

Social Change on Seram: A Study of Ideologies of Development
in Eastern Indonesia

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Abstract of Thesis

Fuelled by expanding oil and gas revenues, the Indonesian state has engaged in a massive and nationwide restructuring process. This "development" programme affects all facets of Indonesian society as a growing state apparatus exerts its authoritarian influence. In this context the thesis discusses social change in two Wemale villages located in the interior of western Seram at the very margins of the state administration's power and interest. Drawing upon their experience of submission to colonial state control and the presence of the Protestant Church since the turn of the 19th century, these formerly autonomous shifting cultivators have embraced, modified and subverted the rhetoric of modernisation in antithesis to 'adat' their presumed ancestral customs.

The thesis discusses the reception of as well as a striving for social change through an examination of cultural concepts and social values. I set out with a description of transformations in housing, cooking and food. This leads to a preliminary discussion of the meaning of past and new styles in consumption which are closely associated with 'adat' and Protestantism. The concern with improving homes with market products and meeting general household expenses results in modifications to economic activities. Tree cash cropping is now a highly valued extension of shifting cultivation and that has major implications for the reproduction of the household. This is observed with respect to gender relations and the growing importance of inheritance of material wealth. Whereas villagers see predominantly a break with ancestral habits in production and consumption, social changes in household relationships are denied. Chapter 4 and 5 provide background information about the household composition and examine the concept of the house as a kinship group. I show in which way the household, exemplified by husband and wife, seeks to seclude itself from the interference of public leadership by evading marriage rituals specifically and avoiding the assumption of public office more generally. This issue is expanded in chapter 6 which offers a characterisation of the political roles of elders and citizens in village meetings. The rhetoric of "development" and its limitations in mobilising the villagers participation is introduced.

In the final chapters the thesis discusses the importance of the Protestant Church and its close affinity with "development". Indeed "development" is partly received in religious terms as the emphasis on past and present sins, on expiation and social renewal, helps to generate hope for a prosperous future. Yet the villagers reluctance to conform to the hierarchical authority of the Church structure shows firstly how they try to protect their autonomy and secondly that their perception of "development" is in terms of communal consumption and not collective production. Concluding I argue that the unintended consequences of the imposition of parish as well as government structures on the local community has thus not only given rise to rival views and interpretations about what "development" means but also lead to a state of communal alienation.

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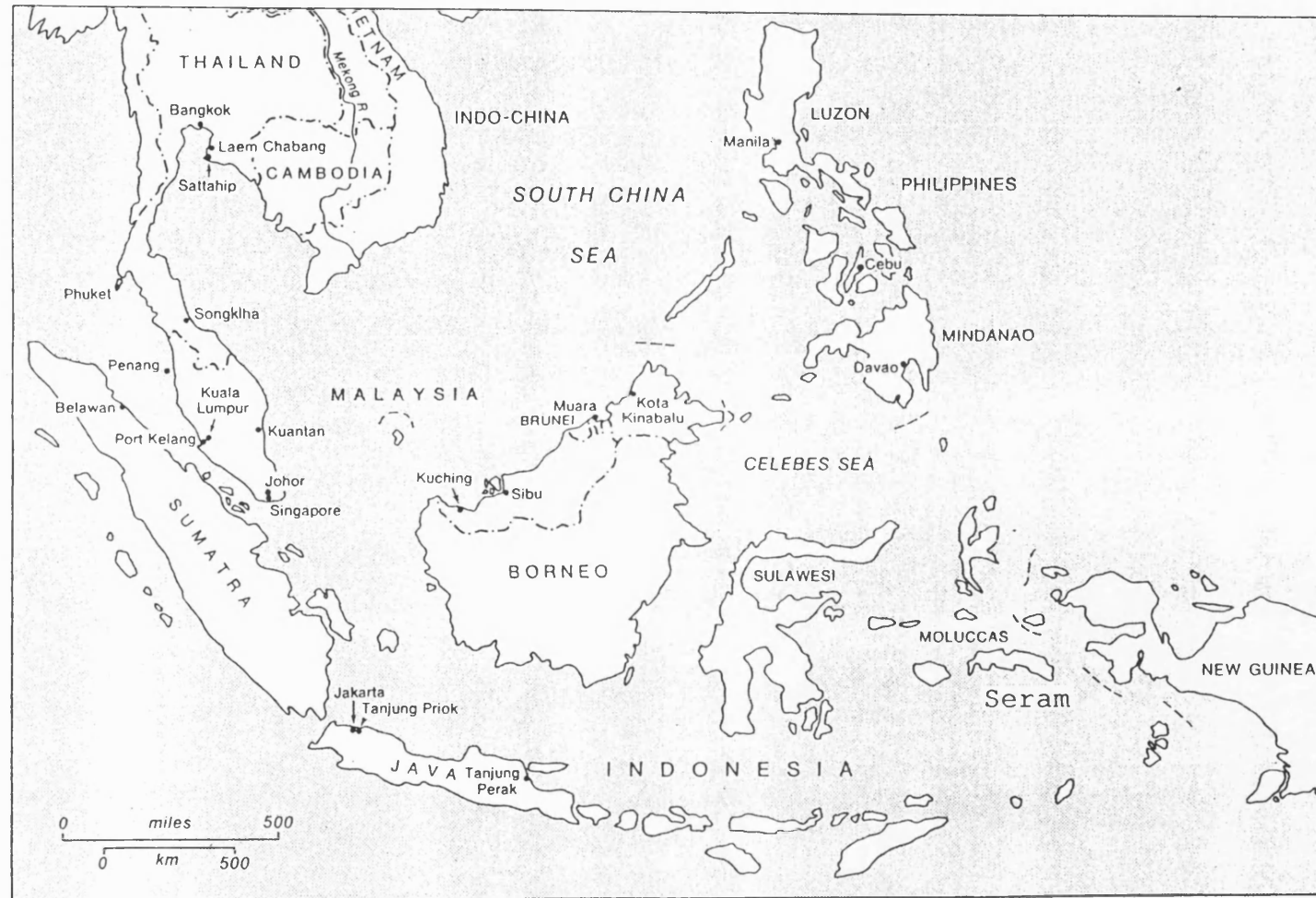
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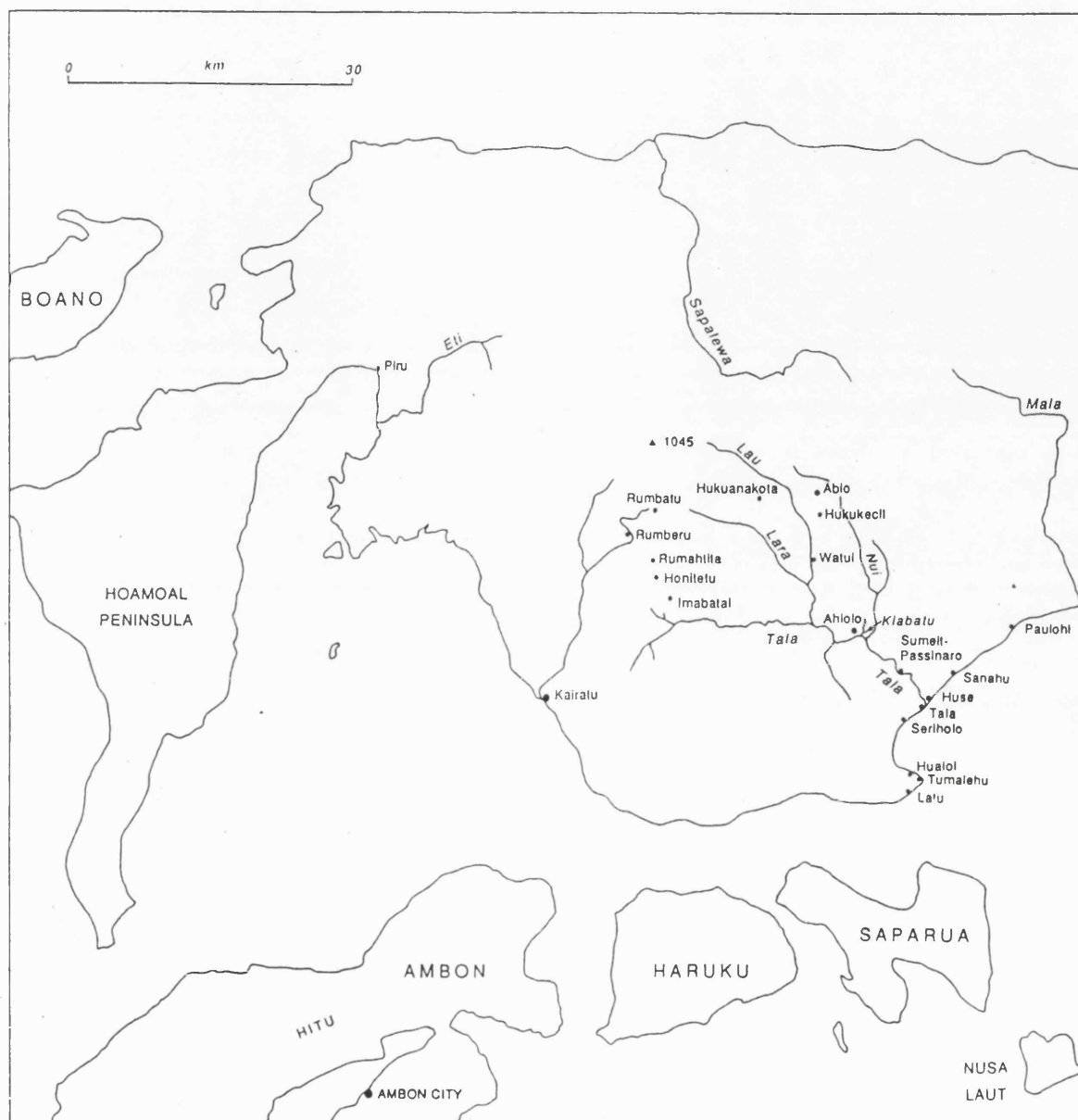
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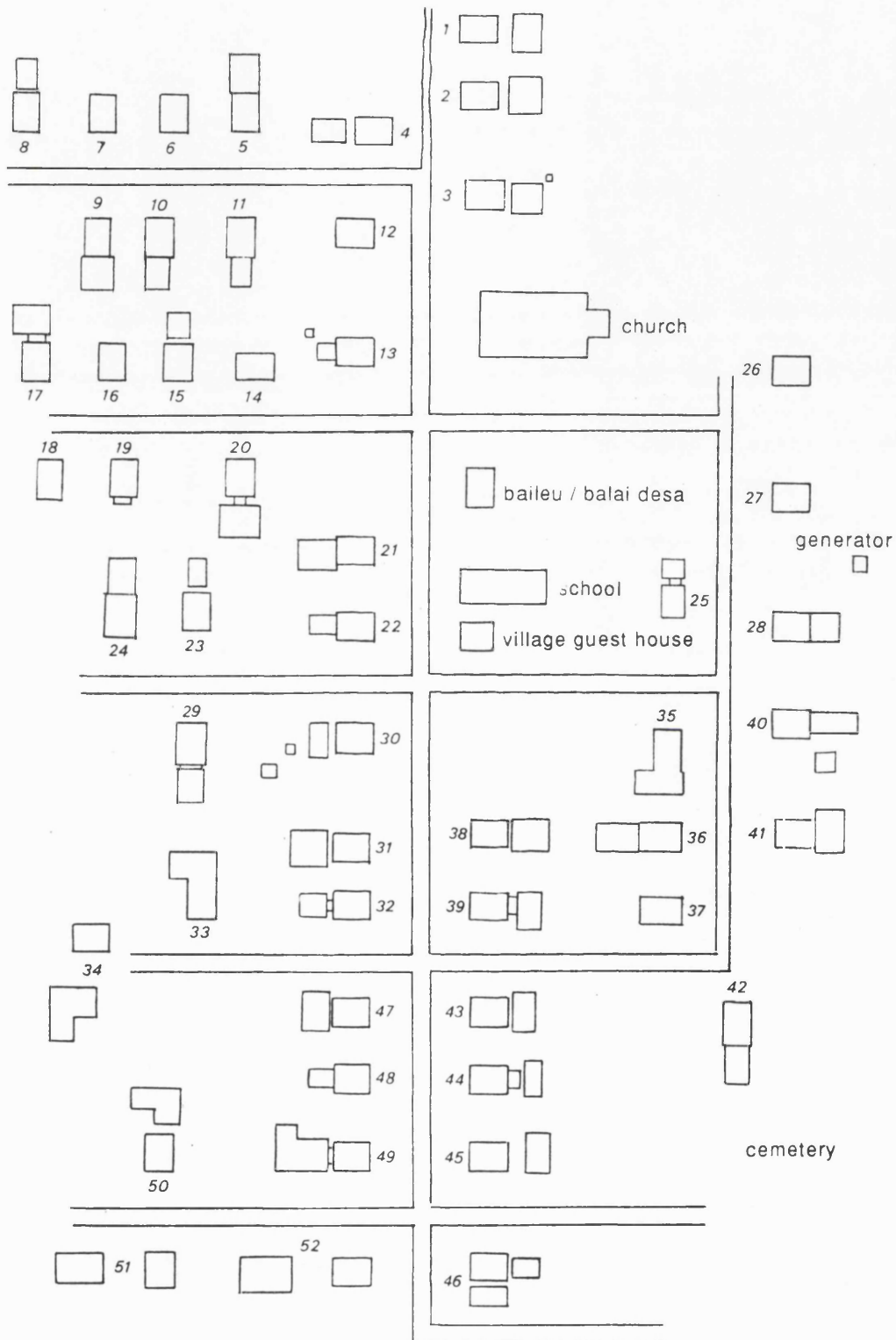


Map 1: South-East Asia, Indonesia and Seram

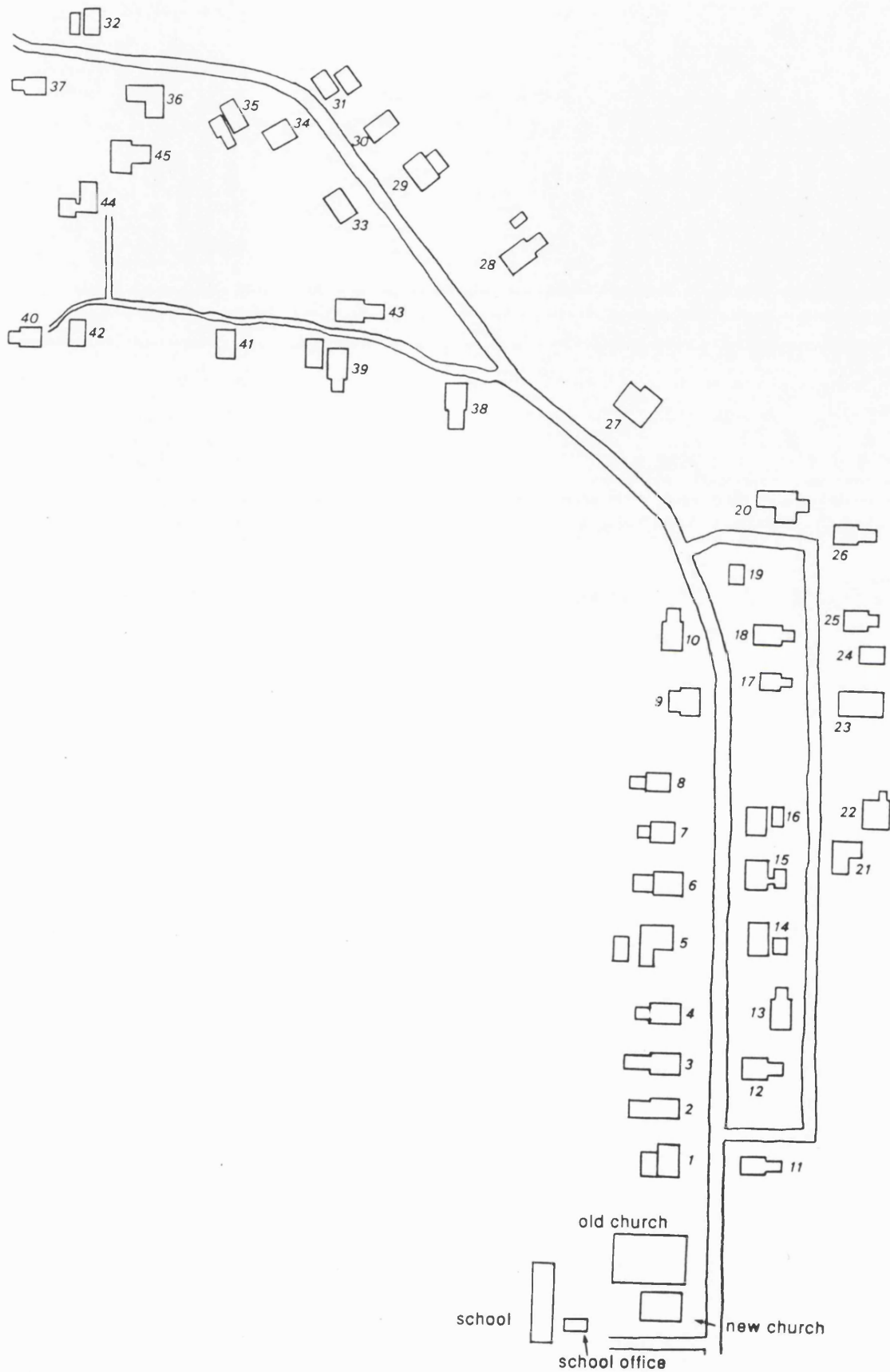
Map 2: West Seram



Map 3: Village Ahiolo



Map 4: Village Abio



Sebastian. I enjoyed tremendously the time spent together with Sebastian after my return, even though small boys and thesis writing do not mix very well. My final and most cheerful thanks are to Gina, who read and reviewed all chapters with me, for discussion, fun, and happiness.

Introduction

The main theme of this thesis is the reception and appropriation of social change and the rhetoric of development among two village communities on western Seram, Indonesia. The research had originally been conceived as a study of the symbolism of economic change and although this work remains thematically similar, my preconceptions have changed considerably during fieldwork. The two major sources on the Wemale, Jensen's 1948 monograph "Die Drei Ströme" and an earlier publication by Jensen and Niggemeyer (1939) titled "Hainuwele", a collection of myths and folk stories, had attracted my attention to the Wemale. To me Jensen's analysis of the Hainuwele and a great number of other myths and fables together with rituals could be understood as reflecting, at least partly, the villagers attitude towards their environment and their economic endeavour. This would supposedly shed some light on how economic changes would be received and cash cropping incorporated into the field of economic activities. Fieldwork proved this line of reasoning impossible to pursue. The social changes and especially the introduction of Protestantism have transformed the character of social life and put an end to most Wemale rituals as they have been described by Jensen (1948). In view of my own fieldwork I am now most sceptical about Jensen's emphasis on the Hainuwele mytheme and the status of the collection of myths seems to me open to questioning. Jensen only stayed four months and the collection of Wemale myths was accomplished with the help of translators (Jensen and Niggemeyer 1939:vii-x). Thus it escaped Jensen's attention that the villagers themselves distinguish between ancestral history, true myths and children's fables. Many villagers were obviously unfamiliar with the Hainuwele myth in contrast to the prominent myths about the sun personified by the male Tuwale and the moon by

the female Rapie. Those who knew the Hainuwele myth consistently claimed that it was of minor importance. Nobody linked it to the history of origin from the sacred mountain Nunusaku, or connected the murder of Hainuwele to the origin of disease, death, root crops and a fixed world order in which plants, animals and humans became categorically separated from each other (which precluded the metamorphosis between them). However de Vries (1927:152-157) also published a version of the folk tale¹. Be that as it may, I have also not followed the structuralist influenced, symbolic analysis by Bloch and Parry as proposed in their introductions to the volume on death (1982) and elaborated in the subsequent collection of essays on money and exchange (1989). My focus centres on the political aspects of social relationships and the ideological qualities of "development".

Fieldwork was conducted from January 1988 until March 1989 in the administrative district of Central Moluccas in eastern Indonesia. I visited a number of coastal communities all located within the sub-district ('kecamatan') of Kairatu but spent about one year in the village of Ahiolo before I moved to Abio until I had to abruptly stop my fieldwork due to family reasons. Both villages are located in the mountains but Abio is further removed and even less accessible than Ahiolo (see map). Only slippery and narrow mountain foot paths connect the settlements to the coast. The two villages used to be united in a settlement called Japiobatai. After their fission in the 1930s, Ahiolo and Abio remained legally one village until the present day. Three reasons made the settlements attractive fieldwork locations. Firstly I learnt that the villages had been located between 1961 and 1971 on the coast but decided to move back into the mountains. This suggested that interesting comparisons could be drawn between the villages, their locations and the criteria householders had for moving to their present settlements. Secondly I assumed, partly incorrectly, that the few communities which remain in the mountains (most formerly mountain villages are

¹I hope to explore an evaluation of Jensen's work on the Wemale in a different place.

now settled on the coast) would be more "traditional" than coastal settlements. Thirdly Jensen had stayed for about one month in Ahiolo (close where present day Abio is situated) which appeared to opened the possibility of comparisons.

Although my arrival stirred much curiosity in Ahiolo it took some time before Eduard Latekay, a youth who had achieved the equivalent of senior high school, agreed to teach me the Wemale language and became my fieldwork assistant. The villagers were very friendly to me. I was invited to Christian household rituals and could invariably attend village meetings or public conflict settlements. I also had access to various Church meetings. Otherwise it proved difficult to obtain information from elders and householders and I soon dropped the practice of taking notes during conversations. As villagers are not in the habit of asking about the affairs or financial situation of other households among themselves, I was unable to research household cash resources in a systematic way. Generally householders were circumspect in telling me about many issues of interest and in the end I felt it was up to them what and how they wanted to reveal certain information to me. This theme of "secrecy" is addressed in several chapters.

Throughout the thesis, I use village government for the village head, the secretary and other officials who are accountable to the central state administration for the affairs of the village. Village leadership in contrast (to village government), includes the minister, deacons and teachers.

Structure of Thesis

The second half of the introduction provides an overview of the villages, and their daily and weekly cycle. Chapter 2 expands on the description of the house; and how forms of consumption are related to perceptions of the past and progress. I argue that market consumption is closely linked with a differentiation from the pagan past. The third chapter

describes a core aspects of the recent village history and the village economy. Here I concentrate on showing how tree cash cropping is increasingly incorporated into the household economy. This is followed by two chapters concerned with alterations in the kinship structure. In chapter 4 the focus rests on the concept of the house as core expression of kinship relationships and how the transmission of names relates to flexibility in the constitution of kinship groups. Chapter 5 on marriage demarcates a transition. On side of village life centres around the household and is, despite certain age and gender inequalities, marked by values of autonomy and equality vis-a-vis other villagers and households. On the other side there is a hierarchical and authoritarian public domain. By analysing types of marriage, I explicate a struggle over the definition and the control of the household.

The second half of the thesis deals with the public aspects of village life. Chapter 6 continues with a discussion of power and authority. A comparison of the "customary" elders' councils and village government meetings details difference and overlapping of two forms of ideology. The elders exercise authority by recourse to the ancestors. As such they are equals among each other but superior to women and juniors. The village meeting on the other hand enacts a hierarchy between village government and ordinary villagers. The chapter also introduces the rhetoric of "development" as formulated by the village government and shows the limits of the actual power of officials. The organisational penetration and the maintenance of the Church by the parish is the focus of chapter 7. The Church propagates "development" and elaborates it with respect to the power of God and the sinful nature of people and the villagers' desire for a new church building is an expression of the religious and future-oriented qualities of "development" and social renewal. A new church building represents a faithful and modern village within the nation. Chapter 9 reveals differences and contradictions in the perception of how "development" is achieved by discussing collective labour. Where Church and state would like to create

a community of producers householders demonstrate more reluctance than commitment to maintaining and constructing a new church. Their perception of religion is fundamentally based on sharing and communal consumption, not collective labour. "Development" is therefore largely understood as an appropriation of external state resources. The conclusion changes perspectives by setting the local concern with modernisation into the national context. I argue that the administration's obsession with "development" is a form of ideology whose aim is to penetrate, control and transform society on all levels. Turning the focus back to the village I suggest that the constitution of village by the state administration and the Church has been so powerful that it creates a form of public alienation in the village community.

Notes on Languages

The only publication devoted to the Wemale language is a report published by O. Kakerissa, J. Pentury, Ny. I. Talakua, C. Pieter and E.A. Apituley (1983). It gives information on pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (1983:13-17). I have tried to follow this publication whenever possible and to keep my spelling of Wemale consistent. Wemale pronunciation is similar to German rather than English. Tauern (1928:1003-1007) published some cursory observations on the Wemale language from Japio (i.e. Japiobatai, see above and chapter 3) and also some lyrics of songs (1928:1010-1019). More information on neighbouring languages can be found in Stresemann (1918) on the Paulohi and in Niggemeyer (1951) on the Alune language. A broader and recent survey on the Moluccan languages is provided by Collins (1983).

I spent a lot of time and effort in learning Wemale and reached a certain degree of fluency. I always required help in the interpretation of the highly metaphorical ritualised language, used in songs or during village meetings. The discontinuous and selective use of Wemale by villagers obviously made the learning of Wemale more difficult. In this thesis all Wemale words are underlined. Ambonese Malay and

Indonesian proper are marked by inverted commas. This method allows the reader to receive an impression about the use of languages.

Wemale as a distinct language is disappearing as it competes with Ambonese Malay, a regional vernacular and Indonesian proper. Whereas a number of Wemale words exist for new concepts and technological innovations, these words are hardly used any longer. Instead Ambonese Malay or Indonesian words have taken their place. Almost all children are deliberately taught Ambonese Malay by elders. In informal conversation villagers switch forwards and backwards between Ambonese Malay and Wemale. At home children may therefore hear parents conversing in Wemale while in Church and school they become acquainted with standard Indonesian. Wemale is more frequently spoken in Abio and people there lay higher claims to language competence in comparison with Ahiolo. Most Abio school children speak fluently Wemale, while those of Ahiolo have less command of their parents' tongue. Contrary to claims it does however not follow that in Abio a more "pure" or "traditional" Wemale is spoken.

Colonialism and Villages

The province of Maluku counts a myriad of islands distributed over a wide area. Apart from the Muslim states on Ternate and Tidore, the island of Ambon and especially Ambon city, has been the administrative and military centre of Maluku since the second half of the 17th century. The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church also based itself in Ambon and most villages there and on the Ambon Lease islands (i.e. Ambon, Haruku, Saparua and Nusa Laut) became christianised and constituted a labour and military source for the VOC, the Dutch East India Company. It is this "core area" in which regional traditions and Dutch Protestantism fused into what Cooley (1966) calls "Ambonese Christianity" and where clove production came eventually under Dutch control. Although the Church has had its own history (cf. Cooley 1966), until the present day there has been a strong link between Protestantism, the central

state administration and schooling. The historical ties between these institutions seems to have loosened gradually, especially in urban centres and larger villages. However in remote villages like Ahiolo or Abio, the connection is still very strong and despite critical changes in leadership and policy making, it will become obvious that there are profound continuities in the hierarchical and authoritarian format of the colonial and the national state.

The Dutch East India Company established itself with the explicit aim at controlling and eventually monopolising the lucrative spice trade in cloves and nutmeg. The main obstacles to the Dutch were the Muslim states in the north Moluccas and their Muslim sea-faring trading partners but the production of spices spread over many islands, e.g. the Hoamoal peninsula, Buru and Hitu on Ambon island, where the control from the Muslim states was minor (cf. van Fraassen 1983:1-8,12-19). It would appear that generally the central Moluccas was politically divisive, even before Portuguese, and later Dutch contact. This fragmentary character of village communities was furthered and reinforced under Dutch rule and fitted in the Dutch expression of "Dorprepubliken", so called "village republics". The term 'negri' from Sanskrit "negara" designates in many parts of the Moluccas the main political unit, apart from the colonial state. As Geertz (1980:4,137) observes the usage differs from Java and Bali, where the term connotes the dependency of a governed area. Cooley (1966:56-58) defines the 'negri' as "... a population possessing a territory, a history, a culture, including a system of customary rights and obligations, called 'adat', which guides and governs behaviour, and a pattern of leadership or rule" (1966:56). Cooley tends to over emphasise the political autonomy of villages and underestimates the political influence of colonialism.

A number of authors have used certain social categories and institutions to attribute the region with greater political unity than seems plausible. I address these issues briefly. The literature (e.g. Tauern 1918:31f.; Duyvendak 1926:24; de

Vries 1927:69; Cooley 1962:13-18) refers to an indigenous distinction which designates communities either into Patasiwa (Nine Division) or Patalima (Five Division). These two categories group the people of Seram and Ambon Lease into supposedly opposing groups. Whatever the origin of the distinction may have been, there is little evidence that the fact that villages belong to either Patasiwa or Patalima had socio-political significance (cf. Fraassen 1983:5; Ellen 1978:22f,30).

Dutch influence on Seram was more mitigated than on the Ambon Lease. Right from the beginning of the 17th century there was the threat of military force against violation of the imposition of the Dutch spice monopoly and the famous destruction and depopulation of the Hoamoal peninsula in the 1650s can be quoted as one example. The interior of Seram is largely mountainous and covered with forest. This provided space for populations who evaded state command and constraints imposed by spice production and trade (cf. Ellen 1987:45). The Dutch encouraged villages from the interior to re-settle on the narrow coastal strip as they could be more conveniently supervised. Nevertheless, large numbers of people remained in the inaccessible mountains until the beginning of the 20th century. The former Japiobatai was submitted by Dutch military campaigns between 1906-1908 (Seran 1922:177-184). Many people of Seram still distinguish between coastal people and mountain people (cf. Ellen 1978:23). In essence the inhabitants of the interior were actively resisting hierarchical state structures.

Although they formed no cohesive political force, one can distinguish two major ethnic groups in the interior of western Seram: the Alune and the Wemale. Both share distinct languages, origin myths and a number of other cultural features. The people from Ahiolo and Abio are part of the Wemale. All villagers from this area have acquired a reputation for violence. They engaged in inter village warfare and ritualised headhunting. Above all the male secret initiation societies, called kakehan, attracted the attention

of the Dutch military, travellers and various scholars. It was supposed to have organised resistance against the Dutch and there is a large amount of literature on the subject (cf. Polman 1983, Duyvendak 1926). Stresemann (1923:387) writes that the kakehan probably predates the Dutch arrival but was definitely established in 1646. Although the initiation societies constituted a regional phenomenon, the male cult was organised on a village basis. Many narratives explain the history of village boundaries and the sites of former village locations with respect to warfare between different communities (e.g. Honitetu) and many so called 'pela' (or in Wemale wakea) blood brotherhoods, formed to confirm the end of hostilities and strengthen amicable feelings bear witness to past hostilities.

However Tauern (1918:145-155) and Duyvendak (1926:75-96) argue that the Patasiwa² division was directly connected to a federation of village kakehan in the three main river valleys (Eti, Tala, Sapalewa) of western Seram under a communal administration ('saniri hutu'). The union was supposed to defend the group against the Dutch and Patalima. Tauern's views appear much influenced by a Dutch report on the kakehan which alleged coordinated resistance against Dutch rule (Seran 1922). Inter village warfare and a studying of Dutch military campaign reports (Seran 1922:243-276) does not warrant such a reading and renders implausible the assumed organisational unity (cf. Seran 1918:153, Martin 1894:69) of the river regions in the so called 'saniri hutu', under the leadership of a coastal 'raja' (paid by the Dutch, Duyvendak 1926:85). It is clear that villages formed short term military alliances and quite possibly adopted and elaborated symbolism of power, like office titles, uniforms and flags from the Dutch. However sources reiterate that the 'saniri' settled regional conflicts (Duyvendak 1926:84,86f.) and it appears unjustified to integrate the 'saniri' and the kakehan into a coherent

²The literature subdivides the Patasiwa in white ('putih') and black ('hitam') Patasiwa. The latter supposedly derived their name from dark tattoos, sometimes associated with the kakehan initiation society (e.g. Martin 1894:67).

regional political force.

In the past, the interior of western Seram was more densely populated and villages also comprised larger populations. A government publication from the 1918 lists for Ahiolo (Abio had not come into existence by then) 343 male and 353 female villagers (Seran 1922:205). Jensen (1948:25) also estimated about 700 souls. Although Ahiolo was at the time one of the largest settlements, the population has declined and this holds as far as I checked for other mountain villages. The higher population density in the past was probably linked to the already mentioned inter-village warfare and control of territory.

The Literature

Polman's bibliography lists the literature for central Seram until 1982. There is an abundance of sources of varying quality over several centuries. Due to time limitations I had to confine myself to consulting only major accessible publications. The main ethnographic publications on the Wemale are by a German anthropologist Jensen (1948) and by a Dutch military officer de Vries (1927). The latter's book is helpful on many aspects of Wemale life³ although Jensen practically ignores it and Duyvendak (1928:537) reviewed it as being "unscientific". Duyvendak had just published his dissertation on the kakehan based entirely on the available literature. In defence of de Vries, Ruinen (1929) published an interesting article justifying de Vries' use of the concept luma inei (see chapter 4). Other valuable information comes from the second Freiburger expedition and the Frobenius expedition of which Jensen was a member. Important is also a government publication on Seram (Seran 1922). I was unable to consult R. Kennedy's (1955) "fieldnotes on Indonesia" which contains a passage on a coastal Wemale settlement (cf. Ellen 1978:121f.). More recent work has been conducted by Cooley (1966) on Ambonese Protestantism and customary law and a

³De Vries was stationed in Honitetu but also collected information in Ahiolo and other Wemale and Alune villages.

series of publications of by Ellen on various topics.

Jensen paid scant attention to the social organisation and the study of kinship. This thesis attempts to rectify this lag of knowledge in social organisation and intends to integrate a general ethnography with the main preoccupation of the villagers, i.e. modernisation.

The Village Ahiolo

Around 5 to 5:30 am, after the cocks crow for the second time, the people in the houses begin to get up. The mother lights the fire on the hearth and children, husband and perhaps a widowed grandmother living in the house, come and warm themselves in the kitchen while chatting. The chickens, which have climbed down from the fruit trees where they roost, are fed with dried corn (as long as provisions from the previous harvest last) and the children wander off, washing in the river or fetching some cooking water. The house doors, which have been locked over night, are opened but it is rare that anybody comes for a visit at this early hour. The family is usually on its own, though the man of the family may have left early, to go hunting or to check some spear traps. One or two radios are heard from neighbouring houses, broadcasting the latest news. Twice a week the prices of selected goods from the market ('pasar') on Ambon can be heard. Another radio station may broadcast Indonesian pop songs or popular Moluccan music, all devoted to the imagery of romantic love and "broken hearts".

With increasing daylight the layout of Ahiolo can be discerned, although an overview of the flat village territory, which is surrounded by moderately steep hills, is obscured by various types of fruit trees and coconut palms (see plate 1). The map of Ahiolo shows the rectangular structure of the village roads and the even distribution of the 25m wide allotments of land for every family house. Close to the village entrance one can read a large sign which explains that the Social Department funded the reorganisation of the village



Plate 1



Plate 2

and the new wooden buildings with their corrugated iron roofs, in 1984. A central village road, at regular intervals intersected by cross cutting rectangular streets, forms the axis of Ahiolo where the church ('gereja'), the village assembly house ('balai desa'), the school ('sekola'), the minister's, the teacher's and a few other family houses are located (see plate 3). This stately structure is crosscut by irregular paths. Under instruction from the subdistrict ('kecamatan') administration, all village roads are partitioned by fences of wooden poles and horizontal bamboo connections, to prevent householders following the paths. Part of the fence is often old and broken but brightly flowering bushes hide such defects. The surface of the road is supposed to be bare soil. In most places grasses and other plants sprout until the section in front of a house is cleaned by the women who live there. Next to the road is a ditch which drains rain water from the village. Before entering a front yard one sometimes has to cross this ditch on a plank, as slippery as it is brittle.

