where nuclear family arrangements are absent due to residence rules: The husband stays a member of his localized matrilineage and only visits his wife at night. The residence rules have therefore been labelled natolocal or duolocal (see De Josselin de Jong 1951: 11; Gough 1961: 548; Fox 1967: 101 f.). Other authors have discerned a change in Minangkabau residence: due to the impact of economic conditions, the residence rules were said to have become uxori-local (De Josselin de Jong 1951: 117; Umar Junus 1971: 223; Sjafnir et al. 1973: 18 ff.) or even patrilocal or neolocal (Maretin 1961: 158). The idea of original duolocality, which mainly has been stated by reinterpreters of ethnographic records and not always by the reporters themselves, has been rejected by Korn (1941) and Fischer (1964), who claim that also in traditional Minangkabau social organization post-marital residence for men was uxori-local (similarly Tanner 1971: 18, 39 f.). Thomas has recently reviewed the literature on residence in Minangkabau and shares Korn's, Fischer's and Tanner's conclusions (1977: 50 ff., 59). His field data, collected in 1974, unequivocally indicate post-marital uxori-matrilocal residence for men (1977: 50 ff.).

These discussions of Minangkabau residence are usually concerned only with post-marital eating and sleeping arrangements. However, if the category of residence, as I understand it, is to have any value for the analysis of Minangkabau social organization, we must differentiate further. Residence rules *inter alia* determine where people may exercise their rights as community members and where and by whom they may be asked to make contributions, in the form of money or labour, in the communal interest; they lay down with whom one shares collective responsibility in certain cases, with whom one shares a prayer house and mosque, and to whom one must bring one's disputes. At least three different aspects of residence must be distinguished:

1. "Domestic" residence: the localization of domestic activities like eating, sleeping, the education of young children.
2. "Political" residence: the localization of a person's political rights and duties as a community member.
3. "Economic" residence: the localization of a person's labour and other economic activities.

Only these three aspects together allow a satisfactory analysis of Minangkabau residence. In what follows, I shall be mainly concerned with domestic and political residence, as economic residence is to a large extent dependent on this system of property relationships, which shall be described in detail later. Just a short comment may be made here in order to give the reader a general impression. As far as agricultural work is concerned, it is the normative and statistical rule that persons work the land which they have the right to use and exploit; in addition, they will often work on others' land in the context of neighbourhood- or kinship-based working arrangements. Women hold most of the rights to rice-land, and men therefore work as rice cultivators mainly on land which belongs (in the sense mentioned above) to women. In former times, men spent most of their labour on the fields of their female members of their *jurai* or *kaum*, nowadays men prefer to work on the fields of their wives. Areas used for cash crops and perennials are mainly held by men, who do most of the necessary work and are only occasionally helped by women.

II. DOMESTIC RESIDENCE

Domestic residence changes during the life-cycle of individuals, and is different for men and women.

For children, the domestic residence is their mother's house. During the day-time, they play, help their mother and aunts, and, when old enough, accompany their parents or their *mamak* to the fields. At night, they sleep with their parents in the parents' sleeping-room (*bilik*) in their mother's house, be it a family long house (*rumah gadang*) or a smaller house. When the boys reach puberty, they may not sleep in their mothers'/sisters' house any more. They move to a *surau*, the bachelors' dormitory which is also used as prayer house and for religious and *adat* education. The *surau* can be held by a *buah gadang* or *kaum* but may also be common property of a *buek*. Children are also frequent and welcome guests in the house of their father's mother, "in the house of the *bako*".⁴²

After marriage, the husband sleeps in the house of his wife. Polygynists are supposed to make some arrangement by which they share their time fairly between their wives, and most polygynists we knew had developed a fixed schedule. In principle, the young couple lives in the

house of the wife's mother. If this is a family house, the couple will be given one sleeping-room (*bilik*). In former times, new rooms were added to the family house when the house became too crowded, i.e. when there were more married females than there were rooms. If no rooms could be added, another house, either a new family house or a smaller annex, would be built adjacent to the old *rumah gadang*. If the housing area did not permit the construction of a new house, or if a *jurai* wished to move to another part of the *nagari*, new houses could be built there, if the wife's *jurai* possessed inherited property (*harato pusako*) there. In contemporary CKL, *rumah gadang* are still in use, but are generally used by a *jurai* comprising one grandmother, mothers and children only. Most people live in smaller houses, which are constructed according to the same plan as the *rumah gadang*, but which can accommodate fewer persons. The report of the *Wali Negeri* of CKL made in 1971 lists 330 *rumah gadang*, 626 houses (*gedung*, houses with a verandah intended as permanent residence) and 419 "primitive houses" (*rumah bungkus nasi*, which do not have a verandah and are often rebuilt or torn down after a short while).

In the last resort, domestic residence is thus determined by reference to property. The residence of the married couple may not always be in the wife's mother's house, but it will always be on the wife's (*kaum's*) property. The house, no matter who financed its construction, is on the wife's *pusako* land, and it is a part of the wife's *pusako* (as also in Gurun, see Thomas 1977). As residence is determined by reference to the property on which the house stands, "neolocal" residence is nearly impossible in the *nagari*. For all land is already someone's property, and the houses are built on the wife's property. Exceptions to this rule are extremely rare. In the part (*orong*) of CKL in which we lived and which comprised about a hundred houses and more than 1000 inhabitants, no husband did not live in his wife's house! One wife lived with her husband in a different part of the *nagari*, but villagers stressed that this was only a temporary measure until the wife's house had been reconstructed. During our stay, this was done, and the husband moved in afterwards, indeed. Cases in which husbands try to live with their wife and children on their own *jurai's* property occasionally occur, and inevitably lead to trouble. Usually the wife and children have to leave after their husband's/father's death. In CKL, there had been one case of neolocality. The founder of the famous Islamic school of Candung had managed to exchange some of his *buah gadang's* property against a house-site which belonged to a different *suku*, on which he then built a house

for himself and his wives. His sons, however, though they belonged to the most prominent religious functionaries of the *nagari*, all lived in the houses of their wives.

