

KOENTJARANINGRAT ed., *Villages in Indonesia*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1967, x+445 pp.

The "Dutch Indies" have been presumed to be one of the best investigated areas among colonial lands in the fields of customary law and social-cultural anthropology due to the strenuous and thoroughgoing efforts of Dutch scholars. According to the preface of the volume now under review, however:

"...it has been difficult to assess the true range of diversity in Indonesian villages because of a lack of up-to-date, comparable descriptive studies... This lack of modern village studies was generally felt to constitute a major gap in the literature on contemporary Indonesia. The idea of filling this gap... was first broached to colleagues in 1961 during the informal sessions at the Tenth Pacific Science Congress in Honolulu, and afterwards at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia." (p. v)

The fifteen chapters, including an introduction and conclusion by the editor, cover various Indonesian Islands, including West Irian. The chapters have been organized into three main groups: Chapters II-VI discuss villages "associated with a swidden agricultural subsistence economy," Chapter VII is concerned with a "primitive West Irian community of Sago gatherers"; and Chapters VIII-XIV deal with villages "associated with sedentary agricultural economics," among which is a "community of fruit gatherers" in suburban Djakarta.

Sumbawa has been one of the areas in Indonesia to receive the least investigation, in particular in the fields of social anthropology or adat-law. Peter R. Goethals, in Chapter II of the present volume, attempts to contribute to the widening of our perspectives on the social life of the Sumbanese in an investigation of a mountain village in Sumbawa. In contrast to the authors mentioned above, however, he is not concerned primarily with comparative studies such as those made by C. van Vollenhoven and G. Kuperus; and concentrates his attention upon one village in the shallow mountainous area of West Sumba. Special note should be made of his remarks on the way in which the villagers extend social relations both toward the deep mountain zone and towards the coastal zone.

Clark E. Cunningham has already published a number of excellent articles on the Atoni people of Indonesian Timor, especially on their kinship (patri-lineage) system and cosmology. The present paper, constituting Chapter III, seems to be important to elucidating the place and the function of kinship relations in the village life of the Atoni.

Chapter IV, by Alfred B. Hudson and Judith M. Hudson, deals with a Ma'anyan village in the interior of South Borneo. The present article is noteworthy for describing the actual working of social institutions among the Ma'anyan. The matrilineal residence is seen with almost the same frequency

as the patrilocal residence. A similar trend in marital residence has been observed among the Iban of Sarawak by Derek Freeman (cf. "The Family System of the Iban of Borneo," in Jack Goody ed., *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups*, Cambridge, 1958, pp. 26-28). Freeman has hypothesized that such a trend leads to the formation of "utrolateral" family affiliations among children, because the parental residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal. This implies that the marital residence of the parents is selective and ambilocal and that the family filiation of the children is ambilineal or ambilateral. Such an observation is relevant to the problems of land tenure among peoples practising swidden or shifting cultivation, where land rights have often been regarded as being of short duration. It is, thus, interesting that the Hudsons state:

"There are two types of land use rights: effective or primary use rights that are inherited ambilineally through households, and latent or secondary use rights inherited bilaterally through individuals." (p. 105)

This statement may be understood as saying that one can claim land rights, at least latently, along both male and female lines; but the primary right is inherited along what may be called the ambilineal "family (or household) line." Leaving aside Eastern Indonesia and some parts of Sumatra which are characterized by a unilinear kinship system (patrilinear in most cases), societies indigenous to Indonesia are dominated by a bilateral system in that both the male and female lines are almost equally taken into account in social or jural transactions; this "bilateral area" may be extended to include the Philippines and Malaysia (except Negri Sembilan). However, "ambilineality" as mentioned above should lead to a reappraisal of those kinship systems which have hitherto been defined simply as "bilateral." The situation in Central Java (see below Chapter X) deserves notice in this connection.