Ahiolo has a government-supplied electric generator which provides dim light for a third of the houses, the church and the assembly house. The current feeds a television in the village secretary's house which is (despite an extremely distorted picture and loud but unintelligible sound) tremendously popular. The generator is only activated about four times a year because of lack of funds and fuel. For National Independence day every house ought to have a flag post and the Indonesian flag. However in Ahiolo and Abio only the school and the village leadership have these symbols standing in their front yard. In Abio (see map and plate 2) it required some effort to build the fenced roads with their fixed width of three odd metres because the village is situated along a relatively narrow and steep mountain ridge. In some places the old path had to be extended by hacking through solid rock. The village assumes a more traditional appearance since houses have to be clustered closer to one another and the basic building materials are not cut wooden planks and corrugated iron but bamboo, wood poles and a roof

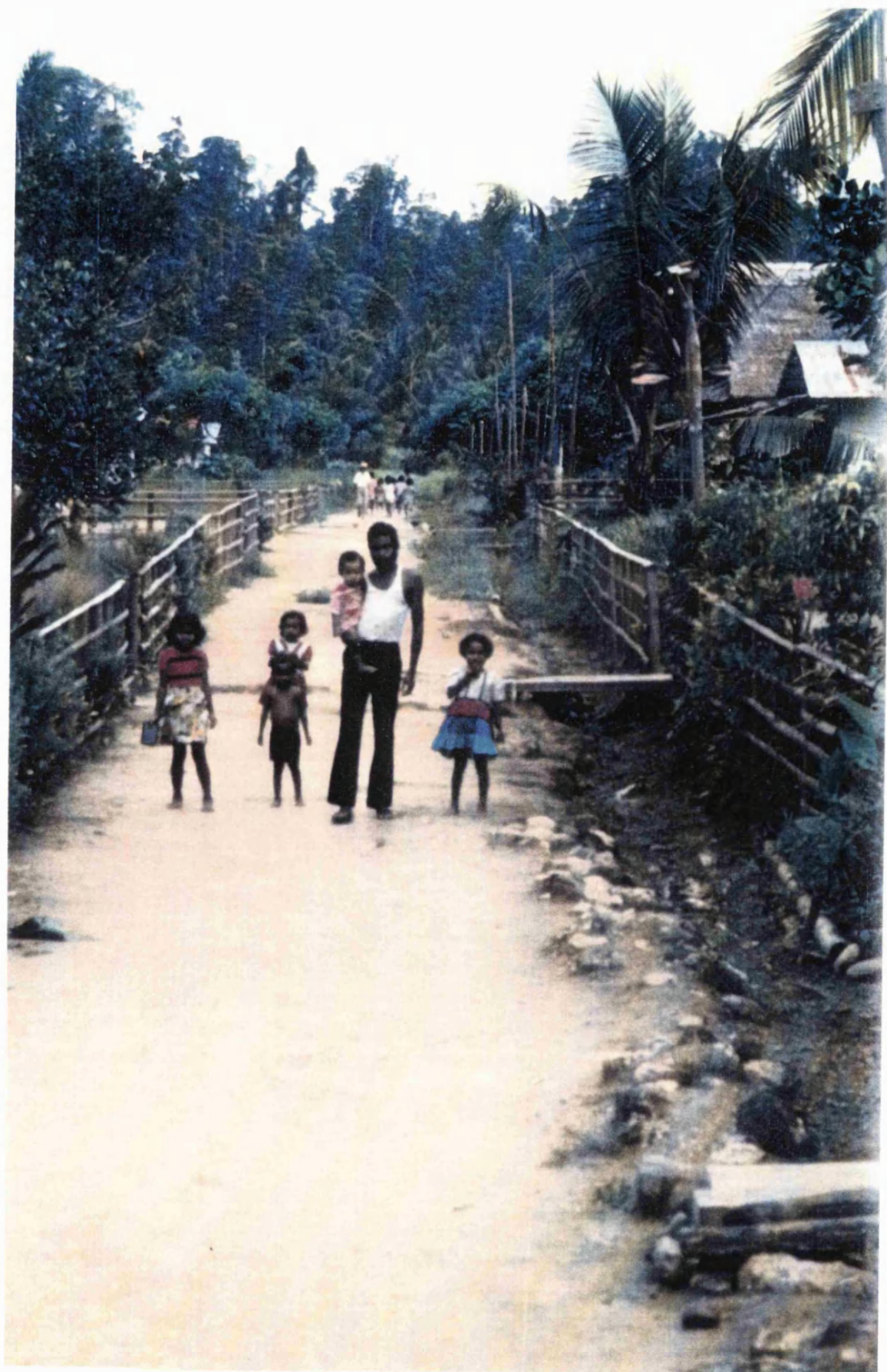


Plate 3

covering made from sago leaves.

After the water has boiled, tea is served. Everybody eats as much or as little as s/he wants. The family members do not sit around the dinner table but rest on benches in the kitchen while drinking. Leftovers from the previous day are eaten and, now and then, the mother fries some cassava⁴ dumplings in coconut oil. Children from the age of 4 onwards tend to leave the house and play hopscotch or marble games on the village road. When the teacher decides that it is 8 am (he owns one of the few functioning watches in the village), the school bell tells the children to come to school. Before assembling at school, all pupils change into their school uniforms. Girls wear red skirts and boys short red trousers together with white shirts; all have red⁴ ties and a red and white cap with the national emblem stitched on the front. Every Monday morning the children perform an elaborate parade next to the school under the directives of the teacher (see plate 5). The exercise is to raise the Indonesian flag while singing famous national songs and the national anthem. At about the same time the church bell will have informed all mature parish members to meet and begin the communal labour for the parish, announced the previous day during the service.

During school holidays or extended periods when the teacher of Ahiolo is absent, the children play all day. Occasionally they return home to ask an adult for some food. Mothers sometimes cook a minor snack meal during the day. Dinner is normally consumed after sunset. If several adult household members stay in the village for the day it is usual for the wife or the husband to boil some sago for a small meal (any time between 11 am and 3 pm). Boys drift off to the river where they fish and catch shrimps or build toy rafts. Girls tend to play in the village or follow their mothers washing dishes or clothes in the river or the village washing place ('buk'), two leaky concrete basins. They also accompany elders to their gardens. The shrimps and crabs which boys and girls catch are taken

⁴The national flag is red and white.



Plate 4



Plate 5

home and eaten by themselves; similarly children plunder immature fruit off fruit trees planted by families and eat their spoils on the spot. By 10 am most adults have left the village and only women and men taking care of small children or some household task remain. Sick people sometimes rest outside or in their front room. They are easily recognised as being ill, because of their melancholic and subdued facial expression and the 'sarong' cloth they wear instead of their ordinary clothes. Sporadically householders linger in order to relax or walk about the village, visiting other houses and lending a hand to somebody who is occupied with husking coconuts or making a chair or table. From time to time a single villager can be seen leaving or returning from the gardens. The last person to leave closes the normally open house doors.

Husband and wife spend most days separately unless they visit their gardens or attend religious gatherings. Once a month or so, they may informally visit another household in each others' company but generally they only meet at home. Among the frequent routine tasks of women and adolescent girls are the daily sweeping of house floors (and every few days the bare soil of the front yard), looking after babies or younger siblings and cooking. Several tasks are not house-based and allow socialising with other women similarly occupied, though this is not prearranged. Washing clothes with soap and preferably 'Rinso' (a fabric conditioner) and rinsing dishes is accomplished at several places and various times of the day and women sit alone, in couples and groups as it pleases them. Every day unaccompanied women leave the village with a flat basket on their head and a bush knife in hand, searching for adequate fire wood in the forest, collecting some cassava and papaya or sweet potatoes from the garden for the next meal. On the way, a woman may pass forest locations where mushrooms, ferns, birds eggs and other uncultivated edible foods can be gathered. She may also fetch mature coconuts from her husband's, father's or uncle's coconut plantation in order to make oil for cooking or selling to the coastal Tala village. Several young women leave their husbands and children to visit

relatives living on the coast for a week and longer. There they buy clothes and household equipment from stores or local markets. Only after such shopping trips can children expect gifts. On Christmas and birthday celebrations it is not habitual to give presents.

Daily activity patterns of men are not pre-structured and somewhat unpredictable. On most days a husband visits his major food garden to collect root crops, chili and whatever is available and needed, and to check whether wild boars have invaded and destroyed crops. Rather than going directly to this garden, men like inspecting their plantation of coconut palms or clove trees on the way. In passing a husband may replenish his supply of betel nuts and collect a bunch of bananas from an old garden. Men enjoy walking alone and often spend some time in a garden hut, repairing a basket or sharpening an arrow. Some huts are spacious with cooking and sleeping facilities and provide shelter, especially during the rainy season, when men occasionally sleep there. Resting under the roof and smoking a hand rolled cigarette, a man can, in most cases, survey his garden which has been located on a mountain ridge. Then, the gardener seems content climbing over decaying and burnt tree trunks while observing the growth of the crops and trees he has planted. Occasionally he will cut some regenerating undergrowth like young trees with the bush knife so that the crops and planted trees have more space to thrive. If he is pulling out cassava to carry home in a plastic sack for the next meal, he will immediately replant the spot afterwards, unless the garden is old and the soil no longer fertile. Returning to the village the man crosses a river or passes the village washing place where he will bathe and then clean the root crops of soil.

While some villagers visit gardens, a few men go hunting with spears or bows and arrows in the company of their thin, medium sized dogs. With growing distance from Ahiolo, the gardens give way to forest where wild boars, deer, birds, lizards, bats, marsupial cuscus, snakes and other animals can be hunted. Hunters should stay on Ahiolo's territory but they

tend to wander onto the land of remote coastal settlements. In Abio men are only allowed to hunt on certain territory; if the hunter covers longer distances he is likely to visit elders who live alone in the forest. Such persons and even entire households avoid the Church and oversee ancestral territory. Before their banning by the village government, many spear traps were set up around gardens and in forests, particularly during the rainy season. These traps needed regular inspection and a man could be gone for days before returning to the village or his garden hut. Every few weeks a couple of men set off to capture parrots with the help of nylon slings. These slings are fastened on the large trees on which the birds spend the night. Such attempts are often futile and the men return empty-handed on a Saturday afternoon, after having spent a week in the forests. An uninjured and young bird is traded to merchants in coastal settlements and may fetch as much as Rp 40,000 to 50,000. Some men like fishing in the river with home-made harpoons and goggles; fishing nets are used at night when a pressure lamp attracts fish; some fish are caught with nylon string and hooks.

Hardly a week passes in which some men fell a sago palm and produce sago starch. Only several days work yield a substantial amount of food (cf. Ellen 1978:72-75) and provides a large part of the daily meal. On average two men collaborate on processing a particular palm but single householders and groups of up to four men also work together, depending on whether the time, place or persons involved suit them. In Ahiolo a number of householders produce copra from coconuts once or twice a year. This is either accomplished in the village or, if a coconut plantation yields enough nuts to make it worth while, men will process it there. Often men carry nuts to houses where another villager buys nuts for Rp 25 or 30 a piece, in order to process them into copra and sell it to merchants in Tala or Hualoi. More lucrative but also physically demanding is the construction of bamboo rafts with which timber is floated to coastal Tala. Depending on the size of the raft and the quality of the timber a person can earn between Rp 10,000 to 13,000 for one journey. This work depends

on whether the merchants have sent coastal people to fell suitable trees and is therefore an irregular source of cash in Ahiolo. Some men and women from Abio, lacking opportunities to obtain cash, search for labour on the coast while villagers of Ahiolo mostly prefer to avoid the dependencies of such employment situations.

In the early afternoon villagers gradually begin to come home; by sunset most people have returned. The late afternoon is a time for visiting relatives and friends in other houses, before the family meets again in the kitchen for cooking and eating the main meal of the day. Periodically a group of villagers play volleyball while children and other people watch. Young boys sometimes meet for a soccer game on the village football ground. No villager can miss taking notice of the event since the person who takes the initiative whistles loudly as long as it takes to assemble sufficient persons for the game. The ball is the property of the village sport organisation ('Persatuan Olaraga') and can be obtained with the permission of its head. Every Wednesday afternoon, all school children receive religious instructions from two or three appointed village adults who take turns for the one to two hour-long, well-attended sessions. Another afternoon is nominally reserved for a religious adolescent group ('Angkatan Muda' or Young Generation) meeting. Much to the dismay of the minister this Church organisation exists only formally because neither the youths of Ahiolo nor Abio participate. The third Church organisation ('Pelewata') is for women and meets approximately every second or third Thursday. Participation in Ahiolo is low and only few women come to the meeting which is run by the wife of the minister (who is repeatedly absent from the village for weeks).

Before dusk people go bathing in the river. Washing places are not rigidly separated by sex but during the months when the river is not muddy men wash either up or down river from where the women and children are. All people bring a towel but few have soap and a tooth brush. During the rainy season, when the river floods, cleaning is confined to the village water places

and everybody waits for his or her turn in a queue. Women and young people generally change clothing at home, after washing. Bachelors wear better quality long trousers like jeans (during the day they wear either old trousers or shorts) and comb their short curly black hair. The girls simply change into more or less worn out skirts and T-shirts.

At home the family eats together on a high table covered by a plastic sheet. Lighting is provided by a sardine tin with a wick which contains paraffin bought from a store in Tala. Greedy dogs snap at and try to steal food from the table and receive a blow when they display too much boldness. The smaller children will have eaten in advance and fallen asleep on a bamboo mat on the floor. At about 8 pm the meal is finished. The dogs have gulped down the rest of the sago and the children are carried to bed by their parents. On most days the couple soon retires leaving the little lamp burning next to the bed. Sometimes husband and wife talk quietly to one another long into the night, occasionally reviving the chatting after sleeping several hours. The youngest child sleeps next to the parents; older children share beds in other rooms or lie further apart on the communal sleeping platform some houses have. Babies sleep in a sarong, suspended from a hook in the ceiling.

On a dry moonlit night a young unmarried women occasionally goes out after the meal is finished; on top of her ordinary clothes she wraps herself in a sarong cloth⁵, in which people sleep (blankets are largely absent). A minority of generally young (aged 17-25) men gather frequently, while most elders and couples stay at home. At this hour mature householders rarely visit other families. The gatherings of the youths are casual, one arriving, one leaving, some standing on the dark village road or sitting on a bench. Except for the teacher who owns a torch, villagers carry a glowing piece of wood swinging it backwards and forwards to light the path and not to frighten other villagers in the darkness. Certain youths

⁵The cloth costs between Rp 4,500 and 7,500 on the market in Ambon.

attend regularly, others join infrequently and groups consist of not more than 10 persons at any one time. The most popular venue for these gatherings proved the centrally located house of a chatty and especially independently minded unmarried woman, who lives in company of her widowed elder brother and two of his children. Widowed women and unmarried girls visit this house, more frequently during the day but 'sometimes also in the evening. The girls sit next to each other, as do the young men; otherwise little shame or reserve is expressed between the young of both sexes. Once in a while the young men touch each other, either embracing one another like good friends, or relaxing together on a platform, or, very occasionally, playing a card game in which the person who is unable to add the correct card on the pile, is hit on the hand by the previous player. Youths are accustomed to talking in a very rapid Ambonese Malay rather than Wemale. Between 10 and 11 pm everybody has gone home and the doors of all houses are firmly locked. Several days may pass until anybody meets again after dark.

On Saturday afternoon villagers return early to the village. At about 4 pm the church bell reminds villagers to assemble in two selected households for a prayer meeting which is supposed to close the week ('kunci usbuh'). The household changes weekly and theoretically every household has its turn in preparing the house for the congregation. Certain households however manage to circumvent the whole procedure and some householders are not even present when the meeting takes place in their own homes. For the most part children, women and deacons attend while men are more usually absent; the presence of children and women is, however, by no means consistent as persons regularly ignore the event. As for the weekly service ('ibadah') on Sunday mornings, villagers wash and change into better clothes which includes long trousers and, when available, a shirt and shoes for men. Short trousers are considered indecent but most men come barefoot. Young women powder their faces and wear blouses and put on proper shoes as opposed to the plastic slippers villagers are accustomed to wear. Some put on red lipstick and paint their finger nails.

Elder parish members, who have been confirmed, tend to wear a black Church uniform for the service. Men have trousers and women 'sarongs' combined with a vest or a blouse. Across one shoulder the old and confirmed women wear a black sash ('kain pikul'). Most people arrive with a song book, fewer with the black 'Alkitab', the Bible. Some men merely carry any old book, to have something else in hand than the photo copied handouts (dated and signed by the minister) which guide them through the rituals, and, perhaps to glance at during the almost interminable service.

Later in the Saturday evening the council of deacons congregates in Church to plan the parish activities for the coming week and to receive instructions from the minister. Frequently letters from the central administration of the Protestant Church request various kinds of support, make announcements and inform about regional events. In this meeting the majority of decisions are reached which directly affect households, without them having had a say in the matter. At the same time the flute choir rehearses under the leadership of its playing conductor, every Saturday in a house of another member. Several young men who omit the prayer meeting participate in this event. Recently youths have taken interest in presenting extra curricular songs⁶ to the parish during the Sunday service. Forming groups of three to five persons (predominately men) they gather in a house and begin rehearsing to the tune of a guitar which is always played by a male youth. The singing can continue long into the night.

Sunday is considered a day of rest, though villagers pursue all sorts of activities in the afternoon, including gardening and hunting. Indirect complaints were unusually emphatic when the minister ordered communal labour one Sunday afternoon. Washed and dressed up, the villagers slowly walk to church in the morning after the bell has been banged for the second time. Some households follow the precept to pray with all

⁶The tunes come from popular Ambonese and Indonesian songs or the hymn book. The lyrics are sometimes composed by a youth.

household members in the front room at home before going to Church. Usually this is only done when guests are present or extraordinary events take place. Another prayer is supposed to be held right after returning. Only a 20-30 minute break divides the parish service and Sunday school ('Sekola Minggu'). Depending on the mood of people, soccer games are initiated in the late afternoon. Ideally the male children aged 7-13 hold the first match; the women of the village the second and the men the last. However playing is irregular and women compete far less often than men, even though they greatly enjoy such contests. The game attracts much attention. People come to witness, shout, comment and laugh. At the same time the event is marked by lax conventions, as players of each team wear numbered sport shirts and form a round circle at the beginning of the game, when they will firstly bow their heads towards the middle (i.e. one another and the referee with his blowpipe) and then turn around and do likewise towards the spectators. The referee reminds both teams to play fairly and initiates the match with a brief speech. Once it was mentioned that another village team should be invited for a Sunday match but the plan never materialised. Sunday evening brings the week to an end but is not marked by any formal event.

Twice a year the ordinary service is supplemented by a separate service, celebrating holy communion. The end of each month is supposed to be "closed" by an often omitted service ('kunci bulan'). Two Christian annual celebrations are especially pronounced. Firstly Easter consists of several services, a holy communion and confirmation. Completing three years of weekly tuition, the youths submit to a religious test by minister and deacons which, when they succeed, allows them to participate in their first holy communion. This occasion can incite elders to celebrate a major feast which is a rare event in Ahiolo. Secondly Christmas constitutes the religious and social climax of the year. Like Easter, Christmas is distinguished by a surprising accumulation of services. On the 25th December, three full length services were conducted in which all parish members were expected to participate.

Furthermore every Church organisation is said to "close" the year in a last meeting. Moreover villagers collect money, prepare food and decorate the church; various groups rehearse singing and half of the village exercise a dramatisation of Christ's birth under the strict instruction of a literate elder. The drama was imitated from a publication of the GPM (Gereja Protestan Maluku), the Protestant Church (see plates 6 and 7). Apart from these actions, Christmas and New Year is a time for travelling and visiting other places. All households are visited by the deacons, minister and village head to reprimand shortcomings and for a prayer on behalf of the members of the household. The leadership attempts to settle village conflicts and exerts pressure to reconstitute amity between persons who have knowingly become estranged from one another. This period culminates and brings the annual religious cycle to a close in a New Years Eve service ('kunci tahun'). It is also a time to exert moral pressures on households and individuals to submit to social regulations, like attending the Saturday prayer meeting and marrying in Church, after living for years as a "common law" couple in a communal household.

Having synoptically described a village day, including prominent activities and regular religious events, I will briefly characterise members of the village leadership. These persons are primarily defined by their relationship to the outside world and to regional administrative organisations. In certain respects the most powerful personality in the village is the minister ('pendeta'). Ministers are almost always not natives to the parish and ignorant of the local language. In Ahiolo the minister is a pale, thin and stern looking man in his late 50s. No student of theology, he acquired his knowledge and expertise over the years by attending religious teaching courses before replacing "Papa"⁷ Lekransi, a powerful personality now living in retirement with his wife in Sumeit-Passinaro. While the minister's wife, an orphan from the Wemale village of Honitetu, speaks Wemale fluently, the

⁷There are a number of Ambonese kinship terms adopted from Dutch.



late 6



late 7

minister himself comprehends little once villagers switch from Indonesian and Ambonese Malay to Wemale. Moreover he is largely ignorant of the local 'adat' and kinship relationships and shows scant interest in such matters. As an outsider he is in a position to instruct and order householders unmitigated by considerations of kinship bonds. With his assumed spiritual proximity to God, he can allow himself to express, like no other villager, unrestrained dismay and anger towards the parish. Distancing himself from the parish and villagers as a leader, the minister remains an integrated outsider to the village from which he will depart once he reaches pensionable age or when the administration decides to send him to another parish. Today's younger male and female ministers are trained theologians, educated in Ambon. It seemed to me that the urban life-style of Ambon, the money required to live there, as well as the competition in schools and for job allocation, ill-prepares ministers for the radically different environments they encounter in confined villages, like Ahiolo or Abio.

The teacher ('guru') is another official delegated to the village by a central administration. In contrast to ministers, teachers frequently return to their native village, or the region from which they originate. The teacher in Ahiolo comes from a Wemale village on the north-west coast of Seram; Abio's senior⁸ teacher is an indigenous villager. Wives and children of both teachers live in the subdistrict capital Kairatu, rather than in the villages. Feeling responsibility for the social progress of "his" village but signalling clearly that he is not going to live for good in Abio, the teacher uses his position in village meetings and in Church to tell householders what they are doing wrong and what they should do instead. His uncompromising attitude reflects feelings of superiority which are on a different scale from Ahiolo's teacher, who hopes to gain parental support by underlining the help he provides for the education of their children. Teachers who receive a salary of about Rp 80,000 from the administration, wear new quality clothes, socks and leather

⁸There are two teachers in Abio.

shoes which most villagers are unable to afford. Certain consumer goods are part of their uniform: they include big wrist watches, a pen in the breast pocket and sun glasses. Normally they involve themselves in Church affairs and village government organisations but little in gardening or cash cropping.

Mediating between the government administration and village interests is the last group of prominent villagers: the village head ('kepala desa') and his secretary ('sekretaris'). Every three months both are paid a small salary of about Rp 50,000 and Rp 40,000 respectively for their office to which they have been elected by male adult villagers and subsequently confirmed by the government administration (which has the power to reject a candidate on various grounds). The communal village head of Ahiolo and Abio resides in the latter village, while the secretary lives in Ahiolo. Generally Abio and Ahiolo subscribe equally to a rhetoric of development. Yet whereas Ahiolo shows almost no active concern for maintaining Wemale customs and delegates "traditional knowledge" towards elders in Abio, people in Abio profess to be the authentic representatives of the past. Such claims are not simple reflections of real conditions. Rather they are part of different strategies for legitimate political leadership between the villages. Nevertheless it is significant that the village head, called 'raja', is a healthy and agile elder of about 65 years while the secretary is a thin, malaria-plagued 32 year old householder. Both men are married with young children⁹. They had schooling but the secretary's knowledge of the administration, government rhetoric, law and national politics considerably excels those of the 'raja'. He also exhibits greater comfort and eloquence in dealing with unknown persons, representatives of timber firms and state officials. On the other hand, the village head demonstrates superior skills in persuading, mobilising and manipulating householders. Obviously enjoying conversing from morning to

⁹The first wife of the village head died some time ago and two adult children from this first marriage live on Ambon. The son works in an Insurance firm.

night, his strategy consists of restraining his supposed official power while exerting his influence as an elder, persuading persons rather than commanding them. Being repeatedly apologetic about his own performance, he restricts giving authoritarian instructions largely to village meetings and confines himself to stating norms in generalised terms. The secretary does likewise, although he 'shows a more aggressive style; he uses locally unfamiliar and unheard of words like 'program', 'politik', 'demokrasi' and 'situasi statis' (i.e. a static situation) which the majority of people would not understand. His abrupt and undiplomatic style on official occasions contrasts to that of the village head, who backs his authority by speaking Wemale and by appealing to ancestral custom.

In the second half of the thesis we will return to the issue of political leadership and its relationship to the regional power centres. In the next chapter I expand the description of everyday life and show how changes in consumption represent perceptions of social progress.

Chapter 2

The Morality of Consumption

I deliberately place a chapter on consumption before domestic or communal production because it provides a more appropriate framework for analysing the Wemale economy than making production the point of departure. Recently authors like Gregory (1982), Miller (1987), Baudrillard (1975) and M. Strathern (1988) remarked on the hitherto neglected priority of consumption in the realm of the economy of non-western people. Primarily this is a result of a strand in western political economy which is obsessed with production and the productive process. Persons and society are thought to have an innate potential capacity to "produce" themselves or to transform "nature" into "cultural" achievements and products (this is especially apparent in theories of political economy including Marxism, see Baudrillard 1975). Such a stress on the process of objectification is opposed to the general emphasis on the "production" of persons and social relations (i.e. personification, cf. M. Strathern 1988:144).

Despite all sorts of political, economic and technical changes among the Wemale, productive activities remain diverse and subject to their ultimate goal: consumption for person, household and village. The next chapter will show how attitudes to cash cropping and production have changed. However despite delayed consumption and a gradual accumulation of domestic wealth, the final goal continues to be consumption. This can be explained by recourse to the villagers' fixation with bodily well-being. Elders began recently to prepare cash crop gardens for their children but this does not lead to a process of continuous production. Many gardeners remark that four gardens are plenty and they would rather work on them moderately and patiently over many years than unnecessarily exhaust themselves. This is enough, 'sudah cukup', they say. Furthermore the daily labour routine continues to be highly flexible which enriches the quality of the household's food provisions. Frequently people exclaim

that this or that work is too hard. Either they explain that they cannot work any more because they are already "half dead" ('setengah mati') or that they won't accomplish the work because it is likely to harm them; persons who work too much are thought to become easily afflicted and fall ill. In any case, cash crop gardens should be regarded as a form of delayed consumption since it is assumed that offspring will benefit from them.

In a much later chapter (chapter 8) the priority of consumption is highlighted from another perspective: Protestant religious duties are at present closely associated with communal village labour and a core problem which this raises lies in the underlying conception that religion and communal activity consists not in coordinated labour but in feasting (i.e. shared consumption). Church personnel and government officials who adopt the state rhetoric of development ('pembangunan') employ a language (with many English loan words like 'aktif' and 'dynamic') which expresses a vision of the community as assiduously working for the communal and mutual benefit. The specific Wemale tradition on the other hand devalues exchange and places little value on communal production. Thus ideas about community framed in terms of production and consumption confront one another and build the foundation for rival views as to what "development" means.

It is also primarily consumption which defines the community's status to the outside world. At the very margins of the Indonesian state, the villagers regard themselves as poor ('miskin') in relationship to coastal communities, towns and nations like America about which they have heard. In turn they are regarded as poor because they are not living on the coast but in the mountains¹. Consequently villagers receive

¹Ellen (1978:10) points out the sociological problems of adopting the regional dichotomy between Ambonese (i.e. coastal and offshore island Muslim and Christian communities) and mountain "Alifuru" communities. Although Nuaulu settlements are located on the coast the dichotomy between them and their Muslim neighbours persists (1978:18f.).

government "help" in the form of new houses in Ahiolo (and some other mountain villages) and occasionally second hand clothes (which are distributed in the community), medicine and plantation seedlings. The region is by no means a focused target of government development grants or schemes and apart from these exceptional projects or donations the village receives only the regular village subsidies ('subsidi'). Nevertheless in the local perception living standards are slowly changing for the better, and the development from the past in the mountains to the future, associated with the coast and distant power centres like Ambon and Jakarta, is reflected in material culture and visions of new forms of consumption. Villagers adopt two main categories to express this progression from old to new: Christianity or 'agama' (institutionalised religion) and so called local customary practices or 'adat'. Coexistence and mutual antagonism between a high religion like Islam, Protestantism or Catholicism with and against localised religion (often contemptuously called animistic, 'animisme'²) are familiar to people all over Indonesia. Among the Wemale the relationship has many facets and the perception and manipulation of the concept 'adat' itself needs some consideration.

'Adat' and 'Agama'

Lev notes (1972:253-255) that in the 19th century 'adat' law was regarded as being based on Islamic law ('adat' is Arabic for custom). Under the impact of ethnologists and Dutch administrators 'adat' took on its regional and ethnic meaning and "acquired overtones of backwardness". In the Dutch literature 'adat' tends to have legalistic and sometimes functional connotations concerning kinship principles, land ownership and the like. Yet today 'adat' is also firmly embedded in the national language and every day speech; before or after the "development" report, the television broadcasts folk practices, regional techniques, dances, songs and cloth as 'adat' of a particular Indonesian region. It is therefore

²An educated local youth used the term in a conversation with me.

imperative to distinguish several meanings of 'adat'³. Firstly there is the extremely devalued sense of 'adat' as pagan traditions (including beliefs, rituals and prescriptions). These contrast with world religions ('agama') which every Indonesian is administratively compelled to subscribe to. Secondly it is used in a relatively neutral sense which corresponds to a folk equivalent to Bourdiéu's technical concept of "habitus" (cf. Bourdieu 1977:16f,81,218, footnote 47). In the third instance 'adat' represents a neo-traditionalism adapted to and made compatible to norms of the Church and the state⁴. This last meaning is portrayed in the media.

The term 'adat' signifies a notoriously ill-defined, abstract concept (cf. Hooker 1978:1). Keesing (1982:297) notes about the similar notion of "kastom" (custom) in Melanesia "Kastom is an apt and powerful symbol precisely because it can mean (almost) all things to all people". By contrast to "kastom" in Melanesian political discourse, 'adat' conveys at present little threat⁵ to the state or Christianity. As "adat customary law", researched and codified by ethnographers and Dutch lawyers, 'adat' was absorbed into the Dutch administration⁶ and its legal structure. At present the

³A comprehensive and carefully compiled record on local usage of 'adat' is provided by Siregar (1981) on Batak 'adat', Islam and Christianity. This is the only essay which focuses on the different and rival meanings of 'adat' which I could find. Siregar's hermeneutic description deliberately (1981:13) falls short of addressing the issue of 'adat' as habitus.

⁴In chapter 6, I discuss the notion of 'adat' law.

⁵Siregar (1981:7) calls it a "far-reaching de-politization of the adat". Despite her affirmation her material shows however regional power struggles between villages, 'rajas' and religious teachers and gender roles in which the status of 'adat' in relation to Islam is crucial.

⁶A short summary of the history of 'adat' and 'adatrecht' (customary law) can be found in Viner (1981:146-150); the author does not distinguish between the distinctions I have drawn and consequently blurs several meanings of 'adat'. The essay is worth mentioning because he described how the Dutch scholars under the leadership of van Vollenhoven recorded Toba Batak "adat law" which helped to preserve certain customs in a reified form.

administration seeks to reduce, officialise and utilise 'adat' as a folkloristic tourist attraction and thereby project an image of liberalism towards cultural diversity while simultaneously penetrating and controlling peripheral areas. In no way could 'adat' be tied to the future as it is possible in the rhetoric of Melanesian politicians in their objective to create and "recapture" national and regional kastom: "Tradition will be more clearly respected, in the ownership of land, in lineage and certain ceremonial rites like marriage, and the customary way of payment of a fine or compensation in order to attain peace" (Tonkinson 1982b:310). In Indonesia the future is reserved for "development" (see below).

Given the remote and inaccessible mountain location, outsiders and coastal people will a priori suspect that Ahiolo and Abio still adhere to pagan 'adat' customs. This puts them in a (supposedly) inferior and ignorant relationship to "modern" Indonesia but also credits them with dangerous powers not accessible to peoples living in urban centres. Reacting defensively to such allegations, householders will respond that religion (by which they mean Christianity) is already strong or accepted ('agama sudah kuat') and that this village has already "thrown out" adat⁷ ('su buang adat'). Indeed, pre-colonial Wemale practices and beliefs have been given up, transformed or marginalised to such a degree that contemporary public 'adat' customs are generally no longer seen in an

The neighbouring Bakpak elders remember and discuss with great interest their past customs (although their 'adat' was not enshrined) but do not practice it any longer. In Melanesia there are instances when local elders codify their 'kastom' even though there is good evidence that in pre-Christian times they had a culture of "traditional borrowing" (cf. Tonkinson 1982a:304; 1982b:312). Under the umbrella ideology of "ancestral" and "customary" all sorts of social changes are legitimised.

⁷I suspect that the Wana, a small tribal minority on Sulawesi, try to define their current cosmology in opposition to Islam and Christianity as 'agama' in order to legitimise it. Atkinson (1988) does not even mention 'adat' in her discussion of Wana 'agama', but elsewhere (1989:267) it is explained that what Wana consider 'adat' and call ada was imported from the raja of Bungku, i.e. an external rules. It serves the Wana to settle their disputes.

antagonistic relationship to Christianity. All but one Wemale life cycle ritual has been given up and this exception was reshaped under the hegemony of the Church (see chapter 4). Otherwise modified and official 'adat' is restricted to a few collective occasions which are supposedly conducted in the Wemale language. The most important are meetings of elders to resolve village conflicts (the role of so called 'adat' law is discussed in chapter 6), communal feasting for peace making, expiation of incest, reaffirming 'pela' (wakea) village blood-brotherhood alliances and a marriage ceremony. Prayers and invocations on such occasions are usually addressed not only to the ancestors but also to God ('Allah'). Asked about tensions between the Church and 'adat' the villagers stress that the two "go together" ('jalan bersama-sama'), just as the Church and the state administration are supposed to collaborate.

Apart from a substantially modified public 'adat', certain less visible and non-institutionalised ancestral customs like healing rituals, restrictions on food and other taboos are followed idiosyncratically by individuals and households⁸. On one end of the spectrum these practices are equivalent with habitus, i.e. when people answer questions with "we have always done it that way". On the other side householders can either represent it as a form of now inaccessible esoteric knowledge which can be regarded as very powerful, or otherwise (in public rhetoric) as ignorance (see below). An aura of mysticism and secrecy surrounds elders who are said to be knowledgeable about the past. Most people, including elders, expressed uncertainty about ancestral practices when I asked them and no efforts were undertaken to instruct juniors in such matters. In fact most middle-aged persons and youths expressed little or only sporadic concern about the past ways. The idea is that this knowledge comes with age but is not

⁸Wilder (1982:116) distinguishes between what villagers label 'adat tinggi' (high or esoteric 'adat') and ordinary 'adat' ('kasar'). Wemale do not make such an aesthetic distinction and 'adat' which is surrounded by secrecy has its roots in the esoteric knowledge of the kakehan and in suppression or marginalisation by the Church.



Plate 8



Plate 9

explicitly taught. However this pagan 'adat' is also associated with a stylised, pre-christian and "untamed warrior" past of the heroic Wemale.

Chale Latekay, an un-christened elder living with his family deliberately isolated in the forests of Abio (see plate 9), was renowned for authority in 'adat' matters. He liked to present himself as a fierce warrior (see plate 10). For the photo he changed from shorts and T-shirt into the Wemale loin cloth which is no longer worn (but labelled as 'adat'), not even by himself or his family. Instead bachelors like to present their stature and charm by wearing jeans and perhaps a small necklace or bracelet, reminiscent of the old warriors (see plates 11 and 12). The youth in front of plate 12 attends school in Kairatu and wears one of the few wristwatches in the village. Were he to wear a loin cloth, he would not be able to enter school (which requires the school uniform) and he would certainly be stigmatised as 'primitif' (primitive).