An adult man does not sleep in the houses of his mother. Exceptions are made if the man is old or when it is too troublesome for him to return "home" or to the *surau* after a long night of discussion or ceremony. However, men may neither sleep in nor even enter the sleeping quarters in the mother's or sister's house. If they spend the night, a mat will be placed near the staircase in the open front room, or they may be allowed to sleep in the kitchen. Divorced men, unless they remarry quickly, have to move to a *surau*. Old men are sometimes allowed to sleep in their *jurai*'s family house permanently, and it is customary that dying lineage members are cared for there during their last illness (cf. Korn 1941).

This account of domestic residence in contemporary CKL, and of post-marital domestic residence of men in particular, does not differ significantly from the descriptions given in earlier writings on Minangkabau. In my view, there is little reason to speak of a "visiting marriage", and I would consider post-marital domestic residence of men uxorilocal. Taking into account, that most daytime activities are outdoors, men will during the daytime be where they have property to work, and for the rest of the time they are free to choose their locality: the coffee-house, the *surau*, the house of their *bako*, their mother's and their wife's house. Under these circumstances, emphasis must be put on the activities after dark, and after dark men lived and live in the houses of their wives, unless they visit their mother's house to discuss or instruct their *kamanakan* in family matters, or to participate in ceremonies. But they are also present in the houses of their wives, when family matters are discussed there. As *urang sumando* they participate in the decision making processes which affect their wives' childrens' property and in the ceremonies accompanying their *rites de passage* (see Korn 1941).

III. POLITICAL RESIDENCE

Little attention has been given to political residence in Minangkabau, yet a knowledge of political residence rules is indispensable for a proper assessment of residence in general. The place of political resi-

dence is where a person's *buah gadang* is resident. This holds true for persons of both sexes during all stages of their life cycle. In terms of short formulas, political residence is matrilocal. In CKL, there was no exception to this rule. The rule refers to all three basic principles of socio-political organization: *adat*, *buek*, and *pusako*. However, the rules are more complex than the "matrilocality" label suggests, and must be described in detail.

1. Residence in Adat

A person's source of political rights and duties in *adat* is his *buah gadang* membership, and it is localized where his *buah gadang* is localized. But *buah gadang* localization is not a matter of actual staying or living on *buah gadang* property, it is determined by the original political constitution of the *nagari*. The latter contains the localization of the 12 *hindu adat*, according to which 4 *hindu* are localized in each *koto*. In the process of expansion of the *nagari* population, several complete *buah gadang* have moved to different *koto* in different parts of the *nagari*, and new *buah gadang* may have split off in these new localities. Yet in *adat*, their political residence remains their old *koto*, or the *koto* to which their mother-*buah gadang* belonged through *hindu* affiliation, even if they have been living and been resident in *buek* terms (see below) in the new locality for generations.

Political residence in terms of *adat* Candung and *adat* Kota Lawas functions in the same way. For instance, *buah gadang* from *suku* Sikumbang, which have been resident in Kota Lawas territory for generations, still have to adhere to the *adat* Candung. Political residence in *adat* is thus localized where the *buah gadang/hindu adat* was localized in the original *nagari* constitution, and may be quite different from the place where a person's *buah gadang* is now located, and where its members spend most of their time.

2. Residence in Buek

Residence in *buek* is similar to residence in *adat*, in that one's residence is where one's *buah gadang* is resident. However, in contrast to *adat* residence, official changes can be made in *buek* residence. Moving into a new *buek* requires a formal ceremony by which the new *buek* members are accepted by the *urang sabuek* (we attended one such ceremony in CKL). Individuals cannot move, only *jurai*, and these must, of course, have some property on which to live in the new *buek*. Men thus acquire *buek*

membership only in their role of mother's brother/mother's son - as a member of a *jurai* but not as husband or father. Husbands who have married into another *buek*, and who spend most of their domestic time at their wife's place, have therefore no political rights there in community and neighbourhood affairs.⁴³

3. *Residence in Pusako*

The place of *pusako* residence is where the *buah gadang* and its property are actually located. Rights in *pusako* matters are exercised in the (one of the) *rumah gadang* on the *buah gadang's harato pusako*-land.

4. *Residence in Jorong*

Residence in *jorong* is generally based upon the *adat* rules concerning domestic and political residence. Thus when the *nagari* government conducted a census, the men were registered as "household heads" at their wife's place, uxorilocally. However, in political matters concerning the national local government system (election of the *Wali Negeri* and of the members of the elective village parliament etc.) residence was based upon the principles outlined above for residence in *adat*.

IV. CONCLUSION

If all aspects of residence are considered together, we may conclude that residence for married Minangkabau men is duolocal: domestic post-marital residence was and still is uxorilocal, political residence was and is matrilocal. I should like to emphasize, however, that this statement about duolocality does not express the same views as those held by previous writers who overemphasized domestic residence and took little, if any, account of political residence. The changes mentioned by observers generally refer to the economic residence of men, which has seen a shift in the daytime activities of men, who tend to live and work with their wives and children. As they live and work mainly on the property of their wives, such residence can hardly be called neolocal or patrilocal; on the contrary, the increasing trend to form stronger nuclear families has strengthened uxorilocal post-marital domestic residence (cf. Tanner 1971: 39 f.).