Chapter V, by Masri Singarimbun, deals with the village life of the Karo Bataks. The Batak people of north central Sumatra are divided into several ethnic subgroups, among whom the southern and northern groups have been under Islamic influences while the central group, the most numerous, has largely been Christianized. In contrast the majority of the Karo Bataks, situated in the northeast, still remain pagan. In the field of anthropology, our information about the Karo Bataks has been extremely poor, as compared with that about the Toba Bataks in particular. The descriptions contained in this chapter are important in helping to extend our knowledge; for instance, the author narrates how the patri-clan functions in village life.

Frank L. Cooley, the author of Chapter VI, has written on an Ambonese village. The Ambonese have been under the influence of Christianity for a long time, but they still retain many of their traditional customs and institutions. It is interesting to learn from this chapter how their village life is managed under the interaction between the two divergent value systems, native and European.

In Chapter VII, Gottfried Oosterwal deals with a Papuan village along

the Mamberamo River. His investigation is focused on the principles of classification involved in the world-view and the "society-view" of the people to which their life, in both ritual and daily aspects, is oriented, and by which it is regulated. Several hamlets will be loosely held in political cohesion based on the principles of classification; through this loose organization law and order are maintained. Oosterwal compares this situation with that obtaining in the Tor area to the east of the Mamberamo drainage. The tradition of the Leiden school of ethnology seems to be well reflected in his approach, which results in quite vivid and convincing description.

In Chapter VIII, Hendrik T. Chabot concentrates his investigation on a Macassarese village. He is particularly concerned with social mobility, and points out that the "possibilities for people of lower classes to move up to become the members of higher classes (and *vice versa*)"; that "from the standpoint of the lower people, social levels seem to be less rigid"; and that "the literature time and again gives the impression of a strict social hierarchy, whereas in reality we find much uncertainty about the lines dividing various layers of society from each other." (pp. 191 and 209) That such a phenomenon of social mobility is inherent to the native society, and not necessarily the outcome of modern change, is a fact deserving notice. His observation would suggest the need of re-scrutinizing the stratified societies of South Celebes in a new light.

Chapter IX, "Tihingan: A Balinese Village" by Clifford Geertz, was originally published in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Deel 120, Afevering 1, 1964), with the note that it would also be published in a forthcoming volume edited by Koentjaraningrat. The contents in the present volume remain almost the same, with but slight modification. One might say that Geertz' method of analysis is often too cut and dried to be persuasive especially to those who are concerned with the variations and vicissitudes of reality. Nevertheless, the present article on Tihingan is an excellent one, and the concluding two pages, summarizing the characteristics of Balinese villages, is concise and accurate.

Koentjaraningrat's description in Chapter X seems to reflect his personality: quiet, steady, and never exciting. The reader is given a good view of the changing aspects in village life of Central Java, where the author was born and raised. Noteworthy here is his observation on the "special ancestor-oriented kin groups, called *alur waris*, which usually include six to seven generations.... These groups are obliged to care for the graves of common ancestors." Immediately thereafter, he writes: "The *alur waris* is... an ancestor-oriented, bilateral occasional kin group, which usually becomes ambilineal after the fourth generation." (p. 262) It is hard to understand the full meaning of these statements, although we have to admit that space does not permit Koentjaraningrat to elaborate in detail on his observations. Recently he published another article, i. e., "Javanese Data on the Unresolved Problems of the Kindred" (*Ethnology*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1968) in which he discusses again the *alur waris*. Here too he remains prudent and the problem still

remains unresolved. Kinship among Javanese has been regarded as "bilateral" in that no special emphasis is laid on either the male line or the female line; nor on either the paternal side or the maternal side, in social or jural transactions. "Bilateral" is after all "multilineal": theoretically, two lines in the parents' generation, four lines in the grandparents' generation, and so on, while one cannot orient oneself to many kinds of ancestors along many lines. Many lines will not lead to the formation of a definite kin group. However, if one is affiliated with either the patri-line or the matri-line in each generation by referring to the marital residence of his parents for instance, the result will be what may be called "ambilineal" as in the case of the Ma'anyan people of South Borneo mentioned above. In such a case, it is possible to bring forth a kin group called "ambilineage" in anthropological terminology. Koentjaraningrat's remark on the *alur waris* might provide us with a clue to elucidating this subtle aspect of the Javanese kinship system. But why is it first bilateral and, after the fourth generation, ambilineal? Lacking detailed information, we are not in a position to enter into further discussion about this problem.