To generalise about marginalised "traditional" beliefs and practices proves problematic because they take a low profile. Domestic healing rituals (e.g. when a spell is applied, hamaleru or when a sick person's lost spirit is recaptured, ileuwei) are common and do not contradict or challenge Protestantism in the eyes of the practitioners who are called by the family of an ill person. In this case they are viewed as supplementing Protestantism. The same applies to certain garden and hunting magic or taboos which are, to my knowledge, extremely rare nowadays. Sacrificing food to the ancestors (sele ilailu⁹) has been abandoned. Yet oblique traditions are under attack. The village leadership accuses villagers at large of failing to abandon their past by using the coastal stereotype which suspects that mountain people follow pagan aberrations. In this case the idea of "evil" pagan 'adat' or 'adat' as habitus are conflated and always lend themselves to being devalued, particularly when the village government or the church personnel aim for change in village practices (see

⁹The term is used for ancestors who afflict their descendants with disease.



Plate 10

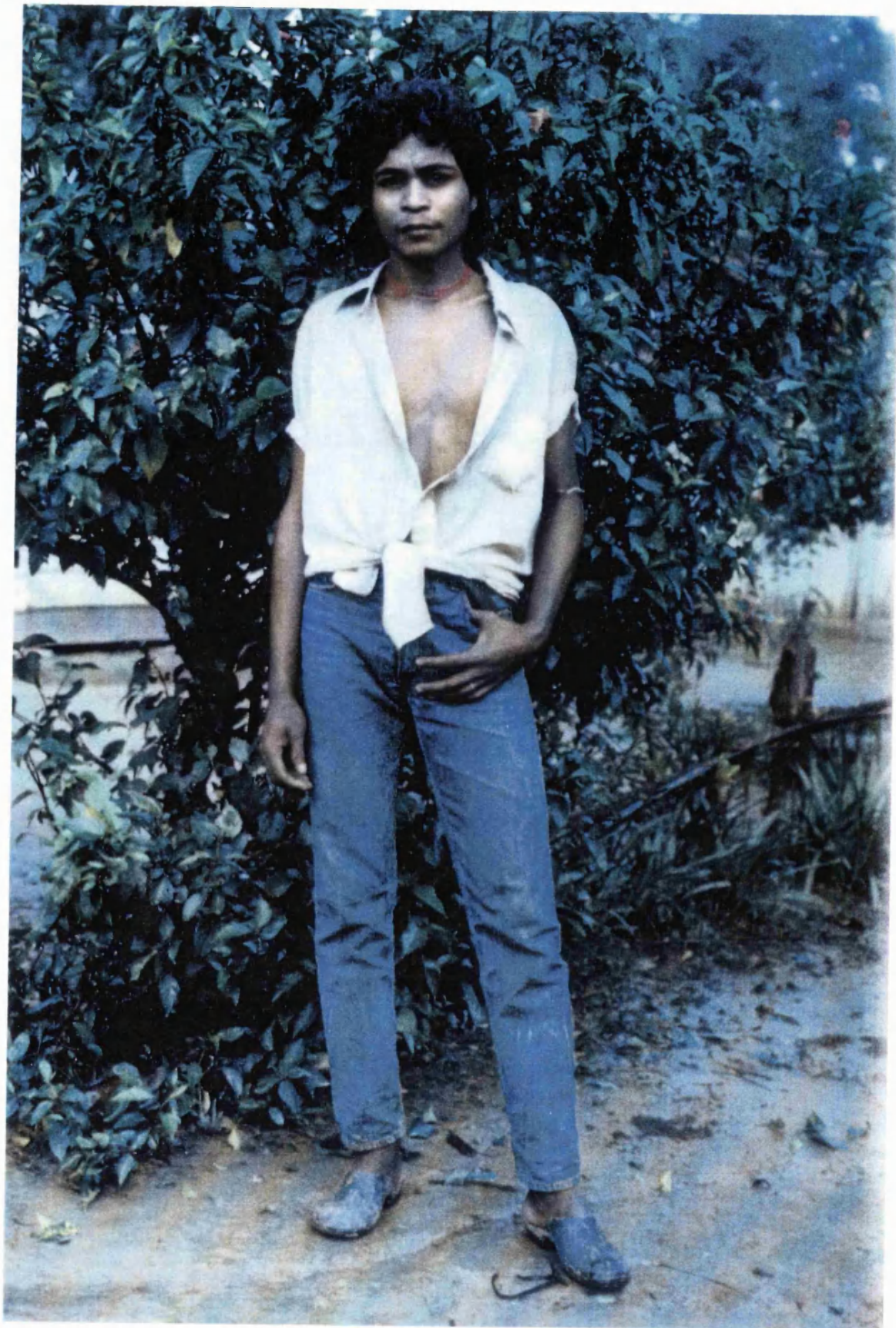


Plate 11



Plate 12

examples in chapter 4). Much behaviour classified as undesirable may have little to do with ancestors but can be labelled 'adat'. Failure, negligence and ignorance are bluntly attributed to the ancestors but, to complicate things further, may not necessarily be classified as 'adat'. Frequently the "ignorant" ancestors serve thus as a contrast to the new standards.

When asked about the arrival of Christianity, villagers do not consider the religion as an imposition of alien standards. On the contrary sometimes feelings of relief about change are expressed. For instance, Christian burials are now considered good and appropriate compared to the past pagan customs. Today corpses are washed, clothed and stretched out in a simple coffin. People come to attend the funeral in the graveyard close to the village. Formerly as few people as possible would bury the naked body, far away from the village. The corpse was placed in a foetal position with the jaw resting on the knees (cf. de Vries 108-113; Jensen 1948:148ff.). Another example is provided by the punishing aspect of the old ancestral taboos (holiate). A middle aged woman once told me that the ancestral law was burdensome ('terlalu susah'); she said that they were afraid of breaking rules ('katong takut, katong bisa mati kalau melarang, harus ikut atau anak, suami sakit') for fear of death or affliction.

The example of Chales Latekay proves how to most villagers a (passive) esoteric knowledge¹⁰ of the Wemale history and pagan 'adat' is as equally mesmerising as it is potentially dangerous since its practice can contradict¹¹ Christianity¹².

¹⁰This knowledge is itself fragmented, part of it is remembered history, the other ritualised charms, myths and rites.

¹¹'Adat' may then appear as pre-Christian but also as having embraced Christianity and the village leadership may therefore not only devalue ancestral practice but selectively also appeal to the solidarity of the ancestors (see chapter 6).

Chales self-presentation furthermore invokes signs of ignorance. The result of not partaking in 'agama' is visibly an inferior form of consumption (which at best could be turned into folk art like replicas of warrior bush knives and shields). Former "Wemale" patterns of behaviour and certain values¹³ encoded in these are transmitted to children but what householders wear, how and what they eat departs and opposes from what the loin cloth symbolises and is most clearly

¹²Cooley, conducting fieldwork in 1957 and 1960 on the Ambon Lease Islands, has written the most comprehensive study of Ambonese Christianity and Ambonese 'adat'. His functionalistic Durkheimian approach (1966) is discussed in chapter 7 but here it may be helpful to introduce his treatment of 'adat'. In his introductory remarks Cooley (1966:ii,153) sees the vestiges of the pre-christian religion passed over into the institutional complexes of Protestantism and 'adat'. In a broad sense everything which relates to the past indigenous religion can be labelled 'adat'. Quoting an elder (1966:153) he stresses that "'adat' is the customary usage which has been handed down from the ancestors." He further qualifies that the oral "customary usages" are distinguished by "folkways" and "mores". The first are habitual but the second are strictly obligatory and subject to severe sanctions either by the village government or "mystical" affliction by the ancestors. Carrying out ancestral rules properly will yield blessings breaching or neglecting the will of the ancestors brings harm. In essence 'adat' is ancestor worship characterised by an "unquestioning performance of customary observance ('adat')".

Cooley's essentialist concept of 'adat' constantly blurs habitus with legalistic aspects of (pagan) religion. In addition his view does not allow him to observe diverging views of what 'adat' means. Furthermore the distinctions between the authority of ancestors and God are not clear cut and ancestors as well as God are thought to afflict people for their negligence.

¹³By this I do not mean what has been labelled "Christian adat" (Cooley 1966:64). "However, there is one respect in which it [Protestantism] is similar to the traditional pattern, and that is the 'adat'-like character of the congregation is based on a very different principle from that of the traditional institutions in the village, yet the spirit, and character of the activities, as well as the motivations and attitudes of participants, carry a strong traditional flavour. Beliefs, and the practices associated with them, are accepted from the older generation and passed on to the younger generation not because they are felt to be rationally compelling or volitionally or emotionally satisfying, but simply because these are elements in the pattern of religious tradition which has characterized the society for generations and centuries" (1966:64). The phenomenon which Cooley describes is neither caused by 'adat' nor habitus (see chapter 7).

associated with Christianity¹⁴. This is because a Christian life has become positively and intrinsically linked to market consumption¹⁵ (and to the villagers the reverse holds, equally) and nascent prosperity. In sum the diverse meanings of 'adat' refer to disparate social phenomena but also reflect, within limits, the views of different people and social groups. Nevertheless there is a kind of "grey middle ground" of 'adat' where the contemporary habitus compounds Protestant and other influences with elements of pre-colonial local patterns and where the compelling force of market consumption renders a return to Chale's vision of a (pre-christian) 'adat' impossible.

The House

The successive transformations of the physical structure of the house illustrate a progression from the past, associated with pagan 'adat', to the modern present. The house is also a primary object on which to spend cash and to display the kind of objects which are important to individuals. The following chapters describe the house, named luma, in detail because it is not only a physical entity but designates the household, its members and a kinship group which transcends individual households. The present introductory observations are restricted to physical aspects of the house.

The traditional Wemale house does not exist any more. Some houses used by families living isolated in remote areas of the Abio territory and a few large garden huts are still built on

¹⁴Although it would be more adequate to say that the influence comes from Ambonese culture since Muslims acquire many if not most market commodities which are similar to those bought by Christians.

¹⁵Unlike the Wana the Wemale do not connect 'agama' with social divisions as they came under the unequivocal control of the GPM. However ethnic unity as peoples like the Wana (Atkinson 1988:52), Mambai (Traube 1986:51), and Wemale (cf. chapter 8) claim as original inhabitants ('orang asli') of the world (used to) is largely renounced by the villagers' striving to conform their living standards to those of the coast and urban centres.

posts (luma tapai) and have traditional sleeping platforms. The indigenous luma was a simple construction, elevated by posts from the mountain slopes (cf. Jensen 1948:31-33, Tauern 1918:124f.). A single main room contained on one side the kitchen (dapore), always a single hearth with firewood and other kitchen utilities and on the other side, a sleeping platform. One door gave access from the ground to the kitchen while another door led to an outside platform on which most daily routine activities took place. Jensen mentions few household goods. It seems however likely that in his time women cooked not only in bamboo (1948:31) but also with metal pots. Men traded meat and other forest products for bush knives, simple rifles and probably iron pots for cooking and some eating plates. There used to be a variety of woven baskets and mats stored on simple shelves along the walls. They contained seeds and certain foods like dried peanuts.

The first transition from what is now remembered as the 'adat' house came after the villages fell under Dutch administrative control. Exposed to pressure from the administration (Tauern 1918:122) and so-called 'gurus' (Ambonese trained missionaries who headed the village church and organised schools), houses had to be built directly on the ground and not on posts. The reasons for these directives are obscure but they were a first step in moulding the Wemale house upon the model of the stereotypical Protestant Ambonese house. At the front this dwelling has a veranda, followed by a sitting room to receive guests, several sleeping rooms and to the back, a usually spacious kitchen.

Abio exhibits the greatest variety and most spacious forms of such expanded houses¹⁶. The materials have remained the same as for the indigenous luma; the framework is made out of bamboo or wood posts while the walls consist of split bamboo (see plates 2 and 22). Occasionally a slatted window (covered with plastic) allows dim light to fall into the front room but by and large there are no windows as a wall serves better

¹⁶Individual structures depend on the function of the house (e.g. school or chicken coop) and the household's size.

protection against storms and rain. Popular newspapers and posters decorate the walls. The roof is exclusively covered by the 'atap' (yate) made from the leaves of the sago palm and bamboo. A major difficulty in improving houses in Abio (and Ahiolo) lies in the absence of a means of sawing wood which would allow residents to construct more sophisticated architecture.

Compared to Ahiolo, houses in Abio are larger and less standardised, even when they shelter only a few persons. From the fenced village path one enters the luma through a covered verandah where villagers can be seen sitting and chatting or doing some minor household tasks. Most, but not all houses have a small reception area in the front section, facing the village path. Here guests like the deacons are received and entertained with snacks but never proper meals. Village leaders are compelled to have this space for discussing village affairs with villagers, holding smaller meetings and entertaining official guests. When the house is without a reception area, all communal events are confined to the expansive kitchen which is inevitably at the back of the house. In many respects the kitchen is the social centre of the house where cooking and chatting takes place and where the family is sheltered from the public to talk about their concerns. A robust and surprisingly high table and a simple bench are either in the same or in an adjacent room. Here the family eats the main meal together.

The reception room is linked to the kitchen by several small compartments which have a bamboo platform covered by bamboo mats for sleeping. Household members sleep in these quarters, separated by thin bamboo walls. Clothes and other possessions are stored in plain and basic cupboards. All houses retain two doors, one informal leading to the kitchen and the other official one, to the village road. Thus the former house has been enlarged and differentiated to meet the minimal requirements of a Christian life in an Indonesian village (see chapters 4 and 5 in which ownership of house plots, the house and its gender symbolism is discussed). The interior of the

luma contains sparse and simple furniture and few market goods.

With the help of a government grant Ahiolo was completely rebuilt in 1984. Since then houses have been evenly spaced out on 25m square allotments and linked by a right-angled network of straight, fenced village paths. On plate 3 one can see of the linear central village street of Ahiolo. Craftsmen from the coast built the uniform front part of the house which faces the road (see plate 4). These dwellings represent the most complete imitation of the typical Ambonese house¹⁷. In Ahiolo it consists always of a wooden structure made from crudely cut wood boards which are painted in white. The roof is covered by corrugated iron sheets and bare soil is occasionally covered by split bamboo, spread open over the floor. Recently some households have begun to lay concrete floors¹⁸.

Next to the front door hangs a little sign with the male household head's surname and a registration number on it. The door leads into the reception room which, depending on the relative wealth of the household, contains wooden benches, rattan basket chairs and a wooden table covered by a colourful decorative cloth and a small vase or empty beer can in which home-made artificial flowers (made from the plastic packaging of instant noodles and silver foil) are placed. One woman had spent Rp 2,500 on plastic flowers in the Ambon market. A number of lumas accommodate a wooden cupboard or cabinet on the rear wall. Visiting Muslim craftsmen stayed many weeks in the village building furniture and especially cabinets which cost between Rp 40,000 and 60,000 (the household supplies the wood)¹⁹. On the wall hang old newspapers, the calendar of the

¹⁷Houses in urban centres are often solid brick constructions.

¹⁸Except for certain patches most houses seem well drained and dry, even during the rainy season.

¹⁹About 5 or 6 families ordered major furniture. The workmen had some problems in obtaining their pay because two household heads were reluctant to supply the money. One man

Protestant Church, sometimes faded family photos and pop-music posters showing bands such as Duran-Duran or Queen. Government officials hang up a coloured poster of president Soeharto and the Pancasila principles on which Indonesian democracy is supposedly founded. The annual Church calendar depicts scenes from the bible. Jesus and other figures are represented as western Europeans in clothes of the Roman Empire. One household has large illustrations of male and female soldiers with rifles. A metal pressure lamp is fixed on a nail for festive occasions to light the room. For everyday needs small tins are used as they need far less oil. A few rooms display deer horn, feathers or traditional valuables like a large shell which can be used to produce a loud sound. A household with many young men had crudely made wooden replica of traditional Wemale shields and of a bush knife (formerly also used in warfare and on head hunting raids). Other traditional valuables which have not been sold to merchants are not displayed but locked away. These may include Chinese plates and porcelain (hana), Dutch coins, and necklaces. People from other villages are not much trusted and fear that such valuables might be stolen is wide-spread. These valuables are vested in the hands of husband and wife and they cannot be alienated without consent and sharing out of the money received to close relatives (see chapter 4).

The front room is linked to two smaller rooms. Often adolescent youths or single grandparents sleep here on simple beds with younger children; some people have sheets or plastic mosquito nets spread or hung over a bed to protect from insect bites. As these compartments provide better protection and can be locked, family documents and valuables are stored in them. Towards the back, a door provides access to further rooms and the kitchen, all of which have been built by villagers with traditional local material. The resident couple tends to sleep in this extension to the house. A number of households no longer put the cooking-fire on the floor but raise it on top of a wooden crate filled with sand. Above it hangs a framework

withdrew the order after the cabinet was already finished.

into which firewood can be stored and dried. Here or somewhere else in the kitchen one will find a collection of preserved lower jaw bones of wild pigs, deer and the cuscus marsupials, whose meat is part of the wawa holina (see chapter 4). There are also a number of plastic bowls, iron cooking pots, and one or two crude knives. The room with the dinner table often shelters a cupboard with forks, spoons and glasses. One household owned a small machine to produce coconut oil and another had a hand-powered sewing machine. Nearby houses are linked by direct paths to their mutual kitchen doors which are used by women, children, friends and relatives who come chatting.

The house or luma has thus seen considerable transformations from its pre-colonial 'adat' to its present Ambonese Christian form. It is increasingly made of durable materials and provides a container for household consumer products. The front room is obviously acquiring a representative function in which meetings are held and guests entertained. This room is enriched and adorned with various kinds of valuables.

Dress and Market Products

According to Jensen (1948:30f) people still dressed at the time of his visit in clothes fabricated from tree bark. Today such clothes are not used and the knowledge needed to fabricate these and other pre-colonial household equipment is said to have been forgotten. Even in Jensen's photos (1948, e.g. plates 17, 26 and 28) many children wear shorts and tattered shirts (but see Tauern 1918:100,115). The photos show girls and women in 'sarongs' and teachers ('guru'), together with village chiefs, can be seen in western style clothes and Dutch uniforms. All school boys (there seem to be no girls among the pupils) wear shirts and shorts while the teacher is dressed in a white jacket and a long pair of trousers. To this day school teachers and village government officials can afford better clothes than ordinary people because of their fixed government income. Many village heads cover their head with a cap depicting the insignia of the government party

GOLKAR. Sometimes they have a moustache (but never a full beard), which many youths ardently desire but only some of the genuine elders manage to grow facial hair. In Ahiolo hair is worn short while people from Abio, including a number of bachelors, generally grow it long (cf. de Vries 1918:100). With coconut oil hair turns smooth ('halus') and shining. Young and middle aged women tend to cut it fairly short²⁰, old women have it long and usually tied into a knot at their neck. Rather than dressing in a skirt and a blouse, or a cotton dress, these older women wrap themselves in 'sarongs'.

Clothes worn for the church service are generally of better quality than everyday clothing and include a black uniform (men have trousers, women 'sarongs'). Women can additionally ornament themselves with a sash across the shoulder. Only confirmed Protestants are entitled to this dress. Young women wear colourful dresses and occasionally some come to the Sunday service with painted finger nails, red lips, sandals or plastic shoes. Even toddlers and children are presented in new clothes (see plate 8). In contrast old men seem to care less about their clothes. For church they put on their black uniform (if they have it), which often shows its age. When I remarked to a mother in Ahiolo that most people who attend church in Abio seem to own better market-bought clothes, compared to those of Ahiolo, she replied that these villagers were squandering their money. She said she would not buy any individual clothing item for more than Rp 5,000 and that it was better to save cash for medicine and other needs of the household.

At work men usually wear shorts and T-shirts. In the village cheap plastic slippers are common, though many people go bare foot and few have shoes for attending church. Bachelors are especially eager to improve their looks. While staying in the village they sometimes change into better shirts and long trousers and training shoes. Most own a pair of football shoes for the Sunday matches.

²⁰To combat lice children's heads are sometimes shaved.

Clothes are either bought from a store in Tala, or local markets (Masohi, Kairatu, Ambon) or from peddler merchants who visit the villages. On such occasions even school children express their ideas of what they desire and, besides receiving change to buy sweets, their parents allocate them small sums of money to buy clothes, including school uniforms. A mother explained to me that her daughter owned a nutmeg tree which had yielded so well that the money received could be spent by her on whatever clothes she liked. Thus clothes are personally owned and usually worn until they fall to pieces. Fancy clothing can attract criticism (see below). Persons often remember the cash they spent on individual consumer items for years. The price is part of the product. For instance a villager recalled that with the cash he earned from a clove harvest he bought a quartz watch which hangs over a door in his front room. It cost Rp 20,000. Buying expensive consumer goods attracts attention and people are curious and will ask how much a radio, a guitar for the church organisation, a torch, a cheap camera or tape recorder cost. While the owner expresses no pride, the object is turned about, looked at and tested and persons may express their approval. Alternatively they agree moderately or remain altogether silent. Negative or adverse opinions are not directly expressed. Privately a householder may comment that the owner possesses the product all by him- or herself ('ia punya sendiri') in order to assert that this is not one's concern. Owners of goods never boast about their wealth.

Except for the traditional valuables (hana), wealthy and durable objects are owned by individuals unless they are married or live together as a couple. The inheritance pattern of houses is not fixed (some houses in Ahilolo were inherited from father to son, others from mother to eldest daughter, see chapter 4) but husband and wife both hold authority over household property²¹, especially if it was acquired after the couple had formed a household. For buying or selling major valuables both husband and wife ought to agree. Valuables like

²¹By household property I mean goods and wealth objects stored in the house but not land or cash crops.

books and radios are placed outside the reach of children. However this effort is half-hearted and sometimes children play with such market goods with parents demonstrating few signs of worry about possible damage. For instance, a small transistor radio had been destroyed by children and the mother was resigned to the fact that "the children always played with it".

Traditional songs and dances are rarely performed nowadays. On the other hand television and radio are extremely popular. Despite a distorted picture accompanied by blaring and chaotic sound, villagers flock to the house of the government official who safe-keeps the television donated by the government to every village to watch whatever is visible. Like anywhere in the Moluccas sport events, especially boxing and football are well favoured above other programmes. A stronger impact has been battery powered radios²² (cf. Wilder 1982:131f.). Ahiolo possesses 8 of these and with the volume of radios and tape recorders set to maximum, it is impossible to escape their presence. Two villagers even fix megaphone-shaped loudspeakers to their outside house walls to heighten the effect. The "Voice of Ambon" ('soara Ambon') which broadcasts brief world news, Indonesian news, market prices and various types of music proves the most popular. Christians in the Moluccas are proud of their tradition of religious songs and adolescents in Ahiolo became interested in performing such songs for the service. Apart from these, popular modern Indonesian pop songs ('lagu pop Indonesia') are broadcasted, all of which dramatise romance and personal tragedy. By and large songs in Indonesian are preferred; when a man enjoyed listening to "Madonna"²³, a middle aged mother commented that he was "stupid" because he could not understand the lyrics. To me it seems that part of the appeal is the "foreign" and that the strange language

²²In the past when Wemale words were construed for new concepts rather than loan words being adopted, to listen to the radio was hinene manue, i.e. to listen to a bird. Today it is 'mendengar radio' or hinene 'radio'. There is scope to study the "consumption" of radio in further detail.

²³Popular American celebrity, representing the glamorous charms of consumer capitalism.

underlines difference and provides space for "daydreaming". Generally the interest in radio broadcasting depends on the villagers age, gender and education. Some men listen to the news while young bachelors and women like being entertained by music. Teachers and officials take interest in announcements and comments on regional events.

A collective desire is that one day the government or the timber firm, which exploits the forest in the area, will build a road from the coast to the villages. Not only would this facilitate transportation of persons and garden products but the road itself symbolises quite literally an inroad from the market centres to the village²⁴. People living in the interior of Seram have long traded in certain products like bush knives and Chinese porcelains. It is well known that these items are not manufactured locally but obtained from merchants²⁵. Especially old and renowned valuables ('harta') are believed to derive from the Portuguese. Ancient as well as new market objects are valuable exactly because they originate in power centres beyond the local villages (and are manufactured with an unknown technology) and it is thus not surprising that brands of Japanese or German radios, typewriters, clothes, watches or Nike training shoes are said to be of superior quality and longer lasting (but also more expensive) than those produced in Indonesia. Although villagers hold strong anti Dutch sentiments (partly because Japiobatai was defeated by the military and held subject to forced labour, partly because the Dutch are commonly believed to have withheld knowledge and education from Indonesians), they state that Dutch bush knives were far better than those currently available. Moreover bridges built by the Dutch were not as easily washed away as contemporary constructions because the

²⁴Cars capture the imagination. Some villagers would rather walk than take a lift in a car while others, especially children, enjoy the rare opportunity to use an 'oto' (passenger car) in Masohi or along the coast of Seram. A few bicycles are in use in seaside villages but not Ahiolo or Abio.

²⁵To my knowledge there are no market goods which were collectively resisted or rejected.

Dutch used to bury captured heads into the foundations²⁶. Products acquired in the market carry potentially an aura of their origin and become associated with the owner and his or her household. On a more abstract level one can say that there is no heightened consumerism, or increasing abstraction through market exchange and alienation from an inflation of "meaning".

Consumption and Sharing

Until recently clothing and certain consumer goods like a radio reflected status²⁷ differentiation more than housing. Appropriation of products and goods is often phrased in terms of "eating" something (ane, or 'dia makan sendiri') which represents an incorporation of something by a person. In a board game played by youths in which one player is addressed as 'Tuan' (a formal address term) and the other labelled as 'Uni Sovyet' (i.e. Soviet Union and Communists, 'orang komunis', are primary public enemies in Indonesia) the elimination of the opponent's chip is also termed as eating. Stated in such an explicit form, consumption designates a process of personal incorporation (Gell 1986:113) and even destruction but not an exchange. The expression is a good reflection of a latent ambiguity about collective sharing and separation or individualistic differentiation (cf. Gell 1986:123). Sharing communicates a notion that villagers are

²⁶This observation was made one night when somebody spread news from the coast that hired villains were lurking in the forest waiting to kill somebody in order to capture a head and to bury it in a bridge foundation of a new road. The sacrificial aspect of head hunting and link-up to a developing infrastructure are reminiscent of Taussig (1980). However the issue is not topical in Ahiolo/Abio and can not be understood as a cultural critique of capitalism since Wemale were never exposed to a strict regime of capitalist wage labour).

²⁷By status differentiation I mean the teacher, minister and village government but not ordinary householders. As teachers and ministers live only for restricted periods in the village and frequently have their spouses and children residing in larger coastal settlements, their houses in the village are usually similar to other householders. On the other hand they own consumer goods like wrist watches which distinguish them from ordinary householders.

all the same; this is summarily reaffirmed by saying that all villagers are related to one another. Consequently when an outsider asks about wealth disparities, elders will categorically state that all households are the same ('sama saja') and nobody is richer than anyone else. Only in terms of communal social obligations do people allude to relative differences in wealth. When they say, so and so has much money (ile kepene hella), they imply not so much criticism of standards of consumption but increasing obligations towards communal projects. Such normative egalitarianism²⁸ of Wemale corresponds to turning their back on variations in household wealth and consumption. Envy²⁹ is never overtly expressed. I only recall few instances where persons were criticised indirectly about their market consumption. One was a girl who put on lipstick during ordinary week days while walking around the village. A bachelor considered this pretentious and sexually indecent. Another example concerned clothing mentioned above. Persons in Abio and a couple in Ahiolo were said to mispend their money on overly expensive clothes by a middle aged mother. This reflects an idea that households should spend their money on all needs (Church and schooling) and when possible on lasting consumer goods or improvements in the house instead of wasting it on short term consumption (e.g. feasting).

Sharing of betel nuts (pua)³⁰ or tobacco is obligatory and a

²⁸This rejection of ranking is political in nature and raises the question of how office holders of the kakehan or other ritualised offices like the 'tuhan tanah' (Lord of the Land) could exert political pressure in the past. The literature on the Wemale and other groups on Seram tends to equate ascribed function with actual inter personal influence and therefore credits office holders with too much authority.

²⁹Wemale appear too proud to challenge and thereby admit inter communal (wealth) differences.

³⁰The areca nut is consumed with lime produced from chalk called 'kapur/losa' or kapore and in eastern Indonesia with the fruit or pod of 'siriboa/sirih' named amu. To offer 'pinang' (areca nuts) can be called hasoite.

denial more explicitly and directly sanctioned as waudule³¹ (meanness) since its communal consumption is part of talking and socialising. Villagers consume betel (ane pua) and tobacco (pilo tobako) often on the same occasion (Tauern 1918:102,112). Yet betel is associated with ancestors and tobacco with modern consumption and male meetings. Young and middle aged men smoke with great devotion whereas old men hardly ever smoke but maintain a predilection for chewing betel nuts, a habit more widely spread in Abio³² and shared with women (cf. de Vries 1921:93). Nevertheless a sack with about 300 nuts was finished up within 4 days in Ahiolo so that smoking is at present rather supplementing than substituting betel chewing. It has been a national trend during the past century that male and female betel nut chewing was replaced by male smoking, introduced by wealthy and high status groups (cf. Reid 1985:229,440). Women and even children enjoy betel nuts but do not smoke. Talking to ancestors or utilising traditional healing methods always requires eating betel and spitting the red juice on the ground. For example swollen or painful body parts are rubbed with it. Applied with a spell (hamaleru) by male and sometimes female elders, betel is supposed to have healing effects. In contrast tobacco has neither religious nor healing value (some say it is unhealthy). Tobacco smoking is adopted by men and it seems almost compulsory all over Indonesia. According to Reid 85% of the male adult population smokes. Combining tradition with modernity, the village head and his secretary consumed both, though smoking was slightly more to their taste.

Indonesian brands of clove cigarettes are luxury items which are only rarely bought. A pack costs between Rp 400 and 600. Common rolling tobacco comes in a plastic bag of 250g and

³¹The much stronger and term manatai ('rakus') or greedy is rarely heard since it constitutes a very serious challenge tantamount to an affront.

³²Supply of tobacco in Abio is irregular; betel nuts are about equally available in Ahiolo and Abio. The chalk lime with which elders like to chew the nuts is made of snail shells and apparently less easily available in Abio since the snails are found only in larger and distant rivers.

costs Rp 300; an additional pack of papers (the one in the pack is insufficient - 50 pieces of paper) costs about Rp 100. Those who have it, offer it to the others. Frequently men also ask for tobacco from those who they know or suspect are in possession. This goes so far that they may even visit a person in order to smoke and men who bought tobacco in the morning complain in the evening that it has all but vanished. Rarely a man refuses to share his tobacco and if he does, he will be pressed harder until however reluctantly, he gives in. Understandably practical "anti sharing" techniques have developed. An acceptable strategy consists of keeping tobacco out of sight, or at home. A desperate family member may even search for the hidden tobacco of another household member, though this is a transgression which nobody likes to see happening. Betel nuts, in contrast, are collected from gardens and not bought or sold but only shared and given away. One can regularly see children being sent to fetch some nuts from other households. Men who meet in the reception room of a household are likely to accompany their conversation by smoking and later chewing betel nuts. Both forms of consumption are inseparable from male conversations, be they in a garden hut, during a break on a lengthy journey, an 'adat' or a village meeting. I never witnessed anybody eating betel nuts in church (chewing gum however seemed acceptable). Tobacco and betel nuts are by far the most commonly shared items in the village and villagers would sometimes make statements to the effect that life could not be enjoyed without either one.

Food and Feasting

Contemporary communal feasting is on a small scale. During 1988 merely 5 households celebrated Christian life cycle events in Ahiolo (baptism, a child's birthday and confirmation) when they provided a meal for selected guests or the community at large. An additional 'adat' meal was held to restore amiable feelings between two households and their male relatives after one man had hit another. In contrast ancestors have a reputation of having permanently and excessively

indulged in drinking alcohol and eating meat (they also hold a reputation for quarrelling and killing each other). Only once an elder remarked to me that in the past villagers used to share their meat while hunters only sell it today. Not money but sharing was addressed in this rare and nostalgic utterance in which a idyllic past with an abundance of meat and palm wine was invoked. Even today some of the meat is given away without payment. Before returning to the idealised opposition between a normal Christian feast and an 'adat' meal, a description of the differences in food consumption between people living in the high mountains and those in coastal areas is illuminating.

In accordance with ideas about past and modernity, a geographical difference between Abio and Ahiolo is elaborated in a way which corresponds to an 'adat' versus modernity dichotomy. Abio villagers attribute themselves and are attributed by Ahiolo with competent knowledge about the past and the Wemale language. Conversely Ahiolo is in certain respects considered to be more progressive. With respect to food consumption and cooking, a basic difference between Ahiolo and Abio lies in a water and an oil-based cuisine. The first is associated with 'adat', the latter with coastal, modern or Christian practices. Much of Ahiolo's cooking is based on frying with oil because all households have easy access to coconuts from which the oil can be produced. Plate 16 shows several women frying deer meat for a confirmation feast under a roof extension of the kitchen; on plate 17 some of the helpers assembled around a dinner table on which some of the ingredients and spices are placed (among them chili, onions and salt). Abio on the other hand owns few mature coconut palms. Moreover the slowly growing palms yield few nuts³³. Their deficit in coconuts and oil is compensated by game meat and palm wine ('sageru' or tua) and other less

³³The shortage of coconuts even incites villagers from Abio, visiting Ahiolo, to ask for the heavy nuts from their relatives and friends. They carry them for hours up the mountain to their native village in order to produce oil.



Plate 13



Plate 14



Plate 15

important items in the diet which are not available to Ahiolo (e.g. wild honey). This availability of alcohol and regular supply of meat associates consumption in Abio closer to past practices (but does not necessarily classify them always automatically as 'adat') than Ahiolo, where traditional alcohol³⁴ is absent and game meat less frequent. Conversely it is customary in Ahiolo to entertain guests for the Christian life-cycle rituals of children. The minister and his deacons and sometimes a few other village elders are invited to participate in a prayer meeting in the front room of the house and to receive a snack meal, referred to as 'teh' (tea). This snack meal is ideally based on cooking with oil and certain market products.

In the vast majority of life cycle rites, only snack meals of a more or less elaborate kind are offered. They take place either early in the morning or late at night in which case the deacons are expected to have eaten their proper super at home. The majority of the deacons attend and the minister will be present unless ill or absent from the village. Deacons perform the serious prayer and hymn-singing on behalf of a person and the household s/he lives in. The female household head serves the snacks as soon as the religious part of the event ends. Close male relatives or friends, or also men who happen to pass the house, are invited in and served while the wives, female neighbours and friends assist in the kitchen. The men relax, drink and eat before gradually beginning to smoke and eat betel nut. Sometimes small children of the deacons come along, so that they can have some sweets or the deacon asks to take some of his portion home for a child. The entertainment of the deacons has become a norm to which deacons feel well entitled because of their duties. The hospitality does not belong to the religious procedure and yet is an essential part of the occasion. Perhaps the most important part of a Christian Moluccan snack is sweet tea, or 'teh' (in Wemale simply "hot water" waiele waiti). Sometimes it is no more than boiled water, but generally hot water with at least two tea

³⁴This includes a form of indigenous distilled palm-wine called alake.

spoons full of sugar³⁵ and, whenever possible, a few tea leaves. Sugar and tea are both market products³⁶. Any household which receives an official guest ought to serve hot 'teh' in glasses in the reception part of the house. A few households possess a thermos bottle which is filled with boiled water, so that thirsty household members can drink it during the day. This is, as the villagers learn in school, hygienic and free of "insects" (i.e. parasites and microbes). In the absence of a thermos bottle, boiled water is kept in covered plastic jugs.