Chapter XI by Kampto Utomo deals with the villages of immigrants from Central Java in Lampong, South Sumatra. The description of the nature and extent of contact between the Javanese immigrants and the indigenous inhabitants is a fascinating one. The socio-cultural backgrounds of these two peoples are quite divergent from each other. The subsistence economy of the Lampong people is characterized by swidden farming and dry rice cultivation, and their autonomous community is the *marga* which may be called a federation of villages or regional community. On the other hand, the social relations and the land rights of the Javanese are largely regulated by the *desa*, the village community, and they traditionally prefer to live in a sedentary compound settlement and to cultivate wet rice in irrigated fields. Given such socio-cultural divergences, "no significant relation between the *marga* and the pioneers has ever developed, other than the initial permission for land use from the *marga*" who controls land right and land exploitation. (p. 284-285) "The Lampong *marga*... did not appeal to the pioneers, both because *marga* ties seemed too loose for Javanese taste and because the Javanese communities were considered only marginal members of the *marga*." (p. 291) Against the background of such socio-cultural contrasts, the author tries to explain various kinds of conflict between the two peoples involved, but space does not permit him to enter into detailed discussion. Nevertheless, such an investigation is surely important in contemporary Indonesia, where immigration from over-populated Java will possibly lead to serious problems in various regions outside Java in the near future.

Andrea Wilcox Palmer, in Chapter XII, tries to analyze the village life on a synchronic level. Her description of various aspects of privately-owned land is worthy of note, as "communal land" has been almost non-existent in Sunda-land.

Chapter XIII by Soeboer Boedhisantoso is a unique article in this volume

in that it deals with a fruit-producing village near Djakarata. Formerly the so-called *particuliere landerijen* where the landlords were mostly Dutchmen or Chinese whose ancestors procured the land from the East India Company. These landlords compelled the natives to cultivate wet rice, and it was after the War that the rice fields were turned into fruit gardens. This chapter is a suggestive one, as it vividly describes changing aspects of a suburban village.

Chapter XIV by Harsja W. Bachtiar is concerned with a village situated on the eastern tip of the Minangkabau area. While admitting that this village "should not be regarded as a typical Minangkabau community," the author emphasizes that "in fact, there is no such thing as 'typical' Minangkabau village community." (p. 349) Apart from the question of whether or not these statements are contradictory, his emphasis seems to be pertinent in view of the conspicuous local variations which, according to him, have been derived from socio-cultural autonomy as well as the isolation of the village communities for many years, sometimes even for several centuries. In this regard, he points out, for instance, that the joint family house, reported to be disappearing elsewhere, still remains in the village he investigated. Here he seems to be dealing with a traditional and general pattern whose speed of change is variable according to locality. In any case, the problem is how to check the "unity within diversity" or "diversity within unity" in such an area as Minangkabau where local variation is tremendous. It should be added here that the description of political relations on the village level, though brief, vividly informs us of changing aspects in the interaction between the old and the new.

Chapter XV by Koentjaraningrat forms the conclusion to the present volume. It must have been a hard task to synthesize the studies presented into one general view. Surely he seems to have succeeded to a great extent in overcoming the diversity of topics and discussions in the various chapters.

The bibliography (pp. 407-434) includes an extensive list of Dutch publications, most of which are related to Chapters I and XV by Koentjaraningrat. When one investigates a series of changes, one had better be informed as far as possible of the situation prior to these changes: and in this regard, Dutch publications are very important to Indonesian studies. It seems true, however, that some of the American anthropologists, for instance Dr. Geertz (and perhaps more so Mrs. Geertz), tend not to pay much respect to the works made by Dutch scholars, though Geertz is presumably versed in Dutch publications. (*Tōichi Mabuchi*)