'Teh' is on the one hand opposed to Javanese 'kopi' (coffee), which is rarely a substitute for tea, and, on the other, to water (waiele) boiled in bamboo. Many villagers find that bamboo flavoured water tastes superior to ordinary boiled water. However iron pans and Chinese frying pans have long since replaced bamboo and are now the standard cooking utensils in Abio as well as Ahio. The exceptional use of bamboo for preparing meals, e.g. on stops on longer trips and

³⁵The book "Sweetness and Power" (Mintz 1985) is an impressive historical study of sugar consumption in England. Although Mintz stresses the social conditions of the acquired taste, I think his linkage between the rise in capitalism and the spread of sugar is more questionable in Islamic and Hindu countries. Among the Wemale sweetness and social development certainly go together; that there are manipulating mercantile interests at work in this process is not obvious.

³⁶Commercial tea and white sugar probably came together after the arrival of Christianity. Salt on the other hand has long been obtained by barter from the coast, or elders said, people also used to go to the sea to extract salt (hameite or 'tasie') by drying sea water in the sun. Sugar with its quasi addictive qualities is now indispensable, not only for the large amounts needed in tea but also for sweetening bread, fried bananas and fried cassava flour balls. Children have become used to ask their parents to give them Rp 50 or 100, so that they can go and buy sweets from whoever is, once in a while, trading a few consumer goods. A father once said to me, "how can I refuse to give money to my daughter when she was lying next to me when we were both so very ill". Sweetness is thus firmly established in the regional "taste" and of particular importance for the snack meals which are offered for many Church occasions and for receiving visitors in the front reception room.

cooking in garden huts, is labelled 'adat'.

Ideally a wife prepares a kind of cake ('roti') for a snack meal. It includes margarine, wheat flour, baking powder and condensed milk (all market goods). Ingredients for a cake are never kept in advance but bought for Christian rituals (it is this type of bread-cake which is used for the holy communion). Grain flour ('terigu') can be substituted with sago flour to prepare a similar cake. Instead of, or in combination with bread, several other sweet snack dishes piled on a plate, are placed on a low tea table in the front room for the guests. These include fried bananas of which there are several varieties, fried manioc pieces, or fried manioc flour dumplings and pancakes. Simple rice cakes and fried sweet potatoes offer alternatives. To all dishes ample sugar is added. Although stores on the coast sell biscuits, these are not offered to visitors as those in plastic packages are thought to be of poor quality and those kept in metal boxes, too expensive (the containers are appreciated for storing rice and other foods which are prone to damage by mice and damp). Such snacks constitute the primary form of entertainment for guests and at Christmas it was food of this kind which was offered after the performance by the parish (see plate 6). In Abio snack dishes fried in oil are less common, not only because of a relative lack in oil but also because the majority of households earn less money than those in Ahiolo and consequently have less cash to spend on sugar and other market products. The supply of salt and sugar is more sporadic and instead of serving fried bananas or manioc, the villagers of Abio simply eat the same foods either raw or boiled in water.

Daily food is usually prepared by the wife. Husbands cook when the wife is travelling or ill. Carrying a baby, or with a toddler in tow, they stroll around the village, visiting neighbours, friends and relatives while the wife prepares dinner. In the morning the family drinks 'teh' and cold leftovers from the previous night are eaten cold. The family eats the food standing or resting on a kitchen bench. Only

guests receive breakfast with 'teh' and fried bananas at about 8 am. Young children are generally fed on demand and a mother may cook two or three smaller meals in the course of a day which the children eat in the kitchen and not on the dinner table in the adjacent room. Boys and girls who forage in the river share small snack meals at which they roast their prey over a fire. If mature household members stay in the village, they often defer breakfast until late morning or lunch time when they consume a warm lunch which includes either cassava or sago, or both. Depending on the mood of the female household head, she can serve lunch any time between 11 am until 3 pm. In case an adult youth becomes hungry, s/he can cook by him or herself for the rest of the household. Visiting bachelors occasionally share meals in the households of friends or relatives. Other villagers usually decline invitations as they much prefer eating at home³⁷.

When persons leave the village for the day, a cold or warm meal may be prepared in the garden hut or, for other activities, villagers bring some provisions which were cooked in advance. Unless close relatives live in another village, a travelling person or party avoids consuming food there, irrespective of whether the people are Wemale or not. Villagers regard eating and drinking in foreign households (of other villages) as extremely dangerous since food could be poisoned with magical and invisible objects like centipedes, metal nails and hair which would, unless discovered, be fatal. Not surprisingly, even accepting drinking water from non-relatives in different villages is avoided whenever possible.

The main meal of the day is cooked and eaten in the evening. In the absence of guests all household members join around the dinner table each with a plate and spoon. Families ought to pray before and after the meal but in my experience nobody abides the rule. Instead they engage in animated talk about

³⁷This preference is not so much caused by anxiety of being poisoned (see below) as an expression of primary values associated with the household: seclusion and autonomy. This is described in succeeding chapters.

current concerns while using the right hand or spoons³⁸ to feed themselves. The meal inevitably ends with the hot and glutinous sago. In the presence of visitors the male household head prays before leaving the table. In this case, the guests dine together with the adult male household members. Women and children eat after the guests have withdrawn to the front room. On Sundays sometimes chicken³⁹ or even geese are killed and cooked for lunch.

Ingredients for ordinary household meals comprise ideally meat (wawe) and sago (liki) supplemented with local root crops and sometimes green vegetables ('sayur' or launi, i.e. leaves). Normally the main course evening meal of the household consists only of root crops and usually sago because no game was killed. Two water-boiled foods stand out among the rest: rice and sago. Commercial rice⁴⁰ exceeds the importance of

³⁸If meat is eaten, it is already cut into small pieces and a knife is therefore unnecessary.

³⁹A recent change in consumption habits added dogs to the menu. Certain elders find this coastal habit inappropriate; they say that the dog is the companion of humans and thus should not be eaten. Yet their resistance does not go much further than refusing to eat the dish. On Ambon it is thought that eating dog meat makes men hot and sexually aroused (which is known in the village). Cat meat is another recent supplement to the diet which the majority of people reject.

⁴⁰Villagers say that Wemale never grew paddy, called hala. This is supported by de Vries (1921:49,65). Jensen's states the opposite. His evidence (1948:34/5,67) consists of a version of the widespread myth about the theft of rice collected in Ahiolo, a brief description of a garden ritual and a photo showing the communal preparation for a rice garden (location and names of persons on this table 10 are not specified). The apparent contradiction can, up to a certain degree, be explained by Jensen's observation that the rice was grown communally among several villages. In Ahiolo, various persons pointed out to me that it is Huku Kecil which grows rice and has the ritual knowledge to do so while Abio did not. The only man in Abio who seasonally cultivated dry rice, told me that he called upon the help of villagers from Huku Kecil. He also assembled a work team for clearing the rice field plot of about 10-15 men, the largest privately organised working party I witnessed in Abio. Apart from this exception, only one young man in Ahiolo cultivates rice; he has Alune relatives who supply him with seeds. Certainly no inter-village planting

locally cultivated dry rice (hala). Commercial rice ('beras') is sold on the coast, e.g. Tala for Rp 500-600 per kg but is too expensive for daily consumption and households restrict rice consumption to special occasions. The significance attributed to rice within Indonesia is well understood and the secretary's wife apologises to visiting policemen, when she can not serve rice ('nasi'). She emphasised its excellent and healthy qualities for babies and children to me. One day, following complaints by the minister about his inadequate salary, elders decided to buy rice for him⁴¹. Rice, like sweet tea, is approved as something basic to the way people in Indonesia live (it is thought that westerners eat mainly bread). Nevertheless, outsiders should accept local foods too and among these sago comes on top of the list.

Sago or liki is a food with which all villagers strongly identify. It has a myth of origin and several different palms are known which produce sago. In addition there is a large Wemale and Ambonese vocabulary in use for the production and processing of sago and different methods of flour processing are known. Thus the identification is not only ethnic but also regional. Educated villagers will say that sago is the most typical dish of the Moluccas and that Moluccans in the Netherlands import it in large quantities. To outsiders they would relate that I ate sago and other village grown food.

Liki (sago) is the major dish of an evening meal. The flour starch mixed with boiling water produces a glutinous transparent substance which is eaten after the root crops and preferably with small pieces of meat or a spicy sauce. Unlike

of rice is currently practised. Once a year villagers buy black and red rice from Huku Kecil where many households cultivate dry rice. This rice is much liked, though none of 17 households in Ahiolo spent more than Rp 2,500 (one kg of rice was sold for Rp 500) on it. My evidence suggests that although Wemale cultivate hardly any rice gardens, they value locally grown rice for its good taste. Commercial rice is however more important because it is more readily available.

⁴¹The operation of collecting the money, buying the rice, carrying it to the village and finally giving it to the minister took at least two months.

meat, vegetables or root crops which are all taken either by hand or under formal circumstances with spoons, sago is sucked into the mouth from the plate. Depending on their hunger, householders eat several plateful (the rest is fed to dogs and chickens). When the women's organisation of the protestant Church held a district meeting in Sumeit-Passinaro, Ahiolo sent five containers ('tuman') with sago (each holding approximately 15 litres of sago starch) and all participants, including ministers and the district head minister from Kairatu, had sago at several meals. Thus practically everybody on Seram eats sago (including Islamic communities) even though middle and upper class families on Ambon would consume it only rarely and probably not in its liquid form.

Next to sago manioc ('kasbi' or kapusi'i) is an important food. Although not much praised, the boiled or fried roots are served almost daily. Manioc leaves can be boiled as a vegetable dish (kapusi'i launi). In Abio, where manioc grows just as amply as in Ahiolo, the roots are often processed into a similar type of dish as sago⁴². Especially older roots, no longer ideal for boiling, are selected for this method which is among certain villagers favoured above the ordinary sago (it tastes sweeter). In contrast to other root crops and valued foods, manioc is never sold but only shared. The most treasured root crops are wala or 'keladi/gladi' (taro or *Colocasia antiquorum*⁴³) followed by ante ('umbi/ubi', *Dioscorea* sp.) or yams and sweet potatoes ('potatas' or kaitela, *Ipomoea batatas*). These crops are served according to their availability in the gardens but not daily. Initially these root crops are usually boiled; re-served as leftovers they are often fried. Cooking and eating the same crops in the garden hut for the smaller lunch meal, involves roasting the roots in or above a fire, or boiling them in bamboo.

⁴²The territory surrounding Abio is unsuitable to growing sago palms. The old sago plantations of Abio are at some distance from the village and sago production involves carrying the starch a long distance.

⁴³There was also tupale or 'gladi kepala' (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*?)

Other vegetable or side dishes are: boiled papaya (kapai); papaya leaves (kapai launi) and also blossoms; patola ('labu air/putih'), a type of pumpkin; teine ipuli and takaliane ipuli, bamboo shoots; sesele or maize and 'kondor', another type of pumpkin, papimu a cucumber and maputa ('bayam') which is spinach. These and other irregularly and infrequently prepared foods (e.g. ferns, mushrooms, various tree leaves, eggs and coconut meat) are cooked depending on availability of the food and the inclination of householders to vary their staple diet. Apart from the variations mentioned and local conditions favouring certain plants (e.g. pumpkins seem to grow much better in Abio) the same foods are grown and consumed in Ahiolo and Abio.

The association of Abio with 'adat' and Ahiolo with "progress" ('maju') is categorical. Yet this connection with 'adat' is ambiguously charged. Abio, located on the ancestral homeland, claims to preserve superior knowledge of the past; their version of neo-traditional 'adat' states that it is not only genuine ('asli') but also compatible with the Church. However outsiders will certainly suspect that Abio still treads dangerously close to a sinister and uncivilised pagan 'adat'. Actual differences in the living conditions between Ahiolo and Abio lend support to either view. So called 'adat' meals are rarely performed in both villages but Abio has an obvious advantage from the standard diet of Ahiolo because of its plentiful supply of meat and locally produced alcohol. The most important game are: deer (mayane), wild pigs (yakale) and marsupial cuscus (marele); pig and cuscus are both highly charged with traditional symbolic value. Yet Abio villagers do not consume meat and alcohol daily, and because their sago plantations are far away from the village, ordinary diet in Abio can be quite poor. However their feast-like meals are more frequent and this reinforces the idea that Abio carries more "tradition" than Ahiolo, even though it subscribes to the same ideas of development and acquires market products as long as sufficient funds are available. On the other hand Christian life cycle rituals in Ahiolo are linked to snacks, for which some ingredients are bought from the market. The relative

austerity in Ahiolo derives from a lack of cash to spend on large feasts. It furthermore accords well with a wide spread notion which holds that the ancestral past was dominated by the desire to achieve momentary gratification but was incapable of providing for the children in a farsighted way. In this respect Abio is accused of following the ancestral traditions without consideration for its children. With growing cash crop gardens and the presence of the rhetoric of development and progress, Ahiolo villagers feel that they are enduring hard conditions for the benefit of their progeny and descendants. Thus affluence of subsistence foods, water-boiled foods, feasting and generally conditions associated with the past are connected to Abio while market products, oil fried foods, and desirable and "progressive" consumption with Ahiolo.

The dichotomy between a festive, neo-traditional 'adat' and a Christian meal can be dramatised in both villages. An ideal manifestation of an 'adat' meal has no Christian prayer but an introductory speech in Wemale in which God and ancestors are addressed. The elders squat on the floor (sosine) and eat with their hands from bowls made out of plant leaves. All food is water-cooked in bamboo and includes the above described subsistence crops, especially sago and meat. The type of meat depends on the occasion. For settling a fight, the meat of three marsupial cuscuses is required; for the expiation and separation of incest, a wild boar is obligatory. The elders drink in turns palm wine from three traditional bowls (hala). I never witnessed such a meal. The 'adat' feast I attended departed from the ideal type in a number of respects. Normally this meal is celebrated in the house of the 'kepala adat', a formally appointed elder who is said to supervise all 'adat' ritual. On this occasion the ceremony was held in the household of the man who had struck another. The cuscus meat was to re-establish good relations between these. The minister, village leadership and deacons were present but assumed no prominent role. After all men had sat down on benches along the extended dining table, the 'kepala adat' reminded everybody in Wemale of the 'adat' customs by invoking

God (upu'lailai) and the ancestors (kaitia, "the Great Ones"). After his speech the women brought food which we ate with spoons out of normal plates. Palm wine was shared from the old bowls. The boiled food was not cooked in bamboo and I am sure it would not have mattered if some of the meat had been fried⁴⁴. The meal ended with sago.

The very same food may be offered for a Christian meal. In addition boiled and fried rice and some fried meat (if there is enough) is put on the table and unfailingly sago brings the meal to an end. Women with big bowls circle around the table, handing out portions to everybody who wants more. The collective drinking bowls are replaced by glasses for each person. Occasionally some alcohol (in Ahiolo bought from the coast) is offered in small plastic glasses. The male household head goes from elder to elder with three small glasses on a tray which contain liquor. Serving alcohol is not always permissible for Christian rituals. Church and village leadership enjoy drinking on occasion, but they discourage ordinary people, particularly youths, from excessive drinking. At the beginning and the end of the Christian meals a prayer will be spoken by the minister, a deacon or government village leader ('kepala desa' or 'sekretaris desa'). After the Indonesian prayer the conversation reverts to Ambonese Malay and periodically slips into Wemale. Leadership and dignitaries tend to gather on one end of the table (in any adat meeting or meal, I did not detect such a hierarchical order, cf. chapter 6). 'Adat' and Christian meal share in common that women and young men offer food to the elders and only after these have finished, do the women and youths sit down to eat. There were always people who offered the food to them, while the men retired to the front part of the house.

Conclusion

Early on during fieldwork an Ahiolo woman drew a contrast between Ahiolo and Abio. She said that life in Abio was

⁴⁴This was difficult to tell since cuscus meat is always boiled when it is fresh.

difficult. People could not spend their money on commercial rice and sugar but only on good clothing. "Here in Ahiolo" she said, "we can cook flour". Thinking the contrast over she added that people of Abio have meat but that "they" live in houses which are no good ('mereka punya rumah tidak bagus'). Forms of consumption express modernity and tradition, which in turn can be conceptualised in an opposition between a devalued pagan 'adat' and 'agama' (i.e. religion). In its devalued sense, the community seeks increasing differentiation from standards of 'adat' relating to pre-christianity. The associated meanings of 'adat' as habitus, ignorance and powerful "magic" are conflated and serve as a counterfoil to "development". This rigid temporal perspective is supplemented by a fixed geographical opposition between a "traditional" Abio in the distant mountain and a "progressive" Ahiolo closer to the coast.

Yet the social construction of 'adat' is just as open to manipulation as "development", once villagers talk about concrete issues. As is the case with the house, the "old" and the "new" are relative stages. Empirically they may both represent progressive transformations⁴⁵ from past practices to new forms of consumption. However what looks to Ahiolo like insufficient distinction from the past, may be seen in Abio as perfectly acceptable Christian behaviour. A point in case is the supply of meat and palm wine: while Abio regards its supply as healthy living, Ahiolo may read it (somewhat enviously) as a surrender to short term consumption. Both villages could only project an unambiguous neo-traditional 'adat' by reaching the living standards of the coastal settlements. Formal conversion to Christianity remains unconvincing and here lies one reason why Abio wants to advance equally with Ahiolo. Its modern brick church is almost finished and all men plant cash crop trees for the provision of future generations.

⁴⁵In later chapters I will criticise the notion of "transformation" as it relates to social change. As far as the "habitus of consumption" is concerned, I think the term can be applied.

Finally market consumption is appealing to householders. Wearing market clothes and eating foods supplemented with ingredients commercially acquired, represents ability and conformity to a moral standard and equality with wealthier coastal communities. To households and individuals market goods represent possibilities for personal adornment, short term entertainments, long term improvements on the house and by implication benefits for descendants. Some of these are undoubtedly of practical use and substitutions for laborious processes of manufacture (e.g. clothing), although the idea of improved usefulness can itself reflect an ideology of progress. From the local point of view, which holds that the two communities suffer a deficit in their market share, commercial goods have sheer limitless potential for security and pleasure.

Chapter 3

A History of Transition: from Subsistence Gardening towards Cash Cropping and Silviculture

In this chapter I give some far-reaching background information about village horticulture and the incipient intensification of a market directed production. I discuss how various people, who traditionally lived in the mountains of western Seram, moved to different locations and what effect these movements entailed in terms of land ownership, access to markets, labour conditions and cash cropping. For Ahiolo and Abio householders, tree cash cropping (silviculture¹) has become of eminent economic and symbolic significance. As an extension to subsistence food production, silviculture was only recently incorporated into the domestic economy. The plantations still show many traces of a subsistence oriented economy but promise much larger cash earnings for the future. A discussion of types of gardens and plantations is supplemented by some quantitative data on landownership, tree crops and, to a lesser degree, earnings in the appendix A. The recent concern of garden inheritance, as a form of provision for offspring, and the related concerns with devolution are considered and connected to the striving of households for economic self-sufficiency.

When asked why the great majority of Ahiolo and Abio villagers returned from the coast, after spending 9 years there, elders uniformly reply that they moved to present-day village locations in order to cultivate cash crop tree gardens for their children. This universal explanation marks an important turning point in the attitudes of the villagers between the years of 1965 to 1972. Before householders had been forced to descend to the coast, hardly any cash crop trees were planted. Only few people selectively cultivated cash crops, primarily clove trees, before their food gardens regenerated into secondary forest. Although the ancestors had sold forest

¹See Ellen 1978:172ff.

products to the coast, involvement in trade and the market economy was now quickly increasing and becoming economically and socially more and more important.

Some informants told me that during the 1950s certain villagers had indeed planted clove trees but that most of these died when their owners were unable to take care of them, while living on the coast. According to other elders, gardens and therefore cash crop trees, had been destroyed by bombs from Indonesian military planes. An alternative explanation offered for the absence (now much regretted) of habitual cash cropping is that the elders were reluctant to plant trees for exchange because the Dutch administration had imposed an exorbitantly high head-tax². This extreme apprehension of forced taxation and the delay in payments is remarked upon by Jensen (1948:36; Tauern 1918:131). Two slightly different histories concerning these early and negative experiences were related to me: a) The Dutch compelled villagers to plant cash crops in order to tax them and, cunningly, the elders destroyed the young trees by pouring boiling water onto the roots during the night. The trees perished without visible signs of destruction; b) the Wemale had begun cultivating cash crops on their own but when the administration imposed taxation, villagers cut their trees to escape this imposition. Both versions of the past undermine Dutch attempts to impose tax and thereby prevent any incentive to interfere in daily life.

Villagers are now lamenting the fact that the ancestors missed the opportunity of planting cash crop trees and regret that other villages possess mature and yielding trees while most of their own are still fragile and young. In fact the two narratives about the destruction of the clove trees are sometimes flatly reversed by gardeners who blaim the absense of mature clove plantations on the Dutch who ordered the Wemale to fell them. Nowadays all men are enthusiastically cultivating tree crop gardens and in conversations people may

²The Dutch verb 'belasten' for taxing is still remembered.

comment on whether a bachelor works hard and is an assiduous gardener. Even the old unchristened men, living in remote parts of the Abio territory, plant clove trees and show satisfaction in being able to bequeath the trees to their descendants as a monument to their name. Cash crop trees long outlive the original creator of the garden and ancestors are remembered as having first felled the forest, where one can now admire the few remaining trees they planted. Another vital aspect in embracing silviculture by swidden cultivators is that tree cash cropping demands (in comparison to rice agriculture) little effort and time (Dove 1988:9).

The years spent on the coast (1961-1972) were formative in changing attitudes towards production for exchange. Living on the land of Chinese-owned cash crop plantations in the villages of Huse and Tala, villagers were allowed to make food gardens for subsistence or for sale only. Nobody was allowed to plant long term cash crop trees. Instead, people found irregular employment on the plantations if they wanted to. Men could produce copra and members of both sexes could clean the undergrowth around palms and clove trees and seasonally harvest cloves. Several men regard this period on the coast as pleasant because villagers had access to money, were close to a health care centre and could always buy fish. Usually younger householders view the conditions more sceptically, saying that the owners of the plantation offered too little money in return for hard labour. Most importantly, all men agree it was necessary to return inland, where villagers could begin to grow their own plantations.

During the years 1950-1964, members of the Moluccan nationalist rebel movement of the Republic of the South Moluccas ('Republik Maluku Selatan', or RMS)³ took refuge and operated in the Wemale area (cf. Ellen 1978:245, footnote 4). Under these circumstances the already mentioned settlement relocation was enforced by the central Indonesian military.

³A brief description of the circumstances under which the RMS was formed can be found in Chauvel (1990), van Fraassen (1983:37f.) and Ricklefs (1981:221).

Ahiolo and Abio were at that time under the leadership of the influential village head Nathaniel Latekay-Latu. For unknown reasons Nathaniel was kept prisoner⁴ by the RMS. Soon after his release from captivity, he initiated negotiations about finding an appropriate new village location. Although many villagers liked living on the coast, no land was available to found a new settlement where the villagers could plant their own cash crop trees. All coastal territory had much earlier fallen into the hands of former inland villages⁵ which had moved⁶ to the coast at the end of the last or the beginning of this century. Nathaniel's strategy was to attain an alternative location as closely situated to the coast as possible. Appealing to the generosity of the numerically small village of Watui and reviving mythical claims to the lands of Sumeit-Passinaro⁷ Nathaniel received a limited amount of territory in the area where present day Ahiolo is located. In the presence of the subdistrict head ('camat'), village government, ministers and elders of all villages concerned, a written document was signed which certifies the receipt of the land where Abio and Ahiolo were supposed to reside jointly.

Shortly after the agreement was finalised, individual village men began felling plots in the area in 1969. Then, in 1970-1971, coordinated action was taken: all able-bodied men of

⁴Villagers told me that some villagers followed the RMS but that the majority sought to avoid confrontation with it. Nathaniel must have resisted the movement since he was detained.

⁵The Tala and Huse coconut and clove plantation were established on land bought by a Chinese merchant from coastal villages.

⁶The circumstances of these migrations are not entirely clear. However these resettlements were encouraged, perhaps even enforced by the Dutch (cf. Ellen 1978:12,30f.) who could control the coastal areas more easily. The descent from the mountain is also frequently associated with conversion to Islam or Christianity.

⁷A myth has it that people from Japiobatai defeated the leader kapitan (this title derives from Portuguese and applies to ritual military leaders) Seseului and his people. Therefore they are able to lay claim to the land, even though they never lived there before.

Abio and Ahiolo moved into the area to find a suitable village location. A first site was soon abandoned in favour of the present location of Ahiolo, close to where the stream Kiabatu flows into the Tala river. This place lies in relative proximity to the coast (about 16km, or 4 hours walk), approximately some 100m above sea level. The terrain is divided between moderately steep hills and a surprisingly wide area of flat land which is suitable for coconut and sago palms but, according to the experience of informants, less favourable to clove trees. Unlike the Honitetu region the soil appears unsuitable for growing dammar trees.

Living in a single spacious house, men ate and worked together. The morning and early afternoon was spent in felling trees for the communal village land. The rest of the afternoon, men with sufficient energy, cleared their own private plots. In 1971 it was agreed upon that no villager should fell more than 2ha on the flat territory adjacent to the village; this should guarantee that all men could receive an equal share of the area. Not all villagers took an interest in this particular land where coconut palms could be planted; they preferred to clear forest on hills which are better suited for planting clove trees. The production of cloves requires far less labour than coconuts and their subsequent processing into copra. However coconuts can be harvested all year round and provide a constant, albeit small, source of income to the household. An additional incentive for the preference to cloves resulted from their market price, which at that time was substantially higher than it is today. This important condition should be kept in mind in the following considerations of the village histories.

Nathaniel's plan had been to reunite the villages of Ahiolo and Abio on the new location. The attempt failed as early as 1972/3, when the first men returned to the ancestral lands in the mountains. Elders put forwards various reasons for this development which suggests that several factors were co-determinant. 1) Abio villagers today say that the allocated land was simply insufficient for all households. This

explantation is rejected by Ahiolo elders. However it is true that many Ahiolo householders transgress the confines of the original territory and prepare short term food as well as cash crop tree gardens on territory not belonging to them according to the original agreement. The status of this land is unclear at present⁸. 2) In the course of the first year, when men engaged in the hard labour of clearing mature forest, some 48 men died of various diseases. Part of the residents took this as the normal toll for establishing a new village which is always considered as causing many deaths⁹. However a large part of the community regarded the deaths as a sign that they should return to the ancestral territory. 3) A certain number of people consider themselves as the custodians of the ancestral land and failed to return from extended hunting trips to these vast inland areas. They took residence on their ancestral lands. 4) Apart from these explanations, I learned that tensions developed within the village. A group of Abio villagers moved away from Ahiolo, on the other side of the Kiabatu stream. However in the following years, they also joined those families who one by one, moved into the mountains and founded Abio. At this stage the populations of Ahiolo and Abio were mixed, some original Abio villagers remaining in Ahiolo and some original Ahiolo people moving to the new Abio.

The settlement of Abio is some 600-700m above sea level, close to the mountain top of Tipa Hopi. The closest coastal connection is to Tala (45km or two days travel). Another frequently used, but more difficult path leads over three mountain tops to Huku Anakota and from there to Honitetu (again two days trekking). The latter is linked by a badly

⁸Some villagers lay general claim to the land by reference to the historical story of the defeat of the 'kapitan' Sisiului (see footnote 7). Other persons point out that according to the Indonesian law the village is entitled to the land surrounding it because of its proximity to it (the other villages, Seriholo, Hualoi and Latu, being distantly located on the coast). Certain householders use the contentious land only for food gardens but will not plant any cash crops on it.

⁹Informants could not specify the causes for these deaths.

rutted road to Kairatu. The mountainous area surrounding Abio is unsuitable for coconuts and the few palms which have been planted grow slowly and yield few nuts. Favourable locations for sago are few in the vicinity of Abio. However clove trees grow well. The climate in Abio is colder than in Ahiolo; it is more exposed to storms and hence has a different vegetative environment. While wood can be found and cut close to Ahiolo, Abio is surrounded by bamboo forests which have replaced most wood trees as secondary forest.

The village fission occurred against the will of the village head and the subdistrict governor. Characteristically one of the first actions taken to consolidate the new Abio and to credit it with legitimacy, was to erect a church¹⁰. For a number of years Abio had to fight for its right to remain in the mountains. The heritage of the political differences stemming from that time are occasionally recalled: some elders in Ahiolo consider the fission of Abio as a sinister plot of certain demagogic leaders. In this context they accuse the people of Abio of following obsolete ancestral traditions and failing to provide their children adequately with gardens and education. They also express dismay about the present village head (who had been elected despite having attempted to separate Abio legally from Ahiolo only a few years prior to his election), residing in Abio. The original mother village Ahiolo¹¹, rather than Abio, should be the location of the government. The usual response to these objections is that living in Abio is healthier and that much abundant garden land is available. One elder of Abio recounted an event to me in which Nathaniel Latekay-Latu is pictured as arrogantly dismissing the authoritative knowledge of elders. Apart from

¹⁰The villagers of Hukukecil similarly returned to their original territory.

¹¹It was Abio which segmented from Ahiolo. I believe this happened in the 1930s (elders insisted that the fission had occurred when Jensen came in 1937; Jensen does not mention this fact). Already at that time Abio seemed conservative in that it moved inland and tried to avoid the Church while maintaining Wemale customs. Only a decade after the fission Abio also built a church. The reasons why this happened are unclear.

such political polemic, I suggest that at the time (and indeed for most villagers even today) it was not obvious that people living in Abio would be economically worse off compared to those in Ahiolo, considering the formerly high market value of cloves and the relatively small value of other cash crops (see appendix A, table 3, columns 7 and 8). In fact Abio's environment may even appear favourable in relationship to Ahiolo, where clove trees do not seem to yield as well as in Abio. The longer distance to the market would not matter too much. Cloves, even under good weather conditions, yield a major harvest biannually, they can be stored and the compact and light crop can be carried in smaller quantities to coastal merchants and markets (cf. Godoy and Benett 1990:66-71). In short, for people moving to Abio there promised to be plenty of land for gardens and hunting, less administrative interference in daily life, a healthy environment and substantial cash income from clove trees.

Members of both villages subscribed equally to cash crop gardening at that time. The devaluation and fluctuation of the clove price over the last years however finds Ahiolo strategically in a much better location than Abio because various crops, wood and other materials can be transported in large quantities on river rafts to the coast. Up until recently, differences in wealth between the villages were not apparent but at present some villagers of Ahiolo are able to finance improvements on their houses, e.g. replacing bare soil with a concrete floors. The wealth to accomplish these and other advancements is generated by the household itself without the help of labour migration. With increasing productivity of coconut palms and various types of fruit trees economic progress of Ahiolo is bound to become more manifest. Before continuing a detailed discussion of the transition from household subsistence horticulture to sale oriented silviculture, the general situation concerning landownership needs further clarification.

The Ownership of Land

This section shows the variation of several Wemale communities with respect to control over and exploitation of land. I have already drawn attention to the importance of the social relationships in relation to land and reported the villagers' motivation to resettle in the mountains in order to be able to cultivate their own cash crop gardens. Ownership of land also played a role in the foundation of the new Abio. This "ancestral" relationship to territory and forest proved to be central in the relationship to the local and regional economy. Various families originating from the former village of Japiobatai, chose to follow different opportunities: 1) a section of Japiobatai attempted to avoid submission to Christianity by founding a new settlement, named Poklowoni, on the Elpaputi bay; 2) a few households went to Tala¹² and used the sporadic employment on the plantation for cash earnings; 3) a group of villagers opted to live on the new and confined territory of Ahiolo and 4) a larger group went to settle in Abio. The modification of economic activities occurred against a common background of shifting cultivation, hunting, gathering of undomesticated resources and periodical relocation of villages and each location is distinguished by different forms of control over territory.

Traditionally inland shifting cultivators changed their village locations and a whole series of former settlements are remembered, including a site (Sapulau Ulate Telu) where the Wemale tribe is thought to have come into being and another location, the invisible mountain Nunusaku from where all mankind originates (nunue is the name for the waringin tree; the literature often incorrectly assumes that mankind originated from such a tree, e.g. Stresemann 1923:342, Tauern 1918:137; Duyvendak 1926:73). A version of the past regards the movement from previous settlements as a slow descent from

¹²In 1988, 10 households were considered to be Wemale in origin. These live among a dozen or so Christian households which together form a section of Tala. Non-Wemale originate from Kei and other Moluccan islands. Several Wemale families have intermarried with these people from other areas.

the mountains (cf. Barnes 1974:35f.)¹³. Wemale divide the village territory. Every named kinship group, called mataluma¹⁴, is said to own ('punya') certain areas (cf. Ellen 1978:16). Such ownership was established by wars in which the enemy's land was annexed and previous owners killed or driven off. Additional land was purchased with cash, old Dutch coins, meat and Chinese ceramics from villages which moved collectively to the coast in late nineteenth or early twentieth century (cf. Ellen 1978:30f.).

The territory Abio claims to possess stretches over a vast area. Elders were unable to demarcate the borders on my map¹⁵. Only the village ground, cleared communally by men, is traditionally owned collectively (Ellen 1978:45) and falls within the authority of the office of 'tuhan tanah' (Lord of the Land), though in Ahiolo houses are now allocated to particular plots and said to belong to the owner of the house. Other forest territory is controlled by elders of a particular mataluma kinship group. Preliminarily the mataluma can be defined as a cognatic descent group which shares a common name. These elders grant the right to access individually to junior members carrying the same mataluma name, to juniors cognatically related as well as to affines. Access to exploitable forest areas pertains to hunting, gathering and the cultivation of gardens. In the past, gardens would, over the years, regenerate into secondary forest and thereby revert into a general pool for exploitation. Only few useful trees, e.g. dammar trees, are under the control of mataluma elders but any descendant can claim a right to use the dammar when

¹³I am unable to locate these places on a map but list the names given by an authoritative elder beginning with the first village after the creation of humans on the Nunusaku: Taluwe, Tepe Huwei Tane Teina, Sepia Ulate Telu, Tamena Siwa, Sapulau Ulate Telu (cf. Jensen 1948:24).

¹⁴Literally "Eye of the house"; kinship terminology is discussed in chapter 4.

¹⁵I did not spend enough time in Abio to clarify the demarcation of mataluma controlled land in a systematic way. Certain natural boundaries like the Mala river to the east were clearly identified but in other parts the demarcation is less obvious.



Plate 16



Plate 17

they need it, simply by asking permission. In principle the same applies to sago plantations: virtually anybody can exploit the old and large sago plantation on the former village site of Sihaya¹⁶ which is half a day's strenuous walk from Abio. Younger and smaller sago trees in the vicinity of Abio are, on the other hand, used by the owner him or herself and less freely given up. Today cash crop trees are usually planted after a food garden has been established. To a large extent the surrounding area of Abio is covered by young clove trees. The principle owner of this land, a senior of a branch of the Haikutty clan¹⁷ (mataluma: Nambelle), has given away land to members of other mataluma on a large scale so that many families have small gardens close by the village.

As already noted above, a number of Wemale families work on coastal plantations in Tala and Huse. They sell their labour power during certain periods of the year to Chinese landowners. Cultivating food gardens remains their primary occupation and potential new activities like fishing or trading have not been taken up. Unless these Wemale families have been given land by neighbouring villages like Seriholo, they own no land themselves. They depend economically on the enterprise of the owner, on whose land they live and work. However if they wish they can move to Ahiolo or Abio at any time.

¹⁶The area used to be controlled by Honitetu before the village was defeated by members of Japiobatai and moved to its present location (cf. de Vries 1927:13,200-203). Ellen's findings about the importance of sago for Wemale mountain communities (1978:243-4, footnote 6) can be generally confirmed. Daily sago consumption may however have been more fluctuating, as access to sago palms was, as we saw, variable. Due to its unfavourable location sago consumption in Abio is probably lower than in Ahiolo.

¹⁷My use of the term "clan" differs from Jensen (1939, 1948) and de Vrieses "luma inai-verband" (1927:126) since neither distinguishes between different levels of kinship groupings. In Ahiolo and Abio clan (nuru) refers to three named kinship groups: Latekay, Haikutty and Mesinai (a fourth, Kuatomole, is questionable). These comprises virtually all villagers. The clan is not a corporate descent group but members are thought of being related by common descent. The three clans divide into several mataluma.

It is a result of the history of Ahiolo that its village land is not formally divided into mataluma territories but that any villager can clear primary forest and thereby establish personal rights to garden land, wherever he likes to. Despite the restriction to a certain area around Ahiolo, householders have crossed into neighbouring villages' territory where many have planted tree plantations. Most men own several gardens of restricted size in various distances and directions from Ahiolo and the area is covered with irregularly shaped generally imature tree crop plantations, interspersed by patches of secondary and primary forest. Due to an already mentioned village agreement the flat and moist land adjacent to the village itself is unsystematically divided among a number of villagers. These plantations are among the first gardens established and I provide a brief description of such a garden to convey an idea of how much these gardens still carry the heritage of a tradition of gardening for household consumption¹⁸, rather than production for the market. This should also counteract any impression that, with the villagers unanimously opting for cash cropping, the horticulturalists of yesterday have turned overnight into systematic and rationally maximising farmers.

Description of a Mature Garden

Ateng Latekay-Latu, the son of the late village head mentioned before, is now in his late 50s. He went to school and is able to read and write, when he is wearing his spectacles. When Ahiolo was founded, Ateng coordinated the communal village labour. According to his own explanations, he cleared the first of his 4 gardens from primary forest (kakaya) in 1969, without any help. This plantation, adjacent to Ahiolo, is irregularly shaped and one of the larger village gardens, comprising an area of approximately 2 hectares. The boundaries are not marked and even owners seem occasionally to lose track

¹⁸The nutritional contribution to subsistence from these gardens is probably not high compared to the annual food gardens. The description below gives an idea what variety of plants can be encountered in the area.

of where exactly their plantation ends and the next one begins. For instance one of Ateng's four neighbours thought that he had cleared grass and undesired undergrowth into his own territory. The latter's wife promptly planted a young coconut palm on the soil cleared by Ateng but controlled (in her view) by her husband and herself. Typically the matter was never discussed by the two sides¹⁹.

Crossing the small Sula stream and entering Ateng's garden one finds a bewildering variety of what seems like an unsuccessfully domesticated green jungle: mature and immature plants, trees and bushes compete against one another for space and sunlight. There are big and small coconut palms, cacao-trees, sparsely-leaved and small clove trees, next to medium sized durian, pala, lansat and kenari trees. In addition flowering coffee bushes, areca and banana plants as well as sago palms right next to the stream have been unsystematically positioned at various distances from one another. In between these and other cultivated plants, grass, ferns and regenerating trees have reached considerable height. Certain sections of the garden have regenerated into secondary forest and four giant trees had not been felled at all. Sometimes such trees demarcate land boundaries but in this case they were preserved for building purposes at some point in the future.

When asked about the mixture of plants, Ateng answers that this kind of planting is 'adat'. What he means by this is simply that gardens are planted with a variety of different

¹⁹Boundary issues like this one can escalate because both sides tend not to bring the subject up in conversation despite growing resentment. If Ateng, for instance, would pull out the new coconut palm and plant his own, the conflict might turn into open and directly personal hostility. In Abio the village head orders the gardeners to leave a 10m wide strip of forest between every single plantation as a preventive measure against border disputes. Ellen (1978:91,104-106) notes ill-defined boundaries of former gardens which are in the process of regenerating into forest, but few disputes over land among the Nuaulu.

plants to serve household needs. Whenever they had an appropriate seedling, elders inserted one plant at a time where they thought it would grow well between the burnt logs of felled trees. Furthermore they planted only what was convenient and what they intended to use in the future. These principles are followed today, though younger men tend to have learned in school and from the occasional instruction by government employees from Kairatu to arrange the plantation so that selected trees grow more quickly and yield more. However only one bachelor bothered to carry a long nylon line to the garden in order to separate his coconut palms in an equidistant and rectangular pattern; into every coconut square he inserted the proscribed cacao-tree.

Ateng's garden is supposed to supplement the household requirements in various ways (including as a cash source) but was, unlike clove tree plantations, not designed to be an imitation of the coconut plantations of Huse and Tala. Bearing in mind that in 1969 cloves were the predominant cash crop and that the moist and flat land is unsuitable for clove trees, it is not difficult to comprehend this plant diversity. As it was his first garden, Ateng even planted clove seedlings, knowing well that the soil is too damp but hoping for the best. The main crops of the garden are about a 100 young and 80 old and yielding coconut palms, 30 sago palms and 10 durian trees. Initially Ateng had planted 200 coconut palms but they have successively been destroyed by pigs. He has already replanted palms 4 times. The nuts are consumed by members of his household or processed into coconut oil by his wife or daughter. Regularly relatives of his wider family (he counted male or female household heads of 4 separate households) collect nuts. Sometimes, when in need of cash, he sells (hapeli) nuts to villagers who make copra or transport the nuts to the coast. Annoyed with thieves²⁰, Ateng fenced his

²⁰The concept of thief appears to be inadequate. On Seram there exists an elaborate tradition of constructing signs ('sasi') which warn people not to take fruit from plants belonging to another person (cf. Firth 1936:378). Depending on the sign, a transgression causes various bodily disorders and even death. The premise on which "stealing" of fruits rests is

garden and redirected a much used village path so that children and women could no longer steal his fallen coconuts for their own benefit. Only once so far has he made copra himself. He produced 400kg and was able to receive Rp 300 for 1kg, i.e. in total Rp 120,000. On another occasion he sold 15kg pala fruits for Rp 67,500. Only 10 householders have likewise managed to earn a major sum of money from fruit trees (see table 3 in the appendix A, where 10 households with an income of more than Rp 100,000 are listed) but many households obtain weekly nuts from their coconut palm gardens. In the face of a decline in market value of cloves, these gardens acquire more and permanent commercial importance in relation to clove plantations which yield only every other year. In sum the garden represents an unsystematic form of silviculture which still exhibits all the signs of a tradition in which horticulture is geared towards domestic consumption and in which diversity of crops is favoured above monoculture.

Horticulture as an Extension of Household and Personal Labour

Almost every garden (weneu) cleared from primary forest serves household food production before it is gradually planted with useful tree crops, usually trees or palms like in Ateng's garden. In the past gardens reverted into secondary forest, after the soil was depleted and replanting of crops was no longer productive. The gardeners, usually husband and wife, took a limited interest in the land after the garden was finished and in the course of time the forest reverted into mataluma territory. As Ellen (1978:175) has pointed out, newly planted trees are productive for up to 50 to 70 years (and in the case of cloves and several fruit trees, even longer). The land on which these trees and palms grow is not only no longer available for subsistence food production but also likely to transcend the life time of the person who planted the trees. Thus tree crop gardens become part of inheritance patterns and

that where there is ample supply, others have a legitimate claim to share. The complementary concept of "ownership" is discussed below.

create differences in wealth²¹. In Ahiolo where the territory is not divided among matalumas, individual rights to land are acquired by clearing primary forest (kakaya) (i.e. by labour see Ellen 1978:89) to which nobody had prior ownership and therefore individual claims to gardens or land²² are immediately stronger than in Abio where all territory, apart from the village land, is controlled by mataluma elders.

Garden rights, in the form of access for exploitation, control and inheritance, have not formed unified and agreed norms in Ahiolo since silviculture was introduced. Various claims and strategies have developed but the use of Indonesian terms (see below) often does not reflect accepted practice, or suggests that there is a "system" of land rights (cf. Ellen 1977:67-69, who argues against this legalistic notion and points out the flexibility and variability of man-land relations). Normally control ('hak milik' or 'hak waris') over gardens is now equally inherited among male relatives. Fathers bequeath plantations to sons, either collectively or particular gardens are given to individual sons. In addition rights to use and exploit garden products ('hak pakai') are vested in wives and inherited to daughters. The latter fact reflects household and kinship solidarity and also an acknowledgement that continuous labour establishes rights to garden produce. The wife need not

²¹There is only exceptional exchange of land between affines among the Wemale whereas Nuaulu affinal land and coconut groves exchange is of major importance (Ellen 1978:100ff., 129f.) since it can alleviate land shortages. See appendix table 1, column 10 for examples of transfer and inheritance of rights to land in Ahiolo.

²²No strict distinction is made between trees and land when people refer to a garden, though persons think of the general space of a garden in terms of up to where it was cleared. In rare cases clearing undergrowth or merely the expressed intention to clear an area in coming years up to a natural border like a mountain ridge or a small stream are accepted as valid claims to the land. A distinction between tree and land is only drawn in the case of clove plantations because some gardeners donate individual trees from gardens to the Church, which claims them and their fruit as its property. Potentially the arrangement could lead to a legal distinction between land and cash crop trees. So far terms for land and cash crop trees are freely substituted for one another without such a shift in meaning.

actively cultivate a garden to obtain moral rights to usufruct. Her contribution lies in cooking, keeping the house and in rearing children. She does not receive sole control over the land after her husband's death because, villagers say, she would then contribute to the household of her second husband, if she remarries. In the most general terms it is thought that the fruits of the elders' labour should be shared among all offsprings, male and female. The problem is how to organise this sharing. For example certain villagers state that a garden owner can leave his garden to whoever he likes, while possibly the same persons predict that in the future murders may arise because of opposing inheritance claims to gardens. Certain persons even assert, contrary to my observations, that marriage status determines the garden rights of a wife. This means that a widow can have only access to usufruct of her deceased husband, if she had been married in church and registered with the state administration²³. In the face of diverse opinions, some stressing communal, others individual rights, it is nevertheless generally denied that there are differences in ownership and inheritance compared to coastal practices. The issue is further discussed below.

I have explained that in the past, forest territory was controlled by elders of a mataluma and it is said that Abio's land is possessed by mataluma even now. However it does not follow that only persons with a particular mataluma name have rights to the land. On the contrary, all people who can trace descent from an elder²⁴, who controls the territory, no matter whether they carry the mataluma name or not, have strong claims to exploit the area in question. The elder (including women) is vested with the ultimate control of a forest section and can either grant access or deny it. Not the mataluma name

²³Far more important is whether there are children who will inherit the father's land. But even a childless widow may have access to her husband's plantation although the rights of ownership will have reverted to (a) male relative(s) of the husband (see below).

²⁴Descent is traced through either sex; siblings and cousins of the elder in question can also request permission for exploiting the territory.

but acknowledged²⁵ relatedness carries the strong moral obligation to consent to a request by a "child"²⁶.

Subsistence production and therefore horticulture serves the household or luma and is integrated into its reproductive cycle. A luma usually consists of a husband and wife who jointly organise gardening, maintenance of the house and the rearing of children. The long term coordination of activities between husband and wife supports the norm that any household should be self-sufficient in its consumption and therefore produce what it desires and requires. This fundamental principle manifests itself in the fact that villagers avoid preparing gardens jointly. Not all households are in fact independent but partly rely upon other households' gardens. The doctrine of household independence however hides such dependencies and, as is discussed below, denies them.

Two main categories of gardens are found in Ahiolo and Abio: 1) short-term food gardens and 2) long-term tree crop plantations. The food gardens can be located on clearings from primary forest (kakaya) or secondary forest (wesie). Before turning to tree crop gardens, a brief discussion of food gardens follows.

1) Food Gardens

In Ahiolo a household usually has one, two or three food gardens. Such vegetable plantations are ideally made from secondary forest (wesie) and as closely situated to the village as possible, though soil quality, ownership of land and other factors are taken into consideration in the choice

²⁵Generally villagers know how individuals are related to the senior generations. However ultimately it is the elders who acknowledge kinship relationships.

²⁶In Wemale terminology such an offspring would be called "child" or "grandchild" (uwana and memeu; 'anak' and 'cucu'). This also implies that unrelated persons carrying the same mataluma name have no automatic claim to the exploitation of the area and even a junior man from the mataluma Haikutty Nambelle has to ask for permission to cultivate a new cash crop garden from a competent elder of Haikutty. He cannot simply do it by right of membership in the group.

of the location. For example gardens made of wesie sometimes cannot be used for bananas, sweet potatoes and other plants because of insufficient nutrients in the soil. Gardens cleared from mature forest show the greatest variety of food crops and are associated with the man who felled the plot. They also tend to be situated further away from the village and in the majority of cases they are destined to be planted with tree crops.

Food gardens vary in size, depending on the overall number of gardens used and the number of persons supported from them. They are between 20mx20m and 50mx40m (excluding an additional surrounding area which is burnt but not planted with crops), if they are made of secondary forest. Those cleared from primary forest can be substantially larger (100mx80m). Manioc (kapusia, 'kasbi'), yams (ante, 'ubi'), taro (tupale and wala, 'keladi'), sweet potatoes (kaitela, 'potatas'), tomatoes ('tomate'), chili, pepaya (kapai), banana (huri), peanuts (kasane, 'kacang'), sugar cane (topu, 'tobu'), several kinds of pumpkin (e.g. kondore or kapule, 'kondor/labu'), onions (pawane, 'bawang'), spinach (maputa, 'bayam') and pineapple (nanasu) are among the most widespread cultivated plants. Corn (sesele) is often planted²⁷ in a separate plantation. Frequently the land (wesie) belongs to the village or to another person who has to grant consent for land use. From the owner's perspective granting land to somebody else is advantageous, if he intends to (re-) plant useful trees. Just north of Ahiolo village, the community owns jointly several hectares of land, and much of this land is cultivated by women who, independently of their husbands or other males' help, clear, burn and plant plots. Single women and widows of up to 70 years old work such independent plots. Nobody needs to request permission to clear a food garden on this land and there are no restrictions about the maximum size. The soil is however barren so that only manioc and so called "green" peanuts ('kacang hijau') are planted on it. Even if husband and wife make gardens for which they take individual

²⁷Mawa means to plant; the word is often substituted with tane, a loan word derived from 'menanam'.



Plate 18

responsibility (in which case the garden is said to belong to the person who originally cultivated it, irrespective of who owns the land) crops serve communal household consumption. Partners and children will assist in the labour process. Legal claims are not distinguished between husband and wife²⁸. For instance, both have automatic rights to harvest crops from any of their food gardens; all other people have to ask or at least tell the owner because a garden represents not only an individual's work but also his or her personal autonomy and, by extension, their household's.

Gardens are prepared at any time during the year except the rainy season, usually from the months of May to August/September (cf. Ellen 1978:5, 212-214). The main bulk is cleared, burnt and planted in the first three months (Ellen 1978:87f.) after this period²⁹. The exact timing depends on how much food the old gardens still provide. Several villagers made new gardens as late as March because their old gardens still provided sufficiently well for them, or because they wanted to have an additional garden (one of those was washed away by the rising Tala river during the monsoon). Old food gardens are exhausted gradually, as they are constantly replanted, mostly with manioc; bananas especially can be found when grasses have long taken over where yams and taro once grew. Thus food gardens range from places where merely banana and papaya remain, to others which are freshly planted and not yet yielding. Informants showed reluctance to help me collect detailed data about gardens and I was unable to record all food gardens. Many villagers, in particular old ladies, consider their weneu as their personal concern only. Two examples may help explain their secretive attitude especially

²⁸I have no information concerning the access of a divorced wife (divorce is a very rare phenomenon) to connubial food and tree crop plantations.

²⁹I was told that if the rains continued heavily, taro gardens could be made by clearing the undergrowth and planting the crop. Only after planting, the trees are felled and left without burning to rot. Such gardens are called weneu sosopi. Only the Mentawai are known to maintain a system of shifting cultivation without burning plots (Schefold 1988:203).

towards food gardens.

People in the village would sometimes ask me what food I ate in my household. The question was of interest to them because they wanted to know whether I had overcome my initial aversion to eating sago and presumably to find out whether I owned rice and whether my hosts took good care of me. When I mentioned this to my host and female household head she said that I ought to reply to these questions by saying that I ate pebbles and that it was absolutely of nobody's concern what we were eating. The second example derives from the following circumstances: after several fairly dry years, the rainy season of 1988 was intense and saw the Tala rise to extremely high levels, destroying gardens, carrying away fertile soil and many mature coconut palms. Three times the village was cut off from the coast for several weeks because nobody was able to cross the Tala river. A number of households soon found themselves in a difficult position when they ran out of food. They had to approach relatives, affines and friends for their regular supply of root crops. People in the village talked about this but always denied that they themselves were short of food. They would not disclose who was lacking food or who had asked for help. Those who were not affected emphasised to me that every family should have several food gardens, one of which should be on the same side of the river as the village. Clearly some households are dependent upon the food gardens of others. Elders who cultivate their own garden, achieve only partial independence from their children's support. The dictum that a household ought to be independent from others indicates not only the desire of each household to organise its own living but also the obligation, incumbent on each household to achieve this ideal.

Despite these problems, I would like to provide some statistical information about food gardens. In September 1988, I received information from 28 households about 48 gardens. Of these 2 had no food garden, 13 had 1, 7 had 2, 3 had 3 and 3

owned 4 gardens³⁰. In addition unit 1 (the northern half of the village/parish) had cleared a plot from secondary growth for planting corn for sale to the market. 38 gardens were cleared from wesie and 10 from mature forest. Asked about who made the gardens, informants stated that 7 were made by women, 20 by men and 21 by several persons, male and female (usually husband and wife but also other combinations depending upon household composition). At this point in time, 16 out of the total of 48 gardens were new, i.e. had been made after the rainy season. Since the rainy season came to an end only very gradually, several men were still waiting to fell primary or relatively mature secondary forest.

Habitual secretiveness and a plurality of gardens tends to mask the tolerance shown by households in granting access to gardens by others, either as an exception or on a regular basis. By implication this means that certain individuals were less interested or able than others in preserving their autonomy by growing their own food. In some cases the exchange of food is more in the nature of the granting of mutual help. My own household, for instance, requested certain types of crops from another household, although our gardens were not depleted but lacked a specific crop, e.g. sweet potatoes. The male or female household head would then accompany the husband or wife of the other household and spent several hours in the gardens, chatting and perhaps clearing some weeds. This favour may be returned at another time. In another instance men of two households were severely ill and their entire households were supported by relatives who could afford to sustain them. Neither recipient nor donor liked the situation but, to my knowledge, no compensation in labour, money or other kind was given for this "help". Under such circumstances certain persons would be allowed to take crops (haeumi) independently of the cultivator of a garden. I think it is highly unusual for a household member to bring food for another household to the village and I was unable to witness the hand-over of food

³⁰There is a possibility that a number of these households have old gardens which they did not mention to me but which they use or could use for obtaining food.

between one household to another. On several occasions I had garden owners complain to me about how inconsiderate others were in taking crops from gardens, not choosing them systematically and without replanting.

One married man had no food garden because he lived in an arrangement by which his wife cooked for him and her brother, with the latter providing all the food crops. Three widowed, single women running independent households, received either occasional labour help from a brother for their own garden or, in one case, had direct access to the brother's garden. At least two single women managed to sustain their household without male help, despite having brothers. The teacher and a single outsider who had lived in the village for several years had no gardens at all but took their meals with several families and persons with whom they maintained friendly relationships. Another man, who had recently married had not yet set up an independent household and lived from the food garden of his mother's brother.

When a household divides, communal food gardens continue to be jointly harvested until new and separate gardens have been established. While a man accomplishes his brideservice, he may make his own garden but is sometimes asked by the wife's father to contribute to the latter's garden, too. The agreement depends on how well the men get on with each other. The village head's son-in-law in Abio, for example, cultivated separate gardens from his father-in-law (their relationship appeared little strained, though it needs pointing out that the village head was more interested in receiving meat rather than garden products from his son-in-law). In four cases I know of, two men cleared an area together before dividing it, each planting his own crop. Harvesting took place independently but sharing adjacent gardens has the advantage of doubling protection against invading wild animals. In order to be considered a competent and respectable householder the maintenance of an independent household is crucial. This is in turn only guaranteed by securing a living from one's own gardens.

In the early years after Ahiolo was founded vegetables had been sold to the coast. Gardens seem to have been more fertile perhaps because a larger proportion were cleared out of the primary forest. At present this option is not much used. On the coast there exists a low demand for vegetables and therefore profits are considered too small to plant and sell additional vegetables. Occasionally garden surpluses will be sold to outsiders who work in the vicinity of the village, cutting timber. In addition small corn and peanut gardens are made by a number of persons and also by village organisations; some of these are supposed to obtain cash. Nevertheless home consumption is more likely to take priority and only a small proportion is sold to the coast (corn and peanuts are easily transported and can be stored for long periods). Food gardens are primarily geared towards household and family requirements and not for exchange.

Concluding this section on food gardens, several points are worth repeating. At present food gardening is directed towards domestic consumption and little exchange or sale has been described³¹. With regard to the exploitation of gardens it can be said that there exists a graded order of claims to usufruct. Direct production and labour investment gives the strongest claims to crops. Thus the garden is named after the person who prepares it and those persons who are seen as contributing to food production, i.e. normally husband and wife, exercise control over its distribution. On the other hand there are a number of collective entitlements (cf. Ellen 1978:46f., 93ff.). The strongest of these fall within the household, where spouses and other (family) members share garden produce. It is the competent maintenance of the group rather than the individual that is the social focus. Particularly in the realm of consumption, broader kinship responsibilities can transcend household boundaries. Fulfilling additional extra domestic kinship obligations is not only a reflection of generosity but an acknowledgement of

³¹There are indications that households would be prepared to produce food crops for extra village sale under sufficiently lucrative conditions.

kinship³² bonds. However a close link between production and consumption makes the household the most important social unit because it links control over labour and produce with kinship solidarity and domestic autonomy.

A similar arrangement can be noticed for tree crop plantations, though the morality of sharing food is fundamental compared with sharing other materials, goods or cash. The aim of producing sufficiently for domestic consumption can turn into a demand that other households should be self-sufficient. The strategic dictum prevents, to a certain degree, support of other households and makes self-sufficiency the norm. It also disguises how much relatives and friends receive food from other households. Furthermore in Ahiolo men are increasingly involved in gardening at the expense of hunting. A parallel development to this change is, that compared to Abio, women in Ahiolo spend more time in the village and less on expeditions and long trips to gardens. However women find it relatively easy to prepare small food gardens from secondary forest, close to the village with or without a little help from husbands or brothers.

2) Tree Crop Plantations

As we saw cash cropping was initially an extension of subsistence horticulture and with important qualifications continues to be so. However with the long life cycle of useful trees, unmarried individuals (male youths, bachelors, widowers and sometimes orphaned girls) increasingly obtain rights to clove trees and other gardens apart from those owned by the household head and thereby increase a differentiation of ownership-rights. Such differentiation is generally theoretical. Practically such distinctions are counterbalanced by the communal consumption to which much, if not most of the

³²These kinship bonds are cognatic and not patrilineal as among the Nuaulu, where the clan is defined by clear membership principles (Ellen 1978:49). Ellen writes: "Since the food produced is for a common hearth and since, normatively, ultimate control is vested in the clan, the various gardens appear to some degree as communal property. It is said, nisi osa osa, nisi osanja, that 'the gardens are separated, but they are as one garden'."

earnings are put. Male rights to gardens are underlined with reference to the gardener's choice of garden location and his initial felling of the plot. Yet the earnings from cash crops usually benefit all household members and include the children's education, irrespective of whether the garden owner is a household head or not. Sovereign ownership of a garden can be expressed with recourse to a distinction made in the Indonesian language between 'hak milik' or legal ownership (or sometimes also expressed as 'hak waris', the right to inherit) and 'hak pakai', the right to a share of the produce or the money earned from the garden. Although these concepts do not reflect domestic discussions about gardens, they indicate how women, as daughters and wives, are categorically discriminated against in favour of brothers and sons. Thus the important long-term control over the plantations has formally become largely a matter between men.

Only 8 from 67 tree crop garden owners are female, controlling merely 12 out of 150 gardens (table 1, column 9 in appendix A specifies the ownership of plantations according to sex). However as the "legal" situation is not fixed, a mother or a young girl with no parents and elder brothers, probably would nonetheless have to consult male relatives if she intended to sell the land. Otherwise she may dispose of the income from her gardens as she wishes. Widows tend to control the gardens as long as the children who are heirs are immature, with the understanding that the children will eventually receive the garden rights from their mothers. Elder daughters sometimes also assume responsibility for a garden on behalf of younger siblings³³ and in one case, even of the widowed mother. Although it is true that the benefits of garden products are generally pooled for household requirements this is not always the case (e.g. for bachelors). To assume so is to follow the widespread (e.g. Sahlin's domestic mode of production, 1974) notion of the household being a natural (Harris 1984:136f.) or

³³Similar to the concept of 'dusun dati' discussed below.

a universal (Yanagisako 1979) unit³⁴.

Table 1 (in appendix A) shows that 11 out of 40 households have two separate landowners, 2 households have 3 and 1 household has even 4 landowners. If the garden has been cleared by the owner, he can dispose of it, as he wishes to. It is not uncommon that an older brother or other senior relative prepares a garden for a younger brother or other relative, who is attending school and unable to cultivate his own garden. Such plantations are handed over (sama) when the youth returns from school. Column 10 in table 1 indicates whether the donor of the garden is or was still alive when the control was relinquished. Occasionally an elder leaves a garden to a grandchild of a daughter³⁵ and in such a case the husband takes care of the garden as long as the child is immature.

Inheritance tends to disperse the rights over a garden but does not lead to increased land fragmentation (cf. Ellen 1978:99). Daughters customarily have the right to use some of the garden products and so do brothers, who have not been directly vested with the control over the plantation. A number of elders hoped to avoid inheritance conflicts by giving each son a separate garden which is independently owned. Other elders invoke the concept of a communal garden ('dusun dati'³⁶) which is usually under the control of the eldest son

³⁴It would be desirable to have more information about consumption patterns in the household but, as I said, I found it difficult to receive information about these matters. This is due to the tendency to seclude household affairs from other people and perhaps also to changing ideas about what the household is and who controls it. These and the related issue of the household head are further discussed in following chapters.

³⁵This is often connected to passing on the name from the grandparent to the grandchild (see chapter 4).

³⁶The use of 'dusun dati' expresses collective claims on land and plantations but is not identical to the Ambonese concept, that is land held communally by certain clans in villages on Ambon Lease islands. According to Cooley (1966:235) these land grants were made by the Dutch administration to families supplying manpower for punitive

who is however not favoured by receiving more land than younger sons as among the Nuaulu (Ellen 1978:99). The latter is obliged to share products or the earnings from products or sale of such gardens evenly (cf. Ellen 1978:104) among all male siblings or to use it for the communal benefit (e.g. for schooling of a relative or compensation caused by a family conflict with another "house"). A view expressed by a young man was that 'dusun dati' devolved from older to younger brother and finally to a grandchild who carries the name of the original garden founder³⁷. A sister's share tends to be minor and irregular compared with those of her brothers. It is said that her husband should provide her with everything she needs.

Gardens which are explicitly designated as 'dusun dati' have been marked with an asterisk in the table 1 and 2. Yet even if a garden is not labelled 'dusun dati' a group of siblings have moral claims to its exploitation and it remains to be seen whether fathers who bequeath separate plantations to sons individually will succeed in preventing conflicts over garden rights³⁸. The fact that a garden is classified as 'dusun dati' however strengthens the position of those brothers not in direct control of the plantation. An example may be useful to highlight the potential tensions created by inheritance. The profitable garden no 70 of household 35 had been cultivated by

expeditions by the Dutch. The land was registered in 1814 (Ambon) and 1823 (Saparua) (Adatrechtsbundels 1922:28) and subsequently subject to taxation and government jurisdiction for serious conflicts over this inalienable land (cf. van Wouden 1968:76f.).

³⁷This is no adelphic succession since one grandchild would be singled out for controlling the plantation. The arrangement is consistent with the selective transmission of names and therefore mataluma membership, discussed in the following chapter.

³⁸The quality of gardens and their cash crop plants comes at this point into consideration. For instance there are fewer coconut palm plantations and access to coconuts is increasingly important. Thus they are likely to become 'dusun dati'. To devolve separate clove plantations is possible but their respective productivity is likely to be different and could turn in another source of conflict.

two childless brothers. After one of them died, the oldest brother obtained sole rights to the garden and devolved, according to the present owner, the garden exclusively to the youngest of his remaining 3 brothers. The present owner discourages his older brothers from taking coconuts and other products from the garden. With his own time and labour invested, he seems to have increased his authority over the plantation and he told me that the garden would, after his death, become the sole property of his only son. Commenting on his intention several other villagers agreed that, as they put it, the children of the other remaining brothers will not forget the origin of the garden and will surely claim their share, once the present owner is dead. They are unlikely to succeed in gaining legal control over the plantation as the present owner's son name is the same as that of the original founder of the garden, but they might be able to receive a share of the produce by labelling the garden as 'dusun dati'.

In Ahiolo³⁹ long-term tree crop cultivations are made from mature forest (kakaya), unless an area is replanted⁴⁰. The size varies between 30mx20m and 200mx200m; the mean size of gardens is one hectare but on average an annual garden clearing is about 80m long and 40m wide, with the tendency to expand the garden in subsequent years. A man may organise a working party (see chapter 8) for felling the large trees. He then has to entertain the group amply with foods. Planting trees is mostly accomplished by the owner while women help in clearing regenerating secondary growth and by cooking for their husbands. In Ahiolo gardens can be made anywhere, where

³⁹In Abio the cultivation of cash crop tree gardens is more complex: gardens are either located 1) close to a former village site where the person already owns wesie, 2) on communal village ground (established with the consent of the village government), 3) on the mataluma's own territory, 4) on land close to the village which was donated by another mataluma.

⁴⁰There are at least two reasons for replanting: a) the plot has been allowed to regenerate into wesie because the owner was unable or unwilling to plant cash crops at the time the gardens was first cleared; b) deer, wild pigs or other circumstances destroyed cash crop seedlings.

nobody else claims land rights and it is noticeable that villagers steadily move further away (Ellen 1978:187) from the village when new plots are chosen for suitable garden locations (though the development of settlement and garden location raises complex issues, see Ellen 1978).

The main tree crops of Ahiolo fall into three broad categories, though there are often many other kinds of trees and plants mixed into any particular plantation, depending on the location, soil condition and the personal inclination of the owner: 1) clove (kepelawane⁴¹ or 'cengkih'), 2) coconut palm (nuwele or 'kelapa') and 3) sago palms (liki [yani] or 'sagu'). Table 2, column 7 in appendix A lists 6858 clove trees (trees older than 3 years are recorded), 3800 coconut palms (this includes mature palms as well as seedlings), 1035 mature sago palms and only 454 cacao-trees. While clove has exclusively commercial value, coconuts serve both as food and cash crops and, once they yield, can provide the household with a permanent source of income (which is marked by a "+" in table 3 column 5 for every coconut palm plantation). The commercial value of sago is relatively small as there is limited demand and a large container ('tuman' or kolake) with about 15 litres sells for only Rp 1000. Thus the trees have a descending exchange value orientation and an increasing local consumptive value which means that the distinction between tree cash crop and tree consumption crop is blurred, a fact noted in the analysis of Ateng's garden above. Almost all households have a clove garden; many have coconut palms and all can receive access to sago palms which are all privately owned but generously shared among relatives and friends in Ahiolo. Other potential cash crop fruit trees are planted in smaller numbers. Certain fruit trees, like durian (tulene, *Durio zibethinus*) 340, lansat (nasate, *Lansium domesticum*) 143, pala (nutmeg or *Myristica fragrans*) 48, mango (*Magnifera indica*) 24, bread fruit (inale or 'cempedak', *Artocarpus polyphema*) 503 and several others will in future years

⁴¹Perhaps derived from kepene which means cash in Wemale, or 'kepeng' in Ambonese Malay (which itself is derived from Chinese money coins).

periodically yield and can bring a considerable amount of money to the owners, if they are sold at local markets or bought by visiting merchants. Table 3 column 4 lists several gardens which yielded enough of these tree fruits to make it worth while selling them to the coast. Coffee bushes (numbering only 55) seem to be intended to satisfy home consumption only.

Beginning as early as 1968, some 231 plots have been cleared. For 25 of these I was unable to obtain reliable data and I am not able to specify whether they are gardens or merely secondary forest. Several owners were absent or had permanently moved to other places and alternative informants had to be found. Of those living in Ahiolo one young man from household 51 was unwilling to give information about his four gardens. Only for household 14 could no data about its four plantations be collected but all other households have been included. Several villagers in Ahiolo own land and plantation in other locations. These have not been incorporated in the tables, even though a few persons received a cash income from them. Out of the 231 clearings, 56 have completely regenerated into independent plots of wesie while others have only partly turned into secondary forest. This makes it often impossible for an outsider to know where one garden ends and another begins. The calculation of garden land in table 1 and 2 is the result of approximations made by the owner, checked by myself. The figures were taken conservatively and should be considered as estimations rather than precise measurements. In total an area of 151.02 ha have been cleared which is much more than for the older Nuaulu settlement of Ruhuwa for which Ellen (1978:89f.) calculated a total of 102.19 ha of wasi (garden land as well as secondary forest for which individuals and clans claim ownership). Ruhuwa has slightly less people than Ahiolo (180 and 206 respectively) but a comparatively high average of annual garden land cut from primary or mature forest (Ellen 1978:84,109). It is however less than what Dove (1985:378) reports from the Kantu, i.e. 0.97 hectares per worker. The high figure for Ahiolo underlines the determination with which Ahiolo households have engaged in

silviculture. The data also shows that there are significant differences in landholding between individual persons as well as households. Household no 3, holding only 0.25 ha belongs to the minister while the largest household no 52 with an area of 10.19 ha, comprises four male plantation owners. This household can be expected to segment as soon as the several bachelors living there marry and set up independent households. The mean landholding per household lies at 3.43 ha. The mean landholding per person is 2,15 but several men possess substantially more land, e.g. person 16 owns 7.09 ha and person 39 has even 8.11 ha. Obviously inheritance can increase the landholding of a person substantially, as is the case for person 16 who received most of his land from his father.

I already mentioned that Ahiolo villagers bought (siliye) territory from other villages in the past. In exchange for a negotiated price (pelini) certain persons acquired land. Instead of bloodwealth, Wemale villagers compensate another mataluma for murder by "replacing" (seli) the dead person by one of their own members (sometimes a child). In one instance however, I learnt that blood money was paid (it was said that the inflicted group can dictate its demand to the elders of the murderer) and included the transfer of ownership of forest territory. Villagers are also familiar with the sale of land from the coastal areas. The few exchanges of land rights in Ahiolo which I encountered (see appendix A, table 1, column 10), concerned parcels of secondary forest or recently cleared plots which the original owner was either unwilling or unable to plant with cash crop plants. To my knowledge no plantations with cash crop plants have been sold or bought. Individual 25 of household 28 is an outsider who settled in Ahiolo and had at certain times sufficient money to ask friends to help him acquire garden land (he was of course allowed to clear his own land but found the labour too strenuous). Two other instances where land was sold were caused by the seller being ill and in need of cash to buy medicine. On the whole elders are generous and willing to give (sama) land to relatives and friends, if they feel they have enough. Exchanges of forest areas

involving money are not common but have a history and may increase in Ahiolo where garden land in proximity to the village is quickly decreasing. Nevertheless elders show reluctance to alienate plantations because they are considered assets of descendants and future generations and therefore are not subject to short term gains by sale.

The main reason for unintended regeneration of forest plots stems from pigs and deer damaging tree seedlings (since the gardens are hardly ever fenced) and the owner loosing interest in the project. Table 2, column 8 gives an indication of the scale of unsuccessful cultivation of seedlings, due to marauding animals or poor soil and/or weather conditions and destruction by fires from neighbouring gardens. Sometimes no appropriate seedlings are available which delays planting. Wesie which is part of an already established plantation is preferably used for food gardens and in most cases subsequently replanted with cash crop trees. If the area is considered too unfavourable, the land is left to regenerate (but ownership is retained). As has been observed above, the date of the first clearing of a plot is a poor guide to when cash crop trees were first planted. The date for the gardens in the tables states when the earliest cash crop plants were planted and are based on informants' statements. For several gardens additional information is provided about dates of major replanting. Most other gardens have also lost trees or palms and are replanted at irregular intervals whenever deemed suitable.

Table 2 presents a better survey of the actual and potential wealth of every person and household as the number of cash crop trees and palms are itemised in column 7. Column 9 indicates whether one or more plants listed are productive. Only 79 plantations are yielding while 70, i.e. 47% of all gardens (one unknown), are not yet productive. It is to be expected that the number of yielding trees and palms will dramatically increase over the next decade and contribute to cash earnings of many households. In table 3 some of the major cash earnings are detailed, as they were remembered by the

owners. The list is incomplete but at least allows the reader to form an idea about how much or rather how little cash has been earned with cash crops. The income is vital for the households. Nevertheless 8 households (see table 3) have had no income from their cash crops and have to find alternative means of obtaining cash. The earnings from cloves total Rp 2,778,200 and derives from small harvests. Even if the price of cloves further deteriorates (cf. Godoy and Benett 1990:63f.) it can be expected that several households will earn increasing amounts from their clove plantations in the future⁴². The limitation of the crop are, as has been remarked upon above, that trees usually only yield every two years and that they provide no steady cash income. Columns 6 to 8 of table 3 show that several households were able to produce copra (marked by an asterisk after the weight of copra) from their coconut harvest over the last few years. The list (column 5) accounts for money gained from selling coconuts to other villagers or merchants who process them further into copra to a limited degree only; it does not list the amount of coconut oil produced. Listed earnings from copra total Rp 970,200. This figure is less than half the income from cloves but should at least be several hundred thousand 'rupia' higher because of the sale of coconuts. As coconut palms are basically productive all year long, it follows that coconut palms, although more labour intensive than clove trees, make a more persistent and increasingly important contribution to the Ahiolo economy.

For certain cash earnings informants reported to which purpose the money was put. These are recorded in column 9 of table 3. The category "household" ('rumah') refers to household expenses in the most general sense, including tax, church donations, payment for the minister's salary, school and administrative fees, food, tools and others. Whenever possible more concrete spending is listed. Several persons mentioned

⁴²Spending power of households is of course subject to price rises in consumer goods. Ambon and the Moluccas generally have one of the highest inflation rates (cf. Simandjuntak 1989:9).

medicine. A more prominent item is the education of children. Chapter 4 provides information about how many pupils are absent from the village to attend secondary and tertiary school on the coast. These children need some cash for living, clothing, stationery and small school fees. Even pupils attending school in Ahiolo and Abio have to cover some of these costs, e.g. buying the obligatory school uniform. Donations to the church are under represented. It is customary to give a share of a major harvest to the church. Many villagers have donated a clove tree to the church; whatever the tree yields goes to the parish. Only one young man (30) said he had spent his earnings from a harvest on tobacco and alcohol. Generally a portion of the income serves for such personal consumption, while the larger percentage is given to the female household head and used for general household expenses. Although it is extremely difficult to receive information about how much money a household and a person has or saves, I know of several bachelors still living in (or merely eating in) their parental households while retaining their personal income. Only occasionally and selectively do they support the parental household financially. The man mentioned just above was in exactly this position, when he spent his money on tobacco and alcohol. However generally earnings are pooled and shared according to the requirements of the household and its members.

Conclusion

Since about 1970, the Wemale villagers have on their own initiative begun to extend their subsistence food production towards silviculture. Growing clove trees and coconut palms has become the major occupation and pre-occupation of most men. Even though the design and layout of these plantations clearly reveal their origins in subsistence based agriculture, most households in Ahiolo now receive a small but regular cash income, mainly from their coconut palms. Once or twice a year this regular income is (depending on the weather conditions) supplemented by a clove harvest. Garden earnings should be increasing substantially over the next few years. Until 1988

only 52% of the plantations yielded crops which could be sold on the market. Rising cash income should permit villagers to expand domestic consumption. Abio's agriculture is predominantly dependent on clove production which means that, with all the risks of relying on a single crop, villagers will have to supplement their household earnings by alternative means, especially labour migration and exploitation of forest resources. The need to earn money encourages hunting, catching birds and collecting other forest products which can be sold for cash. Abio's economic and geographic conditions are therefore structured towards subsistence oriented agriculture and supplementing labour migration combined with hunting and gathering whereas Ahiolo villagers become less dependent on labour migration. In a sense, the latter have achieved more independence (which they much appreciate) by not being forced to sell their labour to outsiders. Rather they are now at a point where the long-term investment of labour into their garden is beginning to reward them.

As a result of growing cash crop trees with a long life expectancy, inheritance and the rights to gardens have become an issue of concern. Creating a garden gives the owner considerable rights over the land and the disposal of the harvest. However beginning⁴³ with marriage, claims to usufruct of the garden become dispersed and more generalised. Even if the husband retains legal control over the garden, his wife and children have de facto unquestionable claims to share the harvest within the household. Inheritance further diffuses individualised claims, generally favouring male against female children and the oldest sibling against younger siblings, much in accordance with the general Church and state bias in the Moluccas. The adoption of the Ambonese concept of 'dusun dati' strengthens moral claims of the wider kinship network while the view that an owner can devolve his gardens according to his will, can support individualistic rights at the expense of wider kinship relationships. Several elders intended to leave their gardens individually to their children, giving each

⁴³There may, of course, be prior obligations to other relatives like parents or siblings.

exclusive rights. By and large claims to land and produce are personally negotiated and, although usually the eldest male sibling takes control over the plantation, other siblings receive a right to share garden products.

Differences in the extent or scale of ownership of land holdings, numbers of cash crop trees and amount of cash earnings are largely ignored or played down in Ahiolo. The principle of household autonomy and independence ignores existing dependencies and states categorically that each household should be self sufficient. It applies similarly to food production and cash crop gardens and discourages questions of what and exactly how much another household owns or earns⁴⁴. Naturally people know who has large plantations and who earned major sums of money but even relatively well off households are often short of cash. People adopt a general strategy when they say "we have no money" (kepene sai mo)⁴⁵ which is (until now) probably not far from the truth.

⁴⁴Because of this attitude I was unable to obtain reliable figures on household cash holdings. It is possible that some households have cash savings. Otherwise money is likely to be used for improvements on the house.

⁴⁵I am familiar with Carsten's and other excellent essays of the Parry and Bloch volume (1989) on money symbolism, but I do not think that such an analysis can be easily applied to my data.

Chapter 4

Changing the "House" or Absorbing Social Change

As with many eastern Indonesian and southeast Asian cultural groups, the Wemale notion of the "house" or luma (Malay "rumah") is polysemic; it refers to the household, its members and the physical structure of the building, as well as a descent group. In the previous chapter I have discussed the household as a productive unit in relation to subsistence production and cash cropping. An emphasis placed on male inheritance concerning cash crop gardens discriminates against the so called "use rights" ('hak pakai') of wives and daughters. The difference is legitimised by male elders stating that it is the son who perpetuates the "house" and not the daughter, who will "leave" it when she marries. These ideas reflect widely-found Moluccan and, in particular, Ambonese Christian ideas about kinship and the household, as they are practised by most non Wemale villages and propagated by the state and Church administration (cf. Pannell 1990). In their effort to become part of this wider society, elders stress similarity and deny difference to coastal practices and Church norms. The aspect of the "house" which has absorbed change and does not present contentious concepts of social organisation is discussed in this chapter. The next chapter deals with a side of the house, namely wedding ceremonies, which exist in a more problematic relationship between the luma and various levels of the public domain.

Like other aspects of Wemale villages, kinship values and practices have been amalgamated into a mixture of Wemale tradition and Ambonese Christianity. In the course of the 70 years since Christianisation and effective State control, all traditional rites of passage, except for the ma'upa, have been given up and even that rite has been substantially modified (see below). Some traditional rites were replaced by Christian ceremonies. Birthdays, Christmas and other rituals were introduced. In this chapter I describe how the concept of the house is a central concept around which kinship is organised

(cf. Fox 1980:10-12, Errington 1989:233ff.). Under this idiom, various kinship groups can be constituted and, depending on the context, the luma or its modern equivalent the 'rumah' (de Vries 1927:134), can assume either female, male or complementary gender values (cf. Fox 1980:10-12).

The Changing Gender Symbolism of the House

In chapter 2 transformations of the house were described. From Jensen's (1948:31-33) sparse remarks we learn that the pre-colonial Wemale house encoded male and female gender symbolism. One door of the single elevated room gave access from the ground to the kitchen. It was labelled "female". On the other side a "male" door led to an outside platform on which most daily routine activities took place. Several people told me that the house was considered to belong to the woman or wife. She was said to own the house from the front to the rear, including all possessions in it. Only the husband's tools and his hunting equipment were his personal property. Thus it appears that the house used to incorporate and combine male and female symbolic elements (cf. Ellen 1986:15,17ff., the Nuaulu house also combines male and female dimensions, although the gendering varies according to context) but that female values outweigh male symbolism.

In contrast to the family house, two other buildings were undoubtedly associated with men. Firstly there was the ritual village house suane, 'baileo' or 'baileu' (Ambonese Malay; in Indonesian 'balai desa') and secondly the initiation house of the secret male association called kakehan. Jensen (1948:65) describes elders sitting during the day in the suane, a large house with a spacious floor, a sitting platform, but no walls, discussing inter-household quarrels. Another function of the village house was to provide the place where the ritual maro dances could be performed. Men and women participated in these dances and they complemented the war dance (halilahu/halilane or 'cacalele') which was only danced by men and warriors. The kakehan houses were located outside the village. The surrounding area was designated by 'sasi' signs and was

therefore taboo to all women, children and uninitiated youths. It is then likely that the kakehan and its meeting or initiation house together with the suane were houses more closely associated with men while domestic houses were linked to women, wives and children. Jensen (1948:143) moreover explains that all but one child received the clan membership (or rather mataluma name) from the mother. This renders the connection between wives and children and family houses more plausible¹.

Today the focus of the village is the massive and centrally located church building. The kakehan is now only remembered and the suane reduced to a simple small house in which political village meetings take place². There are no 'adat' ceremonies held in it and traditional materials no longer used (cf. Cooley 1966:3,137f.) and the empty house has an entirely profane character³. Although there are increasingly female ministers and parish women voted deacons, men dominate the administration of the Church. However women participate together with children in ritual activities and therefore one can say that the church truly represents the entire community. When the village leadership wants to appeal to village solidarity they exclaim yami wai ulate, yamane, mawaliya-wayaya, mayaukuwa-yasauwa, which means "we who live in the mountain village, we are younger and older sibling, we are older and

¹In this connection it should be mentioned that elders say that men feared menstrual pollution (in Ahiolo menstruating women had to leave their village houses and go to their menstrual hut, tikosune, in the forest) and I was told that this was one of the main reasons why the founders of Abio initially rejected Protestantism. Women in Ahiolo told me while laughing loudly that men were anxious about menstruating women cooking their food, but even today a wounded man in the forest avoids being seen by a woman (cf. Jensen 1948:138-140). Only then the medicine for healing works effectively. A friend or male relative cooks for the wounded man.

²Abio has no suane or 'baileo' and village meetings take place in the village head's house.

³Sumeit-Passinaro constructed its 'baileo' with modern market materials, i.e. bricks, glass windows, concrete floor, etc.

same generation in-laws⁴". The meaning of the expression is that all villagers have a common origin in the history of the village⁵ and that all villagers are related to one another. The church now represents this unity. It is named 'gereja' or keleya which designates building and institution. Whether the conspicuous size of the church in its central location has taken over village representation from suane and kakehan or is set in contrast to these former institutional houses, its massive dimension governs the contemporary image of the village against the background of individual family houses.

Here I briefly recapitulate characteristics of the house which are relevant to gender symbolism. The transformations of the house manifest imposed and voluntary adaptations towards the stereotypical Protestant Ambonese house which has a veranda, a sitting room to receive guests, several sleeping rooms and a spacious kitchen. Next to the front door hangs a sign with the male household head's surname and a registration number on it. All houses retain two doors, one informal leading to the kitchen and the main official one to the village road. Guests, like the deacons, always enter through the latter door and are received and entertained by the husband in the front room. Religious celebrations like communal prayers are held in this reception room. However in everyday life, the kitchen is the social centre of the house where the cooking and chatting takes place. Thus the former house has been enlarged and polarised by a representative male front part and a protected domestic core associated with cooking, wives and children.

It is nowadays the rule to call a household 'rumah tangga', 'keluarga' or 'fam'⁶ rather than luma while kinship groups are

⁴The terms yaukuwa and yasauwa are used by in-laws of adjacent generations, e.g. father-in-law and son-in-law.

⁵The village itself is not called house but yamane, 'negri' or 'desa' (cf. Duyvendak 1926:38).

⁶Usage of these words depends on context. 'Rumah tangga' refers to the household but both 'keluarga' and 'fam' may refer to a wider network of kinship relationships, including affinal ties. Cooley's clear cut and mutually exclusive definitions (1966:28-49) of these terms do not apply.

named either 'soa' or also 'fam'. These concepts derive from the state and Church bureaucracy and are widely used in the Moluccas⁷. The 'keluarga', 'fam' and 'rumah tangga' concepts imply that a man (either a resident or otherwise a close male relative of the effective senior female household head) is the representative of the family unit⁸. For instance in prayers, village meetings, conflicts and on questionnaires of the central administration, husbands and fathers are assigned the position of household head ('kepala keluarga' or 'kepala rumah tangga'). Although I was told several times about the wife's ownership of the house, this concept is now ignored in public situations. During a visit of a household by deacons, a male in-law during the period of his bride service became the household head (e.g. household no. 36, Ahiolo) although in everyday context the house was known to be owned by his mother-in-law, an elderly widow. In other households a non-resident brother was addressed as being publicly responsible for his sister. Practically wives take part in domestic affairs and many maintain the control over cash. In contrast public funds, like those of the Church organisations, are largely run by men, who control the corporate property. The government sponsorship of village houses has further eroded the wives' ownership. Land plots and the accompanying houses are allocated to male household heads and it is unclear, to date, how they are going to be inherited (see below). In sum, the family household seems to have absorbed a historical sequence in which the husband has assumed an increasing representative and political role⁹ in relation to his wife and children. This is closely connected to the idea that sons

⁷Ruinen (1929:228) states that the concept 'sao' was imposed on western Seram in 1907.

⁸Cooley (1966:92) writes "The men are the heads of the families and give orders to the women ...". In chapter 5, this view is substantially modified, but the statement reflects a kind of official and male dominated perspective on gender relations.

⁹I use the term "role" because values, behavioural expectations and responsibilities as well as privileges are ascribed to the household head; their importance is emphasised during formal occasions and amounts to an exercise in political control.

rather than daughters reproduce the luma. Nevertheless the house itself still combines today male and female characteristics. While the husband represents the household externally, the wife occupies the social core of the house, i.e. the kitchen¹⁰.

Apart from shifts in emphasis, the luma as 'household, is fundamentally constituted by wife (dapina) and husband (matua) and any children and other members are an extension of this basic unit. Because the couple¹¹ is the essence of the luma, individual houses tend not to form agglomerations of related kin but are created anew as each married couple erects a new house after the bride service period. These individual household units did not have a name but now, according to recent administrative principles, are known by the husband's or senior male representative's name¹². In contrast to distinct households there are also named "extended houses" which are called luma or mataluma which means "eye of the house". In order not to confuse the extended house with a household I shall only use the term mataluma. In addition there are named clans (nuru) which have no corporate qualities but unite usually several mataluma. Clan members regard themselves, in a vague sense, as related without being able to trace exact descent. These groupings are defined and discussed below. Before returning to the changes concerning the house, I would like to provide information about the household composition.

¹⁰A recent collection of essays on the colonial impact on household and gender in the Pacific (Jolly and Macintyre 1989) gives examples where gender roles and tasks were much more directly shaped by missionising. However it would appear that women have lost some autonomy over production and the household under a new regime of agricultural labour and household responsibilities (cf. Moore 1986:149, footnote 12).

¹¹There is no term for a couple itself.

¹²Those households without a resident male are referred to by the name of the female household head.

The House as Conjugal Unit and Household Composition

Statistically the most common household composition is the simple two generation nuclear family which composes 41% of Ahiolo's and 43% of Abio's households. The mean numerical composition in Ahiolo is 4.9 and in Abio 6.8 (see table 4a,b,c) and, despite a considerable variation, the mode is the same, i.e. only 4 persons per household. The nuclear family constitutes, with its derivative forms, 59% (Ahiolo) and 57% (Abio)¹³ and more complex, three generational households especially in Abio (see table 5b) consist of smaller and often nuclear units which keep a high degree of economic independence from the rest of the composite luma. When one parent dies the household occasionally continues to exist. In Ahiolo as well as Abio single widowers and widows chose to rear their children on their own while running an independent household and in Ahiolo some villagers even had single household units, due to the availability of the houses and easy access to resources and gardens. In contrast single households in Abio would demand comparatively much more time and energy for transporting food, water and fire-wood and it is not surprising that there are none. The same reason provides incentives for forming the larger and more complex households in Abio.

The desire of a couple and their children, i.e. the luma, to achieve political and economic independence causes generally early segmentation of new couples from the parental household and usually prevents the formation of localised co-residential descent groups (cf. Martin 1994:140). Some of the enlarged household compositions, e.g. Table 5a,b: B)4.,5.,6. and C)7.,9.,10. are simple derivations of the nuclear family type. For example those children for whom fatherhood is not publicly acknowledged are incorporated into the mother's household¹⁴

¹³These figures show a similar tendency towards a nuclear family composition as found by Ellen (1978:47f.) among the Nuaulu.

¹⁴A situation labelled as suku nyana which means literally "to receive a child".

(which is normally the household of her parents [C)10.])). However it is evident that Abio has in comparison with Ahiolo the same number of households but far more people. Moreover the composite households show also a much wider range (see Table 5b:C)8.,9., and 12. which makes up 32% of all household constellations). Several collateral joint families are linked by first cousins and other complex combinations exist, too. It appears that irrespective of the norm, many people, especially in Abio, were willing and content to live in extended luma's. This disparity needs further consideration. Following directives from the central administration, the village head of Abio had in fact unsuccessfully tried to persuade the largest households to separate and to establish single family units.

Table 4a. Numerical Household Composition in Ahiolo

[illegible]

5 4 3 8 6 5 5 3 3 2

No. of households:	42
No. of persons:	206
Mean household composition:	4.9
Modal household composition:	4
No. of government houses available:	52
No. of permanent resident households 1988-1989:	37
No. of non occupied houses 1988-1989:6,7,12,18,29*,26*,37:	7
No. of households dissolved ¹⁵ : 42:	1
No. of households newly founded 1988-1989: 13,19,27:	3
No. of persons living in garden houses:	5
No. of houses left vacant by permanent households listed in the census (for more than 8 weeks per year):	3,8,14,30: 4
No. of absent children at school: 8x2,17,21,23,34, 36x2,49,50:	10

¹⁵After the death of his wife the husband moved into his sister's household (48); when he remarried he prepared his house in order to move back.

No. of absent adults looking after pupils: 8x2,32,49,50: 5

Note:

1) Asterisk (*) designates houses occupied by young unmarried men, who eat in their mother's households; three more houses in the same column were about to be moved in when I left the village (12,40,37).

2) Enhanced numbers in the table indicate households which have no children born into them (under the age of 20 years).

3) The census includes parents and children who have left for the purpose of attending school (SMP 'sekolah menengah pertama' junior high school and SMA 'sekolah menengah atas' senior high school) but excludes all relatives who live permanently in another village.

Table 4b. Numerical Household Composition in Abio

No. of persons per household:	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Abio:	13	6	21	3	20	8	11	15	1		4				2
January 1989	17	7	22	9	25	18	12	16	27		28				
	23	10	37	24	31	45	40	36							
	44	14	38	41	33			39							
		29	42		35										
		30													
		32													
		34													
		43													
		4	9	5	4	5	3	3	4	2		2			1
Number of households:															42
Number of persons:															287
Mean household composition:															6.8
Modal household composition:															4
No. of houses vacant: (5,19,26):															3
No. of persons living in garden houses:															17
No. of absent children at school: (2x2),4,27,13,7,(6x5),															
												13,(16x2):			14
No. of adults looking after pupils at school: 27,6:															2

**Table 4c. Comparison of Numerical Household Composition:
Ahiolo and Abio**

No. of persons per household:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ahiolo:	5	4	3	8	6	5	5	3	3	2						
Abio:			4	9	5	4	5	3	3	4	2		2			1
Total:	5	4	7	17	11	9	10	6	6	6	2		2			1

Although the members of such household agglomerations share food and the necessities of basic household consumption, they operate in other respects as autonomous units. Each nuclear component of these large luma possesses its separate gardens and keeps its own money. The co-residence is voluntary and optional and is not enforced by a hierarchical structure as e.g. the bride service arrangements between parents-in-law and son-in-law. That in some luma (or parts of households) no common descent or affinal link exists underlines the non-compulsory bonds between the members associating by free-will. One of the largest households (No. 1) was a temporary union of separate households after the death of the wife of a formerly independent luma. Such social situations did not, to my knowledge, result in heightened tension and conflicts.

More than anything else, extended luma are consumption associations to which each component contributes, e.g. foods from hunting, gathering and gardening while buying necessary consumer goods from the market is taken in turns. The staple diet of garden root crops is not difficult to obtain and producing sago can be more easily organised in a larger household which shares its food. However co-residence does not lead automatically to increased labour cooperation. While the male members of the luma spend days by themselves in the forests and in their garden huts, they evidently enjoy the company these village houses offer. After the evening meal, they continue to sit around the table drinking palm-wine before going to sleep in their separate compartments. The women on the other hand help each other with the infants which gives them greater freedom to visit their gardens.

Comparing the household composition between Ahiolo and Abio, I would conclude that with increasingly established residence in the village, households tend to segment into smaller units. This trend is reinforced by government policy which wants to see every house accommodating a nuclear family. In Ahiolo availability of houses and easy access to primary resources facilitates further fragmentation of households. Even in Abio, where most men and many women and children spend little time

in the village, a high proportion of households are constituted by individual couples. Those couples who co-reside with another family share in consumption but most productive activities and gardens are maintained independently from the other unit(s).

Table 5a. Kinship Composition of the Household in Ahiolo

Compositional Type:

A) One-generation

1. Single¹⁶ person: 10,15,25,28,30=5*
2. One couple¹⁷: 3,45=2

B) Two-generation

3. Nuclear family (couple with unmarried children):
1,2,4,8,11,14,19,20,21,32,38,39,41,44,47,49,52=17
4. Supplemented nuclear (nuclear family plus one single relative of parents, other than unmarried children):
42,43=2
5. Subnuclear (one parent with unmarried children):
16,17,31,46,48=5
6. Supplemented subnuclear (members of formerly complete nuclear family plus other single relative not members of original nuclear family, e.g. widower with unmarried sister and children): 22=1

C) Three-generation

7. Supplemented nuclear (as 4. but relative of senior generation, e.g. grandparent): 33,35,40=3
8. Collateral joint family (two/more <sub>->nuclear families related by members who are related as bilateral cousins of first degree plus children); the family components are indicated in brackets:0
9. Lineal joint family (parents with children, one spouse and grandchildren): 34=1
10. Fragmented lineal joint family (parent(s) with children with or without spouse(s) and grandchild(ren), e.g. single parent with children plus spouse and grandchildren, or parents with unmarried children, no spouse but grandchildren):
9,36,50=3
11. Lineal-collateral joint family: three/more couples linked lineally and collaterally (siblings and cousins):0
12. Other family agglomerations:0
13. other: 5(two unrelated M:--5./5.),23(+?5./2.),24(6. plus one grandchild)=3

¹⁶Single means unmarried, separated, widowed or divorced.

¹⁷Marital status not determined.

Note:

1) The asterisk (*) refers to the male occupiers of the single households 15,28,30 who often eat in other households; however in single households 10,25 (one man and one woman respectively) and also in the family households 16 and 40, two more woman cook and eat individually on their own. No. 30 is occupied by the teacher and No. 28 by another permanently resident outsider from Sumatra.

2) There exists a difference to Table 4a because household no. 17 of table 4a divided and is here represented by households nos. 17 and 19.

3) Classification of household types modified from Fuller (1976:154).

Table 5b. Kinship Composition of the Household in Abio

Compositional Type:

A) One-generation

1. Single¹⁸ person: 0
2. One couple¹⁹: 0

B) Two-generation

3. Nuclear family (couple with unmarried children):
9,10,11,12,13,14,21,22,25,31,44,32,34,36,37,41,42,43=18
4. Supplemented nuclear (nuclear family plus one single relative of parents, other than unmarried children):
16,24,30=3
5. Subnuclear (one parent with unmarried children):
7,20,29=3
6. Supplemented subnuclear (members of formerly complete nuclear family plus other single relative not members of original nuclear family, e.g. widower with unmarried sister and children): 0

C) Three-generation

7. Supplemented nuclear (as 4. but relative of senior generation, e.g. grandparent): 0
8. Collateral joint family (two/more <sub->nuclear families related by members who are related as bilateral cousins of first degree plus children); the family components are indicated in brackets:
8(++3./3.), 33(+?2./3.), 38(+2./7.), 39(+?3./7.)=4
9. Lineal joint family (parents with children, one spouse and grandchildren): 3, 15(9./5.), 35, 40(9./5.)=4
10. Fragmented lineal joint family (parent(s) with children with or without spouse(s) and grandchild(ren), e.g. single parent with children plus spouse

¹⁸Single means unmarried, separated, widowed or divorced.

¹⁹Marital status indeterminate

- and grandchildren, or parents with unmarried children, no spouse but grandchildren): 18=1
11. Lineal-collateral joint family: three/more couples linked lineally and collaterally (siblings and cousins): 2=1
 12. Other family agglomerations:
28(-+3./3.), 1(++4./6., first cousins and 3., unrelated to 4./6.), 4(++3./5. and 3., unrelated to 3./5.), 27(++3./5., affinal relationship: widowed husband of dead sister), 45 (--3./3., sisters)=5
 13. other: 6 (teachers: 2./F,D), 17(FM,FD,FDH), 23(M,S,W)=3

Note:

The first sign [+,-] indicates whether the related cousins have (+) or have not (-) the same clan and the second sign shows the equivalent for the mataluma.

When an ageing grandparent lives with a mature couple, the latter take over and become the new core of this household and the grandparent assumes a respected but marginal position within the household and its decision making. There are no formal rules as regards who is the head in a household in such a transitional period. The crucial factor is the authority which the elder generation is able to exert (which is connected to being sufficiently healthy to cultivate a food garden). Initially a new marriage begins with the groom moving into the household of his wife. This represents a first public acknowledgement of the union and initiates the bride service period. Table 6 shows 7 men in Ahiolo and Abio respectively who were incorporated into their bride's household. In Abio only one wife was residing with her husband's father; and the two marriages in Ahiolo in which the bride lived in the husband's parents household were exceptional. One woman came from the coast when she married into the village while the other, a widow, already had children, but had no house or household. In fact she moved into the communal household of her partner and his widowed mother. The bride service might take any length of time between a few weeks and two years. The duration is determined by the authority and moderation of the father-in-law, and, how the relationship between groom and

father-in-laws develops²⁰.

Table 6 Incorporation²¹ into the Household by Marriage

Household:	Abio Jan. 1989	Total	Ahiolo Jan.1988 -Jan.1989	Total
1. Husband lives in wife's parents household:		7		7 ²²
2. Wife lives in husbands household:		1		2 ²³

Once the bride service period is finished most couples set up a new household. In Abio (and in the past) no prestige was or is gained by taking over the parental house. Houses in Abio are quickly replaced and abandoned, sometimes after the husband or the wife has died. The simple houses disintegrate after a few years because they are built with materials which do not long endure the weather conditions. Furthermore the few material wealth-objects householders own are of a size which allows for easy transportation and change in residence. No religious or spiritual reasons are given to explain moving households. For the initial house-warming of a new house, a minister or deacon is invited to pray with the couple, preferably on the first night they sleep there. Otherwise there are no rituals symbolising continuity from the house of origin of wife or husband. In Ahiolo succession to houses and

²⁰The village head, e.g. claimed that he got on very well with his son in law, who had lived for 16 months with him. He occasionally requested help from the young man but never commanded a service. Both men maintained independent crop gardens. The son-in-law however contributed more game meat and also sago. For some unexplained reason, he could not be persuaded by the 'raja' to carry some of my luggage at my abrupt departure. A father-in-law is therefore by no means in a position to order a son-in-law according to his whim.

²¹This represents neither an incorporation into a clan or mataluma as de Vries (1927:126) and Jensen (1948:59) claim.

²²One couple had uxori-local residence.

²³One woman came from another village, Huse, the other had no independent house (she is listed in the household census in household no 5).

house plots is unclear. Several sons succeeded their fathers who had been allocated the houses by the state administration. At least one wife, living in the house of her father, intends to bequeath it to her eldest daughter.

Naming and the Construction of the Kinship Group as a House

When elders say in a general sense that their sons perpetuate their house, they do not refer to their household but to an abstraction or an image. The imagery combines two poles. Most importantly the concept of the house is used here to construct a notion of personal replacement with respect to cash crop trees. A father's labour and care creates the garden which the son inherits because as male heir he replaces the father in the "house". A second pole is the generalised perception that a person, as offspring, perpetuates a named kinship group, i.e. the mataluma which in Wemale terminology is also labelled a "house" or luma. The mataluma is a group of people who are thought to be cognatically related to one another. Primary members carry the same mataluma name but do not form an exclusive group with respect to other cognates who carry another name (usually there is not a problem of excluding persons from the mataluma but rather attracting them). Although the latter may not carry the name, they are said to belong to the house of the parent who does not transmit a mataluma name (whenever that differs from the other parent). The idea of a communal founding ancestor is vague and relatively unimportant perhaps due to a former preference for mataluma endogamy²⁴. Generally there is what has been called a "downward looking attitude to descent which moves the emphasis away from a purely ancestor-focused approach to genealogy" (Waterson 1986:107; see also H. and C. Geertz 1964:105)²⁵. Yet the idea of the "house" carries strong

²⁴Elders said that in the past marriage within the mataluma was preferred. A continuity between localised endogamy and endogamy within the kinship group is found on Tidore (Baker 1988:242).

²⁵This is reinforced by teknonymy which according to Geertz (1973:378) is an expression which transforms ties of affinity into consanguineous relationships (see below).

connotations of a collective group²⁶. The mataluma is said to own forest property, a collective house (luma inei) which represents the group and contains valuables as well as certain offices. The clan in contrast expresses merely the idea that certain people and mataluma are related to one another in a higher order. This relationship is discussed in the last section of this chapter.

An elder's statement about inheritance and succession implies mutual reference to gardening and to a "house" with its attributed enduring qualities. It is then perhaps not very surprising that male elders deny the changes which were described above. The "house" is more a notion than a clearly defined concept and flexibility in the transmission of "names" for children, I suggest, accommodates practical and structural changes in kinship relationships.

Naming has often been discussed in the literature on the one hand in terms of attributing group membership and, on the other, singling out a unique individual (e.g. Lévi-Strauss 1966:192, Needham 1971:206), although degrees of generalised and individualised ascription between pronouns, relationship terms, development terms and personal names are also discussed (Ellen 1983:21, see also Geertz 1973:368-389). Generally names identify a person as a member of a collective group by the group name s/he carries while personal names distinguish an individual²⁷. A considerable flexibility in the transmission of names among the Wemale enabled a transformation from former practices to the present day conformity to the norms of the

Husband and wife can use sibling terms for each other (see following chapter and appendix B).

²⁶In contrast to the Toraja, the more lineal procedures of naming among the Wemale allows for a stronger emphasis on a "house" with a corporate nature. The named clans and matalumas are thought of as static and enduring.

²⁷Lundström-Burghoorn (1981:5,148) writing on Minahasa society on north-east Sulawesi emphasised fluidity of the process in which the multifarious names and labels are used. This applies not only to Lévi-Strauss (1966) so called autonyms but also to the choice between different ways of addressing and referring to persons.

Church and the state administration.

Conceptually Wemale elders regard kinship as primarily created by common origin which is constantly recreated by marriage or rather village endogamy. The village is thought of as originating in the mountains and all village members are considered to be, albeit often distantly, related by common descent and residence²⁸. Village endogamy renews the

²⁸The balancing of descent, marriage and locality under the concept of the "house" leads me to adopt the indigenous term mataluma in favour of lineage, deme or ramage. The concept lineage is much employed by writers on eastern Indonesian societies where unilineal descent and elaborate exchange symbolism among affines is found. Apart from the history of the term "lineage", I want to distance Wemale kinship relations from these groupings and regard Wemale kinship concepts more closely related to Minahasa as described by Lundström-Burghoorn (1981), although Wemale do not trace long genealogies and gain prestige or status by virtue of being descendants of a famous ancestral couple. The equivalent to the Wemale term mataluma is the Ambonese 'mata rumah'. This is a named patrilineal clan (cf. Cooley 1966:31-41; Chauvel 1990:19) and different to the luma or mataluma.

Murdock (1949:62f.) writes about the deme "This group is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilineal consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another though intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type." This last point does not hold for the Wemale who emphasise in many context the village but occasionally also different "houses" as kinship groups within the village. Bloch (1971:46) following Murdock places more weight on in-marriage of what he calls a "deme" among the Merina. The history of cognatic kinship and southeast Asian applications of the term "deme" is summarised in Gibson (1986:61-69). Gibson (1986:69f.) himself abandons the idea of a kinship group since the Buid do not have such a notion.

Ramage is defined by descent (Firth 1936:371, 1957:6) and generally Polynesian societies appear to have stronger corporate characteristics (cf. Keesing 1975:92) than the Wemale seem to have had. While "deme" emphasises endogamy and ramage stresses descent it seems to me that Lévy-Strauss captures the situation more acutely when he writes about the 'Indonesian House', "What really happens in societies with 'houses' is the hypostatization of the opposition between descent and alliance that has to be transcended;" (1987:158). As we saw the supposed opposition is in fact complemented by

generalised notion of kinship, even though not all matalumas marry one another. The concept "origin", expressed by the term batai (as e.g. in Japiobatai) which means the base of a tree stem, fuses kinship with locality by reference to the village which is equally a locality and an agglomeration of luma as clans or matalumas. Despite the indigenous notion that kinship is something involuntary, ancestrally-derived and passed on to the individual, it is necessary to stress that the kinship bonds between even close relatives like brother and sister do not necessarily play an important role in practice. In terms of solidarity and cooperation between households, the cognatic kinship links are highly selective and subject to personal volition and preference. With respect to political and jural authority there is however a core group comprising siblings, parents and grandparents and often parent's siblings for which responsibility is not optional²⁹.

The children of one couple are the closest relatives and biological parents will be remembered even if a child has been adopted. Kinship relationships are traced equally and cognatically through father and mother, to their respective siblings and the grandparents. This group forms the closest kinship group and even small children will know all persons who belong to it. Additionally close ties sometimes link first cousins. Genealogical relations of a greater depth are seldom remembered (although the kinship terminology covers relatives up to the 4th generation, see appendix B) and although founding ancestors of villages and clans (usually a man or a woman, rather than a couple) are known by name, no particular

common residence but the idea that these "dimensions" are subsumed under the category "house" seems most adequate to the Wemale situation. I therefore opted for the term mataluma.

My use of the term clan, which is by the Wemale also treated as if it were a "house", is justified by the concept nuru (mentioned by Stresemann [1923:336] as a substitute for 'soa'). It helps to distinguish between different group levels of the house (see below).

²⁹Among the Toraja this distinction is important for inheritance and expressed by reference to the areca nut which has layers of skin like an onion (Waterson 1986:102).

reference is paid to them³⁰. The longest genealogy I recorded lists only some of the grandparents of the third ascending generation of the elder I talked to. As a rule people remember those people whom they personally knew or know and those well known personalities of the past, who figure in stories and historical narratives. Ancestors (kaitia) are generally thought of as a collective group. Demarcations between the village as kinship group and named matalumas or clans are blurred. Occasionally the villagers invoke the concept of common "blood" (la'a) but by and large they do not elaborate on ideas about conception and in particular do not differentiate between the father's and the mother's contribution to the (biological make up of the) offspring³¹. All children born to a couple are then equally related to each other and the only differentiation made distinguishes between the order of birth and the sex.

Kinship bonds formed by descent transcend the importance of naming and formal group membership in so far as all senior relatives have moral and jural authority over ego, irrespective of clan and mataluma membership³². At present I want to describe the principles of naming and group affiliation and discuss their implication for the kinship structure.

Names fall into two categories: those deriving from Wemale and those from either Dutch, German or English. Clan and mataluma names are always Wemale but they have been transformed into "surnames" ('nama soa/keluarga/fam') for administrative

³⁰There are neither genealogies of succession, nor are there fixed hereditary names received from the founding ancestors, like the 'teun' mentioned by Cooley (1966:35,164). Although there is no "active amnesia", to use the Geertz (1964:101,106) phrase, ancestral genealogies are not well remembered beyond the third ascending generation.

³¹When I proposed that the child could be created exclusively either by mothers or fathers, an informant rejected both theories by remarking that both father's and mother's group have to have rights in the child.

³²See chapter 6, which lists the legal representatives of three persons in a traditional meeting of village elders.

purposes (Ellen 1978:32f., Ruinen 1929:227f.). This problem of distinguishing between clan and mataluma classification seems to have been created by the Dutch who first introduced the concept of a "surname" and who recorded family and also village names according to their own standards (cf. de Vries 1927:143). The elders relate how the Dutch noted the clan and mataluma names and because the "surnames" were too long, ended up recording only the clan names, thereby drastically reducing the mataluma, or sub-house affiliation(s) of persons. Nowadays some villagers have clan and others mataluma "surnames" and a substantial number of younger villagers in Ahiolo do not know their mataluma name. Throughout the period of my research I continued to come across rare mataluma names I had not heard before, especially in Abio. Personal naming in Wemale is rare³³ and the use of personal Wemale names is generally restricted to senior generations. Christian labels and their derivations are predominant. Name classifications of an individual assume the following form: 1) (several) full Christian names; 2) Wemale birth names and/or Wemale personal names from ancestors; 3) abbreviated Christian names; 4) teknonyms 5) nicknames (sobriquets). In addition the use of Dutch and Wemale kinship terms is widespread.

Any child may either receive the "surname" from their mother, father or a more distantly related ancestor. The name allocates what might be called a strong or primary version of group membership to a mataluma and clan. However practically a person can claim to belong to the mataluma of the other parent's group, because her or his father/mother holds membership³⁴ in it. In this case a woman with the name Latekay can claim to be also Haikutty because her mother carries that

³³A mother in Ahiolo had already a Christian name prepared when she dreamt that the child should be called Yauta, her grandaunt's Wemale name.

³⁴The same holds true for Minahasa (Lundström-Burghoorn 1981:151) where the flexible use of names allows individuals to align themselves with powerful groups and their prestigious name (see also Waterson 1986:89,96 for flexibility in tracing bilateral genealogical lines to "houses" of origin among the Toraja).

name and is a member of the house Haikutty³⁵. This supplementary form of group membership is economically and politically equally important to the main group membership.

No traditional ritual is performed for naming a child and the moment when a name is given is not predetermined. According to one midwife, the child is traditionally given a personal name right after the birth. The occasion when a baby leaves the house for the first time ends a period of confinement for the mother (which began with the birth). The ritual is called maupa ai, "we bring her out" and held on a Saturday morning. The timing is arranged so that mother and child can attend the Church service the next day. Pre-colonial Wemale tradition prescribed that the baby is born in the menstruation hut, tikosune, outside the village in the forest (de Vries 1927:96, Jensen 1948:126). The afterbirth is buried there³⁶ and the child is given the so called "umbilical cord cutting name" ('nama potong pusat' / matipi ku'e). The original ritual of maupa ai, brings the child from the forest into the village, presumably to the house of its parents (cf. de Vries 1927:97f.).

The newly born child may be referred to as kia and the parents as kiamai (father) and kiasi (mother). After a few months, kia is replaced by the personal name of the child (teknonymy, de Vries 1927:98)³⁷. Only the full formal Christian name is registered when the child is baptised. This happens however much later, between the age of 2 and 5 years (all rituals tend to be delayed). Besides the formal Christian personal and

³⁵The logic of this procedure can be extended to more distantly related persons and contains an element of what Firth (1963:28) has called an "optative system" of constituting group membership.

³⁶Jensen (1948:127) writes the afterbirth is disposed in the branches of a tree. Nowadays it is buried in the floor of the bedroom.

³⁷The term kia is used for all parents of babies but teknonymy only for the first living child. In case of the death of the first child, the name of the following can be utilised.

family names (which may either specify the clan or the mataluma), a child often receives a subsidiary birth name. This name refers to some event happening (especially to the parents) around the time of birth (e.g. Itai which means s/he went). There are also nicknames for the eldest child which allude to the event of the parents becoming publicly known as lovers (discussed in chapter 5). Nicknames, which are sometimes regarded by their owner as rude, can also be appended by mai and si. Conversely an elder may occasionally choose the personal name of a direct ancestor of the baby in memory of an ancestor. Furthermore a child can also acquire a name for a particular personal characteristic. Such names derive either from Wemale or Ambonese Malay.

In everyday conversations the full Dutch Christian names receive abbreviation. Octavianus (Octovianus) becomes Octo, Oto or Topi or Marici turns into Ici (cf. Ellen 1983:41f., footnote 10 for further examples). A person has therefore a multitude of personal names by whom s/he is either addressed and/or referred to³⁸. One or two names in Wemale or Indonesian are better known than the rest. Most subsidiary personal Wemale names express idiosyncratic characteristics in relation to the parents courtship, the birth or personal features. Few children receive ancestral names and these function rather as a commemoration of the ancestor than as representing identity between the persons. Certainly there is no transmission of ancestral personal names controlled by office holders within clans (Ellen 1983:25,36ff.). The Christian names are given to each child individually and occasionally an ancestral name is revived, as with the Wemale names. Generally speaking, Christian names incorporate the person into the Christian community with its distinct set of Christian names.

³⁸There is no avoidance or concealing in the use of personal names among affines as is recorded for the Nuaulu (Ellen 1983:25), from Mansela (Schadee 1915:134) and Penan (Needham 1971:211).

Following the Elders by Name

In an established household the parents usually decide about the name and the group membership of the baby (Jensen 1948:129). Yet children never receive their parents' personal names. The idiom in which group membership is handed down to the offspring is "following" (ipanui or also ande/'ikut'). The child follows either father, mother or a particular dead or living elder in which case the child will sometimes, but not always, also receive the personal Christian name. The mataluma name will be the same when the relationship is of lasting importance, e.g. when the child inherits a garden from an ancestor. Otherwise a personal name from an ancestor may be chosen whereby s/he is commemorated, as was described above. Under such circumstances the offspring's mataluma classification is likely to be unaffected by this personal labelling procedure.

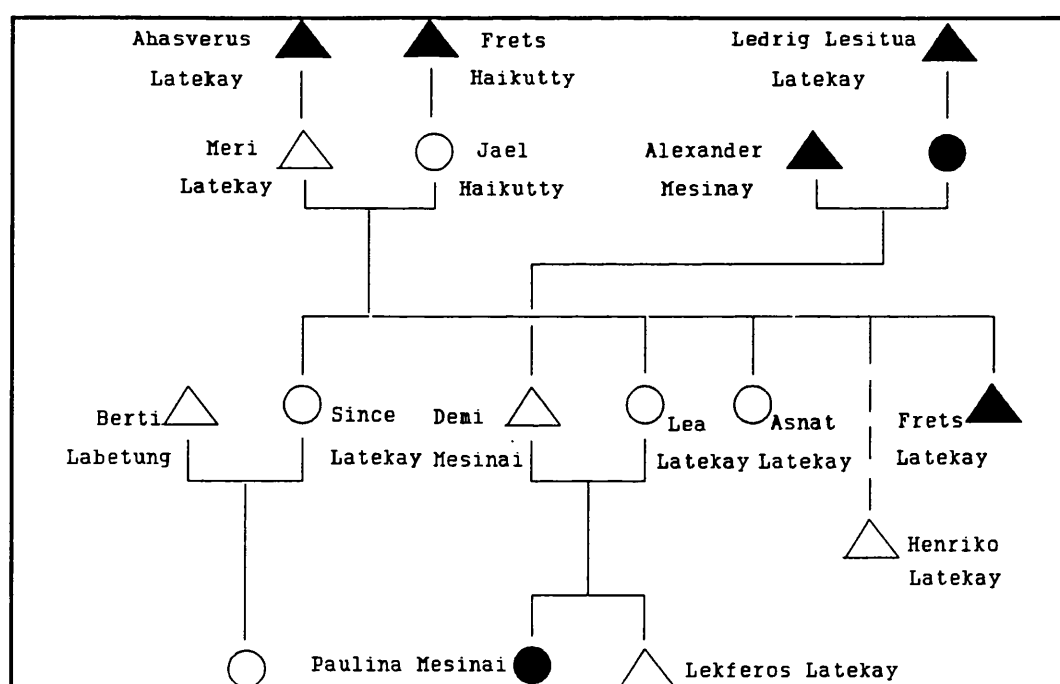


Figure 1

Some of these widespread principles and sentiments may become clear by considering the following case: Merianus-Hermanus Latekay is a villager and ex-deacon of the Ahiolo parish in his mid fifties. At the time of my arrival Meri, as he is

usually called, lived together with his wife and three children. His eldest daughter, Melsina Latekay, called Since, had decided to marry Berti Labetubung, a former soldier who comes from the Kei Islands. He had moved into Meri's house and built a new kitchen extension for his father-in-law. The second daughter already lived in the household of her partner. Meri had adopted Henriko Alberto Latekay in a Church ceremony. Henriko's mother, originating from Kisar, married a Wemale villager after she had Henriko from a previous liaison. Recurrently Henriko visited his true mother but I was told that he could not return into her household since the former bonds had been severed in church. I have no record about his pre-adoption name but at least his surname was altered by the adoption. Soon after the adoption Meri's wife gave birth to the desired and long-awaited for male offspring, called Frets Latekay who however died a few months after my arrival. Only a month before his son's death, Meri's second daughter Lea Latekay had lost her baby daughter, Paulina Mesinai. Meri was devastated by these deaths and stopped participating in communal life. Unlike his daughter Lea, he never went out to visit anybody. Sighing deeply, he was said to walk through the village during the night driven by insomnia. Unlike anyone else I met, Meri desperately desired a son who would succeed him.

When Lea had her second child, a son, Meri spent most of his time in his daughter's house, bringing her food, eating with her and looking at the sleeping baby. People remarked that he was seen smiling and walking around the village again. At the time Lea had her first child, Paulina Mesinai, she had not married in Church nor in the traditional 'adat' fashion. Her circumstances had not changed since then. Under the dominating influence of her father, Lea's son was named: Lekferos Latekay (Tayane). To secure a healthy life for the grandchild, Meri had thought of a composite name for the baby, explaining that now the ancestral names would be remembered.

The name Lekferos is composed from fragments of the names of four lineal ancestors:

1. Ledrig, Lesitua Tayane (mataluma) Latekay (clan), who was Lekferos father's mother's father;
2. Frets Haikutty, Meri's wife's father, or Lekferos mother's mother's father;
3. Ahasverus, Lawalesi Tayane Latekay, who was Meri's father or Lekferos mother's father's;
4. Alexander Mesinai, Lekferos father's father;

I was told that "Le" derived from Ledrig, "er" from Alexander, and "os" from Ahasverus. How "kf" relates to Frets, I failed to elucidate.

A few weeks later in December 1988, Since gave birth to a girl. The first thing she said to me was that the baby was not a boy but merely a girl. Other men and women who were present, helping and chatting while the afterbirth was buried underneath the bed, remarked that a girl was just as good as a boy but Since would not hear of it. The baby girl received a name only several days after the birth.

The importance of male children comes out clearly in the sentiments expressed by Meri and Since. Jensen (1948:59,143) and de Vries (1927:126f.) report that most children received clan (and mataluma) membership from the mother which means that they received her name and perpetuated her luma. In contrast the Moluccan norm, to which the village elders want to conform, regards the house as perpetuated through the male line (cf. Cooley [1966: 31ff.] on the patrilinear 'Mata rumah' and Pannell [1990:31f.] on a similar case study of a change in the kinship structure). A desire for male children is now expressed by saying that it is the daughter who will leave the house when she marries while the sons will stay and inherit the gardens. Furthermore there is a strong preference for biological children, who are visibly treated with more care and attention than incorporated children (see Table 7a,b; most children incorporated into a household have either lost their parents, or the parents are temporarily absent from the village).

Table 7a. Mode of Recruitment into the Household in Ahiolo

Recruitment of children aged 0-20 years to household: Ahiolo
January 1988

	No. of household	Total	Percentage
			total
1. Birth:	32	108	90
2. Adoption:	(8x1), (51x1)	2	1.6
3. Incorporation:	(8x1), (9x1), (11x1), (17x2), (20x1), (21x1), (46x1), (47x1), (50x1)	<u>10</u> 120	<u>8.4</u> 100

Percentage of households
where father/mother

remarried: (1x3), (2x3), (11x2), (38x2) =10 8.4

Table 7b. Mode of Recruitment into the Household in Abio

Recruitment of children aged 0-20 years to household: Abio
January 1989

	No. of household	Total
Percentage		total
1. Birth:	40	156 90
2. Adoption:	?, none recorded	0 0
3. Incorporation:	(11x4), (12x6), (15x1), (16x2), (20x4)	<u>17</u> 173 <u>10</u> 100

Percentage of households

where father/mother (3x2), (12x1), (15x1), (28x1),
remarried: (22x1), (24x3), (44x1) =10 6

Note: Tables 4a,b show those households which have no children born into them (under the age of 20 years) by enhanced numbers.

Adoptions in Church are rare and do not seem to make a crucial difference to the pattern. Lineal descendants rank also emotionally higher than adoptive or incorporated children (called pitie or 'angkat'), even if they are not sons but daughters. Meri basically ignored his adoptive son's existence and later was primarily concerned with Lea's son. At the expense of his father, Lekferos obtained Meri's clan and mataluma affiliation. Meri regarded his luma perpetuated by his daughter's son rather than Henriko who will however inherit cash crop trees from Meri. At the same time the composition of the name Lekferos itself traces the child's ancestry equally to his father's and his mother's side and

demonstrates that there is a vaguely developed idea that the names of elders should not be forgotten.

It is common practice for men who have no male offspring to see their person or house perpetuated by a daughter's son. Elders like Meri are able a) to exercise influence upon a junior couple and b) to leave cash crop gardens to the appointed child who receives their name. As was described in chapter 3, garden inheritance is a recent phenomenon caused by the long productivity of the cash crop trees. Consequently this form of perpetuation through garden inheritance is new³⁹. It is similar to some European inheritance patterns where a nobleman who had no male offspring transmitted his estate through his son-in-law to his daughter's son as Lévi-Strauss (1983:177f.) describes. The idiom of the "houses" served the European nobility for succession and under the given circumstances a husband was thought of as "coming into the house" of the ruler⁴⁰. The latter is the traditional expression of the Wemale for the groom entering his "head" into the house of his parents-in-law (i'usu ilui). The father of a daughter is especially in a position to exert pressure on his "incoming" son-in-law who accomplishes the bride service. Not all naming of grandchildren through daughters is

³⁹Traditional valuables, hana, are said by de Vries (1927:126) and Jensen (1948:40,68-70) to have been stored in communal "clan" houses (see below, luma inei); today they are owned individually and transmitted from individual elders to descendants. There is no obvious pattern of inheritance apart from the tendency that a mother inherits to her daughters and a father to his sons. Communal obligations for paying blood wealth or other compensation persist.

⁴⁰Cooley (1966:173-175) mentions this rare phenomenon under a category of 'kawin masuk' among the patrilineal, patrilocal Protestant Ambonese. 'Kawin masuk' means that the husband moves into the household of his bride, either because his family cannot afford the bride wealth, or because his parents reject the girl. Most relevant here is that the in-marrying husband can serve to secure succession in his wife's household, called 'tolong dati' ("land helper"). Often 'kawin masuk' is a temporal arrangement until a male child is born by the couple. This child is called 'anak harta' and is given to the bride's family in lieu of unpaid bride wealth (cf. Ellen 1978:247 footnote 25).

necessarily connected to garden inheritance.

In the past one child of a couple was incorporated into the clan and mataluma of the father unless the marriage was clan endogamous (Jensen 1948:143; also de Vries 1927:126f.). The child must therefore have acquired the father's names but continued to live in the mother's household. Jensen and also de Vries took the "return" of a child literally and thought that one child would change household membership. Both mention cases (Jensen 1948:143, de Vries 1927:128) where a son was supposed to return to the village of origin of the father, who had married into another village. This "returning a child" is an old indigenous concept which applies to inter-village as well as inter-luma marriages but in the former case does not imply that the child will change residence. In marriages contracted between villages an offspring of the couple is supposed to return to the village and join the relatives of father or mother, depending on the residence of the couple. In either of the two cases the child is thought to replace (seli or 'ganti') the person who originally left the village or the clan and mataluma in the ascending generation. The same is said of a child who receives the name of a grandparent. Generally it is more helpful to regard these procedures as an explicit "sharing" of the children among the elders of father and mother rather than an exchange.

Today the order of returning a child is reversed. As a rule children receive the father's surname and only one or two children "follow" panu or ande the mother. The latter child is called 'anak harta' (bride wealth child). The expression is a direct reference to bride wealth, customarily paid by most other ethnic groups in this area but not by the Wemale. The ancestors reportedly said that while valuables would definitely be lost, children would not. There was only one case where a family of Ahiolo paid bride wealth to the family of the bride, a Wemale woman who lived on the north coast of Seram. The childless couple lives in household no. 8 (see table 7a) with an adopted child from the man's younger brother and an incorporated child. The husband paid bride wealth

apparently because he moved with his wife a long way from his wife's native village and the parents-in-law preferred valuables rather than the return of a child to replace the mother. In agnatic societies the 'anak harta' is a child given to the wife's clan if the bride wealth is not or only partly paid (cf. Cooley 1966:173, Ellen 1978:247, footnote 25). As Wemale pay no bride wealth but practice institutionalised bride service, elders initially claimed that the first child of a couple receives the woman's clan and mataluma affiliation because it was an 'anak harta'. To my mind this expresses a rationalisation. According to de Vries and Jensen the return of a child to the father's clan shows exactly the reverse order of compensation while the bride service was most likely⁴¹ operating at that time as it is now. Clan and mataluma affiliation has nothing to do with the unilateral transfer of assets or valuables in the form of bride wealth and therefore the term 'anak harta' is misleading.

Several factors co-determine the process of transmitting a child with a mataluma and/or clan name: 1) the sex of the child, 2) garden inheritance, 3) supposedly the status of the marriage arrangement, 4) recurrent illness of infant, unusual birth or previous deaths of babies. Points 1) and 2) have already been discussed and I continue with 3). The village leadership argued that the so called 'anak harta' labelling depends on the official status of the marriage. In the Church wedding the woman is said to have to follow her husband (that is with respect to name and residence) which is symbolised by her adoption of his family name. When divorced or becoming a widow, a woman uses her maiden name again. Now repeatedly the village government said that it was customary law, or 'adat', that illegitimate children "follow" the mother and that this had to be the case as long as the couple did not marry by the state and Church ceremony. Children of single mother's (nyana suku, see above footnote 14) who have no legal father receive their name and clan affiliation from the legally responsible person of the mother, i.e. usually the household head in her

⁴¹The literature does not mention bride service among the Wemale.

house. This is also Ambonese custom (Cooley 1966:171). Church marriage thus functions like bride wealth in Ambonese 'adat', where illegitimate children are classified as belonging to the mother (Cooley 1966:171). The government thus merged what used to be standard Wemale practice with low prestige Ambonese customs.

The 'adat' construct the village government envisaged was a modified, if not false, version of what actually happened in the past (i.e. a mixed transmission of names, most children following the mother, one or two the father⁴²). During a village meeting in which the leadership pressed the youths to formalise their undefined "married" status by going through the Church ceremony, they announced that from January 1989, all children born to "unmarried" couples could not register the child with the man's surname any longer. This regulation was invented by the village leadership, to which all births have to be reported by the household head, with the explicitly stated purpose to influence prospective fathers to marry. To conform to the requirement for Church marriage became therefore in the father's own interest.

It is then accepted that a married man can demand that all children "follow" (nyana ande amai) him, even against the potential pressures from in-laws. This is the "Church law" ('hak gereja'). The parish in Ahiolo owns a book which records all baptisms since the first conversions to Christianity in Ahiolo/Japiobatai. Unfortunately the surname of the child is not noted, only the Christian names are documented (possibly because surnames proved to be contentious). Both parents are listed with personal names, in the beginning mostly Wemale, and in addition their mataluma affiliation. The records are therefore unsuitable for checking if and when the changes from naming children after the mother to the father took place as Pannell (1990:34) has done. Furthermore it would seem that

⁴²An old Wemale informant from Elpaputi confirmed to Cooley (1966:195) this traditional kinship pattern, rationalising that religion (Islam and Christianity) and colonial government had replaced a matrilineal and matrilocal with a patrilineal, patrilocal and bride wealth system.

once a wedding in Church had taken place, the father could insist on the 'hak gereja' and therefore give all his offspring his name. However the majority of couples marry officially long after they cohabit. Lea, for instance, (see case description above) had not undergone any wedding ceremony when she had her children. Nevertheless her first child obtained the surname from her husband; this was at a time when Meri did not show special interest in the couple's offspring. Under such circumstances the sex of the child is likely to determine whether it "follows" the mother or father. If the first child is a daughter and the couple have not married either in Church or with the State administration, then she is likely to receive the mother's mataluma affiliation. The reasoning here is that the man's luma does not lose anything since a daughter, even if she follows the father, will leave the "house" when she marries, anyway. An "unmarried" husband has less reluctance to having a daughter named after the mother. Claims to sons by such husbands are decisively stronger and most "unmarried" couples who live together could (before 1989) transmit the father's name to a son unless the senior relatives of the mother object⁴³. Married men with several children are also likely to give up the right to name a child in their name, especially when it is a girl.

The last set of factors which influences the naming of a child are a) an unusual birth, b) previous deaths of infants and c) recurrent illness of the child. The second child of Juliane Haikutty and Eliaser Mesinai was named by Josep Watimole, Rudi Watimole (N'salua) because the child had been born facing the ground and bottom up. The baby is said to 'membelakangi' (tu'uli maisi) or turn away from his mother and therefore, if the baby had been given the name of either father or mother, it would have died. Instead an unrelated person was called upon. Josep Watimole has no children of his own and took on legal responsibility for the boy and gave him his clan (Watimole) and mataluma (N'salua) membership. The child however continues to live in the parents' household.

⁴³Lea's daughter is an exception and by no means the only one.

After three infants had died, Abner Latekay transmitted his surname to his two daughters but because of the previous deaths he surrendered legal authority of one child to an unrelated elder and the other to his wife's uncle. The children live in his household and one day when he thought that one of them was naughty he suggested jokingly that he would send her to her uncle rather than keeping her. In this case the naming was unaffected but formal responsibility was surrendered. For everyday routine the arrangement does not make a difference to the upbringing of the children. Finally Wilhelm Mesinai was very often and severely ill in his early childhood. Therefore his father changed the personal name to Wilhelm in a Church ceremony. For all the above reasons it is by no means rare, especially in Abio, that the children of one couple carry three different mataluma names.

Traditionally Wemale stress village and luma endogamy⁴⁴. This means that whenever the parents share the clan and mataluma, then the naming does not create any rivalry. Therefore it used to be the preferred marriage arrangement. The Church forbids husbands and wives from having the same "surname" when they intend to marry. When the situation arises, the woman is allowed to change her official name before the marriage. Many couples share a common clan name but few belong to the same mataluma.

I have dwelled at some length on the process of child naming because it is the process of transmitting family (clan or mataluma) names which represents the perpetuation of the luma. With the loss of political autonomy, men were increasingly vested with a political role as household heads. This trend was reinforced when garden inheritance became more important. Combined with Church law and state administration, these key

⁴⁴Jensen's (1948:59) remark that clans (he does not distinguish between clan and mataluma) are neither endogamous nor exogamous is a statistical observation. He states that in the majority of cases marriage partners belong to different nuru but the same village. De Vries (1927:107) states that cousin marriage and marriages within the luma are prohibited but that people of the same 'soa' are allowed to marry.

factors produced conditions under which the father-son relationship became regarded as perpetuating the "house". Recruitment principles changed from transmitting the name predominantly through the mother to the father; this affects daughters as well as sons. The adaptation was presumably not disruptive, because naming of children does not prevent recognition of all genealogically accepted kinship relationships. In the previous chapter we saw that daughters and wives receive the right to receive a share in the benefits of the male-controlled tree crop plantations. And a son with a different clan or mataluma affiliation to his father may still inherit from the latter. Irrespective of these practices today it is the accepted norm that children follow their father's mataluma and receive control over his gardens. Naming children after their mother is associated with what is called 'adat', i.e. practices of an inferior or subordinated quality compared to Church and state ceremony.

Constituting a Kinship Group as a Static "House"

I already pointed out that political and legal responsibility is shared jointly by cognatically related elders⁴⁵. Clans and matalumas have therefore no officially appointed political representative (but see the female held office of mapina luma inei below). An elder may be said to speak on behalf of a mataluma or the village which can be called ndunale (ndu means mouth and expresses that the group speaks with one voice). Thus speakers talk about the persons who are involved in a conflict, as if they were a luma, a definitive group, even if they do not all share the same mataluma or clan names. They may say, we from the house Haikutty, Laamena or Latekay⁴⁶. As such they constitute themselves as a group of elders who transcend the confines of individual households. The luma, in

⁴⁵Political organisation is further discussed in chapter 6.

⁴⁶In an elders' 'adat' meeting one man even assumed the role of a guilty party, although he had no genealogical link to the culprit and merely shared the same clan name. This was however on a rhetorical level and had no negative implications for him.

the sense of a kinship group, is then an ideal construction but not a rigidly defined and bounded group with a distinctive membership. Even the land which is said to be held in common is, in effect, controlled by individual mataluma elders.

Traditionally Ahiolo is thought to have three clans or nuru. The present day village head and other elders' said that in fact there was a fourth. This view seems questionable to me as I will explain.

The clans are:

1. Luma Latekay
2. Luma Haikutty
3. Pata⁴⁷ Mesinai
- (4. Kuatomole)

When the village news announcer 'marinyo' or 'tabaus' walks around the village, striking his gong and announcing a village meeting, he refers⁴⁸ to Latekay, Haikutty and Mesinai only. Other villages are also attributed with a fixed number of clans, e.g. Honitetu with nine. Latekay divides into Latekay Latua and Latekay Mawena. Latua is part of the Latekay clan always mentioned separately since it comprises the 'turunan' or the descendants of the village leadership, or raja, who are known in various parts of the Moluccas as Latu. I was informed that Latu itself does not form a mataluma, although in Ahiolo two villagers used the name Latu as a surname.

The clan names relate to the large pig feast (tanaile bapu siwa) which was held at the separation of the Wemale people

⁴⁷Pata means "all of"; it is related to batai as in Japiobatai which means the base of a tree trunk indicating common origin and unity at the same time; the metaphor is widely used in eastern Indonesia and here used as a substitute for "house".

⁴⁸He says: Holomate talatipe wawe ulate yamane, nuruwa (sometimes replaced by ndua) telu peraya pani pelau pani duwe tia mauwana lale mawana, hinene tita peiye latupati . . . This translates as "Greetings to the residents of the mountain village, the three clans, hands from the village top, hands from the lower part of the village listen with proper emotions (composed stomach and inner self) the message/order of the leadership . . ."

and from which the names of villages⁴⁹ and kinship groups are derived (cf. Jensen 1948:24f., 116; de Vries 1927:146f.). Nine pigs were divided. Haikutty (hani means leg and kutile white (cf. Jensen and Niggemeyer 1939:74) received a white leg while Latekay severed (teka means to sever) and received a pig head. Mesinai (mesina means lazy) missed the whole feast because he was too slow to attend. Most origin myths depict a male hero as mataluma founder. Kuatomole was a disputed word as some members called themselves Watimole or Kwatumole or simply Tomole which is a classification for a type of bamboo. About its name there were also rival interpretations. The village head stated that kua derives from 'asi' (busy) and that Kuatomole was still cutting bamboo and thus delayed for the feast. Whether Kuatomole was indeed ranked as a major clan seems doubtful since it is the only clan which does not subdivide.

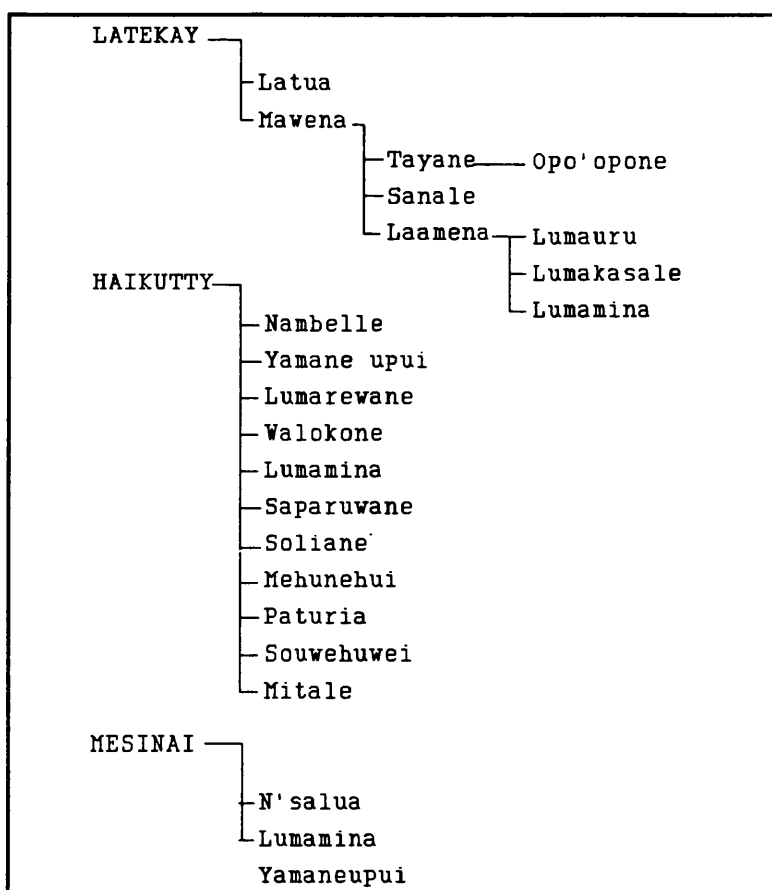


Figure 2

⁴⁹Among them Sumeit, Passinaro, Seriholo, Honitetu and Sanahu.

Except for Kuatomole all nuru divide further into mataluma, as shown in figure 2 above. The reason why Lumamina and Yamane upui matalumas belong to the clans Mesinai and Latekay might be the result of intermarriage. Mehunehui was formerly Kokohule⁵⁰ and Nambelle was said to have been the younger brother (walini) of luma Laamena but to have changed over to Haikutty because Haikutty was supposedly 'threatened by extinction.

This list includes the names of the major matalumas. Some of these are related to one another by past events. For example the people of mataluma Walokone were given clothes by the Laamena clan (see Jensen and Niggemeyer 1939:232-234). The Walokone people were originally pigs who could transform into humans. Every day they came to a garden of Laamena to steal some tree fruits. Laamena noticed that somebody stole his fruit and hiding in the garden, discovered that the Walokone had changed into nude humans while stealing. When he confronted them, they could not turn into pigs again and, embarrassed, covered their genitals with their hands. Thus they received their name Walokone (cf. Jensen and Niggemeyer 1939:234)⁵¹.

Other matalumas had particular functions⁵², e.g. Yamane upui (head of the village) is vested with the office of the "Tuhan tanah"⁵³, the custodian of the earth. The office was called

⁵⁰This lineage was ascribed with the reputation for being prone to kill others without provocation. The name Kokohule means to be vicious and the lineage was said to have changed it to Mehune in the past.

⁵¹Jensen translates aloko as covering. I believe Walokone is a composite word but I failed to clarify the issue because the elder who (amused) told me the story was too embarrassed to give me a literal translation. He merely held his hands in front of his genitals.

⁵²Jensen (1948:74) claimed patrilineal devolution for the offices of kapitan (the war leader) and ma-ina-uma (ritual office of person who arbitrates land disputes in one of the three major river areas of western Seram).

⁵³Jensen (1948:141) calls the office "tuhan negri" but mentions the same mataluma.

upon to regulate house building within the village. The first post of any house had to be planted by the office holder. Today the 'pendeta' comes for a prayer meeting to the new house and the office with its rituals is regarded as unimportant. Yamane upui was the first house in any village as it had to be made before all others. Tayane (which means middle) is said to have had to erect its houses in the middle of the village (cf. Pannell 1990:30).

Whenever I tried to gather information about the function and history of mataluma, elders tended to emphasise the prominence of their luma in past village procedures, as if the whole village were dependent on this particular mataluma⁵⁴. One elder told me that both Walokone and Patturia claim to hold the war leaders office of 'kapitan'. Laamena used to invite and conduct meetings and no assembly could convene without its consent (cf. Duyvendak 1926:68). Hanok Latekay Laamena explained that there were eleven of these offices in Japiobatai. Seven of those were given to Poklowoni when the villagers from Japiobatai moved there. Nobody could recount what offices and by whom they were held. To me it seems that even if these offices ever functioned, they were largely ritualistic in character. Neither clan nor mataluma has a titular or formal representative, except for the mapina luma inei⁵⁵.

Only in Abio could I collect data about the luma inei and the mapina luma inei (the word inei is equivalent with inai and

⁵⁴On the other hand they were reluctant to speak about other matalumas because they felt they were not entitled and competent to give information about them.

⁵⁵Jensen's (1948:60) statements about the political structure of the clan are ambiguous. Empirically he could not find any clan leader except those established by the Dutch administration who were called 'kepala soa'. However he speculates that the office ma-ina-uma applies to the nuru and was potentially a clan head in the past. According to my informants the ma-ina-uma is a ritual office of three guardians for each river area (Tala, Eti, Sapalewa). The office holder has extensive knowledge over the borders between villages and has ultimate authority over decisions in land disputes between villages.

means mother; the terms specify a "mother house" [de Vries "mudoederlijk huis", 1927:126] of the mataluma and a specific "mother" of the mataluma⁵⁶). The first term designates the principle house of each mataluma, what de Vries called "familie-tempel". The mapina luma inei is the female head of this group. Men can not assume this office, I was assured (cf. Jensen [1948:74] claims the opposite but calls the office incorrectly mainauma). All mataluma men can be called to build the house of the mapina luma inei (cf. de Vries 1927:129f.) and in it she stores the valuables which the group owns communally. Such valuables are always kept by elders on behalf of relatives and it is possible that in the past, most of them were kept in the luma inei. When the mataluma perform their wawa holina feast, the mapina luma inei cooks the rest of the collected and dried remains of wild game killed in traps. The meat is called wawa holina (forbidden meat) consisting of aluwe (heart and stomach), meini (tongue) and alu (the jaw) of wild game. This she serves to the mataluma members in the Chinese bowls (hana) which make up a large part of the traditional valuables of the Wemale. The mataluma members have to eat first but then the sau'ma (in-laws of the same generation) and other villagers can join in.

De Vries (1927:126-131) was severely criticised by Duyvendak (1928:537f.) about his description of the concept luma inai. This provoked Ruinen's (1929) justified defence of de Vries.

In Abio there are at least three mapina luma inei: Soupice Laamena, Sohia Haikutty Yamane upui and Josphina Mesinai Lumainei. The office seems at present not very important and it was even suggested by some that merely the clan Mesinai had this house (Lumainei) and office. Some informants disputed that this collective feast was celebrated in the village at all. Although collective claims are made for valuables, most items are now in the hands of private households rather than

⁵⁶Jensen (1948:68) reports in addition the term luma holi-holia for this ritual house. I never came across this term but 'rumah pusaka', an ancestral house sheltering family valuables is wide spread on Seram (e.g. de Vries 1927:126, Stresemann 1923:308,336, Seran 1922:109f., Ruinen 1929:225f.).

kept collectively in one house for a specific group. It seems likely that even in the past not all valuables were kept together (Ruinen 1929:227). Whatever the ownership status of these objects, I was informed that when the mapina luma inei is annoyed with a man of her mataluma, he will not be able to catch meat any more until he apologises and eats betel nuts with her. When the mapina luma inei dies her daughter normally succeeds her; otherwise a new woman who was born into the mataluma is elected.

This information suggests, parallel to the family household discussed above, that the mataluma had a female focus to it which contrasted with the kakehan and head hunting. The institution of the luma inei unites male mataluma members in a ritual feast in their house of origin. Unity is expressed by the house, its female head, commensality and access to the mataluma territory. In Ahiolo where no forest areas belong to individual matalumas and where hunting is of less importance compared to Abio, the institution is lost. The forests of Abio on the other hand are controlled by senior representatives of matalumas. The elder who exerts control over territory always carries the mataluma name of the group which is known to own the land communally (see chapter 3).

Conclusion

The changes in the Wemale kinship system are equivalent to transformations of what the "house" or luma on its various levels represents. With the loss of the kakehan, the demolition of the suane ritual village houses and most traditional rites under the pressures of Ambonese 'gurus', the individual household became defined in relation to the central Church. Gender categories then became blurred in the sense that women appear to have received an acknowledged role in the public Church, while men were held responsible for their households. It is therefore apt when Harris (1984:146) argues in general that the authority of a household head is not intrinsic to the relations between household members but must be sought in the wider social structure. More specifically she

observes "The very activity of census-taking, fundamental to state organisation, normally organises and defines households precisely around the identification of a single person who is answerable for other members of the domestic unit" (1984:146). In the past the house including its contents belonged to the wife but now the household is publicly represented by men, and the formerly unnamed households are known by the name of the male household and family head⁵⁷. The man's role as independent warrior was lost and whatever political power men managed to retain was defined in relation to the Church and state administrations which allocated men (as husbands and brothers) public responsibility for their household and junior relatives. Garden inheritance saw an emphasis on the father-son relationship. This form of inheritance is regarded as a "son perpetuating the house of the father", a fundamental reversal of how the family household used to be organised before colonisation. Inheritance of cash crop trees places weight on male replacement and succession in the household by recourse to an image of a male luma.

Lévi-Strauss, in his discussion about so called 'house based' societies (*sociétés à maison*), i.e. societies in which the house is a core social institution, argues that the concept of the house "...permits compounding forces which, everywhere else, seem only destined to mutual exclusion because of their contradictory bends. Patrilineal descent and matrilineal descent, filiation and residence, hypergamy and hypogamy, close marriage and distant marriage, heredity and election: all those notions, which usually allow anthropologists to distinguish the various known types of society, are reunited in the house, as if, in the last analysis, the spirit (in the eighteenth-century sense) of this institution expressed an effort to transcend, in all spheres of collective life, theoretically incompatible principles." (1983:184). The

⁵⁷The following chapter describes the couples relationship in more detail. In a fundamental sense the household was and is constituted by wife and husband but what I am arguing is that there was a significant change in the representation of the household which may result in the wife losing her former "ownership" of the house.

concept of the house is then often a prominent feature of societies with a loosely-defined kinship structure and it encompasses much flexibility in the social organisation and allows, as among the Kwakiutl, even a transition from a patrilineal to a matrilineal regime⁵⁸. At this place I will not discuss the contention that the above mentioned categories form inherently conflicting oppositions. However under the pressure of Church and State the traditional Wemale kinship system has changed a great deal while the concept of the house remains intact. Most pre-colonial ritual symbolism is lost and in particular the sacred house which used to represent an extended kinship group has either disappeared or declined in importance. Furthermore the past absence of "corporate characteristics" of individual households, with the exception of the luma inei, and relatively little wealth differentiation, used to portray the kinship group rather than the household as the "house". Today the individual household is primarily the luma, as it is this group which firstly accumulates durable wealth and secondly receives prominence in Church rituals and from the state administration.

The changes in the recruitment principles to the "house", as household or kinship group could be accommodated because of a shift in transmitting names. The change lost some of its disruptive force since cognatic descent continued to be recognised and continues to be an effective means of receiving support. Indeed most villagers did not know about changes taking place in respect to their kinship organisation and many elders were slow to agree that in the past the Wemale did not conform to agnatic descent principles concerning naming, which most other ethnic groups in the region emphasise. Elders do

⁵⁸His early examples suggest that he regards such societies as transitional from classless to class based societies. This did not apply to the Wemale who have as far as we know never developed significant status and wealth differences. However today households construct increasingly more solid houses, own cash crop trees and land. In the future it seems therefore likely that the distinctions which the Wemale lack, i.e. hypergamy and hypogamy may develop.

not see their kinship system in unilineal terms but stress collective responsibility of elders. Thus the luma, as mataluma or clan, is spoken of as a static entity but is never a strictly defined corporate descent group. Labelling an individual with a clan and mataluma name makes her or him a member of a kinship group which transcends the limits of the household but which does not underline exclusion from other groups. The primary identity, fixed by the name, is always complemented by claims to membership in the other matalumas to which a person can trace genealogical links. The process is mutual for different generations. The junior generation may or may not activate genealogical connections to an elder, unless s/he is genealogical parent or grandparent, and an elder, depending on her or his status in the village, may or may not take responsibility for a junior relative. The fact that an individual is nominally given only a single clan and mataluma name serves to separate individual "houses" and helps to maintain their exclusive identity vis-a-vis other "houses" in the course of time.

Chapter 5

Types of Marriage in the Absence of Weddings

In the previous chapter I have described changes in the kinship system relating to naming and the symbolism of the house. Adapting their practises to the norms of Ambonese Christianity as well as the state administration, the house is now publicly represented by the husband. He is considered to have authority over all household members and, to a certain degree, he carries the responsibility for their social conduct¹. Following the same logic, elders now stress that sons perpetuate the "house".

The present chapter is the first in a series which discuss attitudes and reactions of persons and groups to a ritualised and formal public domain. The majority of communal events are organised by the Church administration. However the village government and a council of elders, which is competent in all matters relating to 'adat', form part of this communal space. My intention is not to set up a dichotomy between a public and a domestic domain, associated with males and females respectively (cf. M. Strathern 1988:33). Rather I see two opposing poles to the social organisation of Ahiolo and Abio, both of which are equally important parts of social life. In the introduction and chapter 3 I have described how most daily activities are informally arranged and subordinated to individual and domestic control. Especially outside the village, men, women and children associate or (rather more frequently) remain by themselves, according to their temporary disposition. Multifarious possibilities of exploiting the environment and flexibility in organising labour helps facilitate such personal liberty. In striking contrast, the Church organisations and their ritualised procedures form a structured community with hierarchical relationships. Tension between the two social domains is not equivalent to simple oppositions between public and private, social and individual,

¹It is recognised that his authority over adult members is limited.

communal and domestic and natural and cultural. Contrary to commonly held expectations, I argue in following chapters that formalised Protestant rituals do not "create" a community without ambiguity. The ritualised bureaucratic procedures of religious and community life tend to repel villagers just as much as they draw them together as a village community. The household presents a strategic domain in which the Church and parish norms and regulations partly coexist and partly antagonise each other. It is perhaps slightly ironic that Church and state administration have to make constant efforts to expand their sphere of authority into the household while at the same time they constitute the household as a unit which is able to escape public constraints.

A household is located in between the formalised sphere of the administrative authority and the values mentioned in chapter 3 regarding domestic seclusion and independence. It stands for a place of retreat from a formalised public domain but also for fulfilling one's obligations as a competent and mature elder; contesting forces pull on one side for conformity and on the other for avoidance, without however developing controversial alternatives. Wedding ceremonies are a case in point. They constitute a public ritual for the formation of a new family and "house". The reluctance shown by villagers to perform the ritual shows that many householders achieve socially recognised "maturity" or adulthood without this official sanction.

During my fieldwork I did not witness a single Church or 'adat' (local customary) wedding². Eight couples set up common residence in Ahiolo; three of these occupied new houses and formed independent households but none indicated an ambition to organise any form of marriage ceremony, although I even attempted to persuade them by offering financial support to entertain guests. Setting up and running a competent household is thus by no means predicated on formal marriage. According to several "unmarried" householders who already had children,

²For a summarising description of Ambonese marriage 'adat' and Church weddings see Cooley (1966:160-224).

they would rather not bother going through with a wedding ceremony. This attitude reflects the distribution of marriage statuses in Ahiolo and Abio and will be demonstrated by statistics below.

To me this seems symptomatic for many Christian rituals (most 'adat' household rituals have disappeared). Empiricists may object that it is common enough for people to delay performing rituals on which they have to spend money. This is certainly true for Ahiolo and Abio and reflects what some persons actually say in response to enquiries (though the response that they have no money, kepene sai mo, is ritualised). The expenses for a modest wedding range between Rp 6,000-12,000 and are within the bounds of the financial capacity of most households. More significant is that the minister with the deacons, and to an extent the village government, exerted pressure in Church and village meetings to conform to the norms. They were intentionally being ignored. Before returning to the conspicuous absence of weddings, I want to provide some observations about typical relationships between husband and wife and then describe the types of marriage arrangements and their social implications.

Secrecy and the Bond between Husband and Wife

Early adulthood in Ahiolo revolves about match-making. Between the age of 15 and 25 youths secretly choose a partner. When at the age of five to six children increasingly leave the house to play with peers, girls and boys participate in the same games, although they also form independent groups for playing along the river. As children grow older, leave school, play less and take more of an active part in domestic tasks and gardening, these adolescents form not so much exclusive friendships but associate in certain village houses or on the public path. The centrally located house of a mature unmarried woman and her brother is a preferred meeting place. Bachelors can be seen drifting in and out from late morning onwards. Especially at night they sit together after normal householders have already gone to bed (meeting points for Abio

youths are less obvious than for Ahiolo; in Abio visiting seems more generalised among households and restricted to the early morning and evening). For the most part youths mainly chat but periodically certain card games become fashionable; another favourite occupation is singing and playing guitars. Boys exhibit self-conscious concern about their own looks; they blacken their thinly growing moustaches, wear jeans, training shoes and shirts. Girls sometimes join the bachelors after their supper at home is finished. Apart from these casual meetings in the village, young people enjoy visiting relatives living on the coast where they may stay for several weeks and initiate liaisons with local age mates.

A single girl and young man are rarely seen alone together and when they are, they are usually closely related. Adolescents tend to associate in the village with their own sex. Walking arm in arm with a friend along the village path, friendships may reach a level at which secrets are revealed to one another. Yet the chance that these revelations become part of communal gossip are quite high and there seems an element of deliberate manipulation in what and concerning whom somebody exposes otherwise guarded emotions. Other people cannot be sure about the truth of somebody's intentions. Rather than attracting attention to oneself, conversations pertain to absent third parties or general events. If a speaker addresses a present person, remarking on his or her emotional dispositions or behaviour, then the tone will combine the comical and the challenging. The response cannot be taken at face value; whatever the reply is, people will suspect that the respondent is acting deceptively (*ikuli*). This is an expression of what might be called an ethos of being single, unattached and without obligations. It is upheld by elders living on their own in the forests, by single youths and widowed persons³.

First contacts between youths of the opposite sex are always

³This is in marked contrast to Levy's (1973:152f.) description of Protestant Tahiti where people are anxious being on their own, particularly in the forest.

made in secrecy and parents have at this stage no control over their activities. Everybody suspects that blind passion forges such liaisons. Nevertheless certain generalisations about the qualities which husband and wife should possess can be made. In the past a potential husband ought to have captured a head and proven to be a fearless warrior. Physical appearance, especially of bachelors, is remarked upon and wins approval. Health and strength are thought to have similar effects. A middle aged mother explained to me that girls should neither be too thin, nor too fat, though there are no truly obese people. Villagers value light and smooth skin above darker shades, like the white complexions of Jesus, God and Moses on the Church calendar. A couple should be of similar age and show competence in the performance of their domestic duties. There seems a general desirability for younger wives to be able to host and entertain guests in the absence of her husband. The village secretary would label any person who withdraws to the kitchen or, even worse, leaves the house in the face of an official or unknown visitor, as stupid 'bodoh' (poroti). Being able to talk confidently is therefore, at least for some villagers, considered desirable, though the male role as representative of the household should not be subordinated by the wife's influence or abilities. Children and successors are wanted but this aspect seems not to interfere much in a couple's relationship. I never heard that a couple separated because they bore no children (rather they foster them). Divorce or separation is rare (see appendix C, section B.6 of tables 10 and 11; there are only two divorces in Ahiolo and in Abio respectively; see also Cooley 1966:217). Remarriage of widowed persons⁴ is possible and fairly frequent (compare tables 10C. and 11C.; there are 10 persons in Ahiolo and 15 in Abio who have remarried; the precise status of the marriage is not considered).

Prearranged meetings in the forest are associated with sex. Commonly only pregnancy brings a relationship suddenly into

⁴Widowed persons are addressed by putting a suffix to their name. Widowers receive the ending mara, widows the suffix nda.

the open. The community expects to hear about secret affairs and youths always attract speculation about who holds affection for somebody else. Adolescents on the other hand (girls even more than boys) categorically deny any interest in the other sex, let alone having affairs or plans for marrying. This process of the teasing of youths, and the rejection of any notion of entering into a relationship, is institutionalised by naming the couple after what they said during the period of courtship. For instance when somebody suggested to a young woman that she was going to marry a bachelor in Abio, she replied that she would never marry a local but only a Javanese merchant. Now she is known by the name of Jawasi (the suffix si on kinship terms indicates in general parenthood; however for teknonyms it signifies motherhood in contrast to the suffix mai which indicates fatherhood). One bachelor dismissed the girl he secretly courted by comparing her with a brand of rolling tobacco named "Amor". His reasoning was that the girl (who was a single mother because of an incestuous affair which could not be transformed into marriage) attracted as many young suitors as a wallet of Amor tobacco. The couple is now referred to as Amormai and Amorsi. The third example is less elegant but to the point. One couple is known by the name Entiamai and Entiasi. Here the Indonesian word 'berhenti' meaning "stop" is abbreviated into "enti". When the unmarried girl was teased about her apparent preference for her future husband, she shouted 'berhenti' to the challengers. Most couples are attributed with such names but not all are used. Predominantly they are employed as reference rather than address terms because the names are considered somewhat offensive and only persons with sufficient familiarity use them when talking to the person(s). Courtship is then initiated by secrecy between the couple (which ideally lasts throughout their life) and immediately challenged by gossip and often elders who object to chosen partners (see section about incest below). Objection by elders can result in friction between households and in a long struggle by the couple for their union. On rare occasions a couple runs away to escape the authority of elders ('kawin

lari')⁵.

In the past the majority of partners were chosen within the village. Table 10D. lists all persons who married into Ahiolo. There is no explicit rule which prescribes villagers endogamy but even today the village government encourages (in general) youths to marry within the community. Formerly it was practically impossible to marry into other communities without already having existing kinship links. All Alune villages from the area were summarily excluded (in Honitetu and other villages I found occasional mixed Wemale/Alune marriages). A marriage taboo is especially strict with villages with whom Ahiolo/Abio maintains a pela⁶ alliance. These include Manusa, Rumberu, Rambatu (which all have a so called blood pela alliance with Ahiolo/Abio. Watui holds a special status. It is a village with only some 8 households, some Wemale, some Alune; various people repeatedly affirmed that because of another pela nobody ought to marry with Watui. An even more significant factor which prevents marriage alliances with practically all nearby communities is past murders and warfare. A former war with Sumeit-Passinaro, for instance, and a suspected murder of an Ahiolo villager in the more recent past, prevents marrying with members. The case of one man who married a woman from Sumeit-Passinaro was seen as proof that the ancestors did not support such an alliance when his wife and two children died.

Generalising, several young Ahiolo women said that they would not like to marry anybody from Abio (it would however be acceptable if an Abio villager marries a resident of Ahiolo)

⁵Cooley's classification (1966:161,162) of Ambonese marriage into 'kawin minta', 'kawin lari' and 'kawin masuk' is not employed. Standard Wemale practise would fall under 'kawin masuk' (to marry by entering into the household of the bride). Unlike Ambonese habits, 'kawin lari' or elopement represents a defiance of elders' authority which is strongly condemned.

⁶The pela alliance is a kind of blood brotherhood between formerly hostile villages. In a ceremony, which is periodically repeated in one or the other community, the pact is renewed and the various taboos which are imposed upon members spelled out (cf. Cooley 1966:261-272, Bartels 1977).

but that it was good to marry into coastal villages. A few men and women from the coast marry into Ahiolo but I have no data about how many villagers left the community and married outside it. It would seem that women find it easier to marry into other communities while men find it more difficult to attract women from outside. At the time of my departure there were only half the number of young women of marriageable age (six) than there were young men. An imbalance in the sex ratio accounts for part of the difference but this is counteracted by bachelors who migrate for further education or jobs and who do not return to the villages. However so far the great majority of marriages are still formed within the village.

A couple which establishes a publicly known relationship is known as masuwanane (from hasuwana, to marry); the occasion is not marked by a formal announcement and the prospective husband is simply seen living in the household of the bride. His change of residence is known as iusu ilui, "he enters his head" into the house of his bride. Coresidence with the parents-in-law begins a period of bride service in which the husband needs to show his skills in supplying food. He should hunt meat, make sago and help with gardening. Living with parents-in-law and providing services, the husband needs to be brave and strong; to enter one's head into the household of the bride is said not to be easy. A friend of mine suspected a certain father with a marriageable daughter would demand excessive work from a future son-in-law. The bride service period may last anything from a few weeks to two years. Thereafter the couple sets up an independent household by building a new house (cf. chapter 4). I will call this type of marriage "bride service marriage". The bride service marriage is not formally confirmed by a ceremony of any kind but it makes the couples relationship public and meets at least the approval of the bride's parents-in-law. With time, and unless elders raise objection, the couple is treated as a fully competent unit in the circle of mature villagers.

In contrast to relationships with members of other households and family units, the dyadic tie between a couple

fundamentally constitutes an intense and persistent relationship based on mutual help, coordination and trust. In my experience most couples had harmonious relationships and supported one another. Neither husband nor wife were supposed to gossip about their consort to other people and matters relating for example to sexuality, cash and domestic troubles were strictly a couple's own concern. Twice during my fieldwork wives were reprimanded by elders for having unnecessarily involved other relatives in their domestic affairs. The couple's relationship is not only based on mutual trust and secrecy but there is a general expectation that it ought to keep its concerns to itself, paralleled by the expectation to be economically independent. After the Sunday service is finished and villagers are kept in church by the minister or deacons to discuss some problem or project, women slink away to go home and cook lunch. The delayed husband often returns home to tell his wife about the meeting. The couples I knew best whispered at night in bed, sometimes for a long time before falling asleep. They frequently could be found cooking a meal in the kitchen after sunset while chatting to each other. In the absence or during illness of his wife, a husband cooks for the family and there is a permanent need for household coordination about water supply, fetching food from the garden and collecting fire wood. When a wife is busy, washing or collecting food, fathers take care of babies and unless women have infants too young to leave behind, younger married women travel alone to visit relatives in coastal settlements and to shop in markets. Husband and wife maintain a certain degree of autonomy about what they do and how they structure their day, while maintaining cooperation and mutual assistance in running the household and raising children. Like no other relationship in the village the bond between a couple appears to create a continuous and complementary union⁷.

⁷I emphasise the couples cooperation and assistance not so much because I do not think that there exist inequalities among men and women which would be revealed by a more detailed analysis but because the couple seems to me to form the most essential lasting social relationship and because Wemale elders, women as well as men, regarded the couple as luma

A "traditional" Wedding or Expiating Incest?

Celebrations of "traditional" 'adat' weddings have declined in recent times. Instead couples will eventually yield to the combined pressure from minister and village government to hold a Christian wedding, usually after having sustained a household for some years. Elders seem to exert little pressure to perform an 'adat' ceremony, and therefore couples tend to ignore it. The gradual disappearance of "traditional" marriage is symptomatic of the general loss of elders' authority. In the eyes of many villagers, the ceremony creates the condition for the elders to arbitrate conflicts concerning the marriage in an orderly fashion. Once the 'adat' conditions are fixed in the ceremony, they impose the "traditional" law, as opposed to that of the Church or the state. The contemporary 'adat' wedding constitutes itself in a "subdued"⁸ opposition to Church and state law. Since 'adat' in general is, as we saw in chapter 2, in many respects a modified set of procedures and beliefs, I think it likely that the "traditional" wedding ceremony was not part of pre-colonial Wemale culture but was adopted together with and in contradistinction to the Christian wedding ritual from Ambonese Protestantism. This is perhaps less surprising when one accepts that 'adat' and Christianity had been features of Ambonese villages for a long time and that this dichotomy was introduced when the Wemale came under effective Dutch control. Thus in a sense not only Christianity but also 'adat' was introduced to the mountain villages and the Ambonese teachers who propagated Christianity would have found 'adat' as it coexisted in many forms among Christian Ambonese villages, acceptable and probably preferable to ancestral Wemale traditions.

The way elders described what is called the 'adat' wedding shows remarkable similarities with procedures described by Cooley under the categories of 'kawin minta' (1966:164-165) and

(house).

⁸Subdued because procedures are streamlined so that 'adat' does not constitute a positive alternative to Church beliefs and procedures, see below.

especially 'kawin lari' (1966:169-170) for Christian Ambonese villages. It begins by the husband's relatives, including his parents, coming to the house of the bride. Her family is already waiting but the door is closed and the groom's family has to knock on the door. Somebody inside the house says that nobody is home and then the entire party returns to the husband's house. This procedure is repeated up to three times and only then are the visitors asked to come inside. The women's male elders welcome the guests and ask what they desire. In return the groom's elders ask for the bride. As it is unlikely that at this stage any disagreement prevents the marriage, the couple will proceed and sit facing one another on a bench. Two elders explain their mutual obligations and duties in communal life and what compensation has to be paid when these rules are broken. A number of presents are exchanged between husband and wife and the wife's household provides food for all guests. Departing from the coastal ritual, no bride wealth is negotiated and the bride apparently does not leave her house to be led to that of her husband⁹. Nevertheless elders now dogmatically say that the husband remains in and perpetuates his house while the bride leaves hers to join her husband (see previous chapter).

Today the 'adat' wedding is only conducted when elders see a potential or imminent problem with the couple. Thus for example people say that all proper marriages contracted with outsiders should involve an 'adat' wedding. The most recent 'adat' wedding in Ahiolo was held when a young man initially refused to marry a pregnant woman he had a relationship with. He said that the girl had told him that the child was not his but conceived with another man. In this case the elders were determined to see the couple married and went ahead with the ritual (no Christian wedding had been performed). However the resentment of the husband's conviction proved too strong and he left the village. The matter remained unsettled when I

⁹Schadee (1915:133) describes a similar ceremony from north central Seram, stressing that the request for the bride is connected to the exchange of gifts and bridewealth and that this rather than an elaborate ceremony is the primary issue.

left, but it seemed likely that the husband's relatives would have to pay compensation to the bride's side because he had initiated the rift after the ritual.

A discussion of the 'adat' wedding ceremony presents certain problems. Firstly I did not have the opportunity to witness one and only received descriptions of its procedure from various villagers. Secondly Jensen (see also de Vries, 1927:105f.) briefly mentions¹⁰ that the groom visits the house of the bride to eat areca nuts with his future wife and in-laws, elders' speeches and he notes that large meal is celebrated afterwards (1948:140). Yet, Jensen also records that this ceremony (which he probably never witnessed) is not of great importance to husband or wife (1948:144). Instead subsequent life cycle rituals were far more salient¹¹. For the wife the celebration of pregnancy and the exchange of cords slung over the hips seemed to have attracted far more attention (1948:135, 142f.). In this ceremony the cord (watau kawalu) which was received at the beginning of puberty is replaced by another (watau pedi), irrespective of whether the woman was married or not (1948:143), although in the latter case no feast was held. For the man (according to Jensen 1948:144) the reception of a colourful headdress (punutu) and other ceremonial attire was of paramount importance, and this was often celebrated at the first pregnancy when the wife received her cord. Having stayed only a short time in the Wemale villages and relying practically entirely on informant statements, he may not have been aware of the real significance of the 'adat' wedding, just as he was not aware that marriage was connected to bride service. I think it probable that the ritual was either entirely absent (as the

¹⁰The age and number of elders who had performed the ritual (see table 10A. and 11A.) confirms the presence of the 'adat' wedding for the time when Jensen visited Ahiolo in 1937.

¹¹Jensen (1948) describes a series of other Wemale life cycle rituals from birth to death, none of which are performed any more (except for the newborn's "house leaving" ritual, much modified; see chapter 4).

bride service marriage is perfectly adequate to bring the couples intentions to public notice) before Christianity arrived or had little gravity and only received emphasis in contra distinction to the Christian wedding, though I lack direct evidence for these suggestions.

Marrying initiates a transitory period of bride service which leads to the constitution of a new household and reproduction. The birth of children (or in the past pregnancy) emphasises the unity of the couple which is underlined by teknonymy a practice by which parents are known and address each other by using their firstborn child's name (cf. Needham 1954:416; Geertz 1964:104). Furthermore societies which have bride service place no great weight on formal ritual weddings¹².

¹²This point is made by Collier and Rosaldo (1981:297), where they say that in bride service societies little stress is placed on formal marriage ritual which corresponds well with the above mentioned characteristics of teknonymy. It may be said that "marriage" in such cases is not so much a contractual coming together of husband and wife, instead successful gardening and reproduction are seen as the result of mutual endeavour over time. Collier and Rosaldo's dichotomy between bride service and bride wealth societies with their respective social features applies however only in certain respects to the Wemale. Noticeably the notion of the house is an important missing variable. In common with their typology of bride service societies, the Wemale can be said to be very concerned about individual adult control over the distribution of their produce, with the restriction of husband and wife who share this power (1981:278). The cultural stress rests not on exchange but on sharing. It can also be said that bachelors "achieve" social relations by marrying, in the sense that they can then set up a new and independent household. It would however seem that this only holds to a lesser extent for pre-colonial Wemale customs (see chapter 4), where men had public prestige and fame as warriors or members of the kakehan and only to a certain degree by being "drawn" into household reproduction. Contradicting their classification, Wemale tend to form nuclear family households, and there is no easy dissolution of a couple's bond, even in the absence of bride wealth. Adultery is very serious and can quickly lead to violence and compensation, as will be seen in chapter 6. However remarriage after the death of the consort is unproblematic and not linked to any compensation claims. Another contradicting point is that sexuality is not openly talked about and in the past, men showed fear of menstrual pollution (Collier and Rosaldo 1981:290). It also does not follow that women experience a "decline in female status and autonomy" (1981:284) after marriage. All these points contradict the Collier and Rosaldo typology.

Certainly elders conducted no negotiations about the amount of bride wealth. The Wemale seem to conceptualise "marriage" not as an exchange but as a retention of persons (in the luma) and their main concern lies therefore not in forming a new alliance but in preventing incestuous relationships within the endogamous community (cf. Gibson 1986:68). Thus the attention of elders focuses primarily on whether a match falls into the category of "incest", or not. The present wedding ceremony, hassuane adate, (Jensen 1948:140 gives the name tanaile masuwanane but this is not in use), only reaffirms a prior decision and primarily seeks to establish the elders' authority vis-a-vis the Church administration. The expiation rite reclassifies a formerly incestuous couple. It could not function like a wedding ceremony because not all marriages involve incest. Before continuing with the issue of incest, I have to address polygamy.

Elders now claim that Wemale always have been monogamous¹³ and that adultery was frequent. Polygyny contradicts in my understanding the notion of the couple as a secluded "house" but one instance was reported by Jensen (1948:141). De Vries (1927:107) claims that village heads and powerful members of the kakehan could have several wives. Thus polygamy was rare and unusual.

The ideal pre-colonial Wemale marriage was formed between a man and a woman from the same "house" (hassuane wai luma). As I pointed out rivalry about transmitting mataluma and clan names was consequently avoided. "House" and village endogamy are now somewhat embarrassing topics (de Vries (1927:107) reports luma exogamy). An educated villager commented that the villagers were stupid ('bodoh') because all their ancestors committed incest and only now would they know that genealogically close marriage causes people to be stupid.

¹³Ellen (1978:245, footnote 8) reports about the Nuaulu that large parts of the community rejected polygamy, even though this used to be practised in the past. The Nuaulu live in proximity to Muslims and the example shows that even in the absence of a Christian monogamous marriage conception, polygyny can be abandoned and "forgotten".

According to villagers, Church law ('hukum gereja') prohibits the marriage of descendants of common great grandparents. Decisions about such issues rest with the deacons because neither minister nor state administration have the necessary knowledge about kinship relationships¹⁴. What really concerned elders and what was categorised as serious incest or hatasile is based on a mixture of genealogical relatedness and different classificatory generations.

The definition of hatasile depends on the use of the ego focused Wemale kinship terms. Most of the terms are not much in use any longer but when incest is at issue, they are invariably employed to show that the couple forms a union which cross-cuts the category of generation. In other words, if the couple is not part of the same classificatory generation, then the relationship is defined as incestuous. A couple, like siblings and other villagers to whom no genealogical kinship links can be traced and who are of approximately the same age but different sex, call one another by the same term, leu (see appendix B). As Needham has pointed out (1974:74,105f.) biological age and generational classifications need not only analytical differentiation but produce contradictions within the kinship system in which they occur. Wemale couples are not only required to marry within their classificatory generation but also prefer to marry persons of roughly the same age (husbands are often a few years older than their wives); many women told me that they would not marry old men. Nevertheless a large number of couples find that they call each other haila/nema and wana, i.e. "uncle"/"aunt" and "child". If this or other incestuous relationships (intercourse between half and full siblings fall also under the incest taboo [cf. de Vries 1927:107]) become known, then the transgression of the ancestral taboos (holine or holiate) has to be expiated by performing a ritual called mulia hatasile (cf. de Vries 1927:123). Gravity of the incest is determined by the elders of the couple by their knowledge

¹⁴According to Cooley (1966:175) the Protestant Church extended the incest taboo to include the children of god-parents.

(or ignorance) of genealogical relatedness. The following example provides a typical case.

Eti (Esterlina) Latu is married to Absa (Absalon) Haikutty, although she can call him haila and he can address her as wana. Genealogically their relevant relationship is as follows: Eti's grandfather's sister married Absa's father. Therefore there is a one generation gap between the couple, even though they are of roughly the same age. This relatedness was considered sufficiently distant for the couple to remain married after performing the necessary expiating ceremony. When the situation was explained to me, I was not initially told that Absa's mother had been the sister of Eti's grandfather but that Eti called her uncle amausi¹⁵ and that the uncle called Absa's deceased mother nausi and that therefore Eti calls Absa's father memeu. This round about way emphasises how people name each other more than their genealogical descent.

When common descent is recognisably too close, the elders will not allow the union; on the other hand if the link is distant, then the couple can continue the relationship (unless other objections are raised) after readjusting the terminology¹⁶. Exactly where the critical point of genealogical relatedness lies is difficult to determine. Probably due to changes in the way incest is being defined, I was not told about whether there was a grading of strictness concerning incest transgressions¹⁷. Only incest with father or mother was given a special term (hasuki¹⁸; 'cukimai' in Ambonese Malay is

¹⁵The "u" between "ama" and "si" indicates first person singular.

¹⁶The adjustment is nominal since nobody but the persons concerned know how the terminology was manipulated to make the couple members of the same generation. The ambiguity can possibly affect the marriages of the children of the original couple which committed incest.

¹⁷Malinowski (1932:384-386,448f.) lists such degrees of incest among the Trobriand islanders. Henrietta Moore drew my attention to this point.

¹⁸Perhaps this is an Ambonese Malay word.

derogatory for a person who had sex with father or mother) and considered particularly bad. Undoubtedly cross (classificatory) generational incest was expiated in the past but whether and in which way it constituted grounds to reject a marriage remains an open question. Not surprisingly the hatasile is now open to manipulation and can be used by parents for rejecting the choice of their child¹⁹.

Formerly cousins within the same "house", i.e. who hold the same clan and mataluma name, were said not only to be possible but even preferred marriage partners (but see de Vries, 1927:107). The initiative to marry lay with the young couple rather than the parental generation²⁰. Engagement is known but not widely practised (I encountered only one example). When two young children are engaged to each other, a certain ceremony is performed. The changed status of the children is indicated by adding the suffix lia to their name. In case the promise is broken by one side, the other has to be compensated, as in 'adat' marriage arrangements. Elders continue to focus on prevention of incest, rather than positively contracting alliances with other "houses" or villages and this preoccupation with hatasile limits how persons can be retained within the luma. Husband and wife need to belong to the same classificatory generation and have to call one another "brother" and "sister" (leu)²¹. Only after

¹⁹Parents of a daughter are in a stronger position to refuse a son-in-law, as he is supposed to move into their household.

²⁰Jensen (1948:140) says that the parents arranged marriages when the children were young but that the children, once they were adolescent, could reject such arrangements. I was told by elders that youths had not been subject to parental match making, apart a from few exceptions (in which the children had to consent once they were old enough).

²¹The symmetry in terminology may be regarded as a further indication of the complementary character of the husband and wife relationship. In contrast same sex kinship terms are hierarchical and often extended to other relationships, e.g. between villages of common origin or between the parish divisions. A classificatory "sister" or "brother" who is married and has a child will be addressed as leusi. The suffix si indicates parenthood, like for other kinship terms like hailasi or namasi.

incest and any other potential problems are cleared can the 'adat' ceremony be held²². In the pre-colonial period, the union would at this stage have been accepted and a further ritual to confirm an alliance unnecessary. Thus it could be argued that the 'adat' wedding only becomes meaningful in relation to the Church ritual.

The Delay of the Church Wedding

Church and state wedding are intertwined but consist of separate procedures. Any marriage should be registered with the state administration. The village government occasionally suggests that the registration of the marriage ('surat kawin') entitles a couple's children to attend school. However Indonesia grants education to all children (which are in any case listed quite independently of the status of the marriage) and the intention of the leadership is merely to ensure couples register their union. Theoretically a possibility exists to marry exclusively via the registrar (civil marriage) but nobody makes use of this option. The correct procedure for marrying requires a couple firstly to go to Kairatu and to have the marriage officially documented for a fee of Rp 5,000. If the couple has already children, the fee for registration ('akte kelahiran') rises Rp 2,500 for each child. As villagers describe it, the civil document which the couple sign represents not the actual marriage. Rather the document issued by the administration consists in an acknowledgement of the union which contains a promise to perform the Church ritual subsequently. Marrying in Church provides the couple with the

²²The wedding ceremony and the expiation of incest ritual both constitute two affinally related sides (cf. Bloch 1989: 91,95;1971:58). Here the wedding celebrates the coming together of the couple's "houses", while the incest ceremony separates them. Similar to the feast in which the Wemale villages and the main clans were formed (tanaile babu siwa), the full ritual involves the slaughter and eating of an entire wild boar (however the name babu signifies that a domestic pig was used for the feast). Dissecting and consuming the entire pig is the means by which social groups are separated from each other. The concerned couple may also loose membership in their clan and mataluma and receive a new name.

status of 'bersumpah nikah'. A reversal of this sequence is possible under special circumstances when the minister grants his approval.

A critical factor of the Church wedding is that it is predicated on the Christian confirmation of both partners. In order to become confirmed, a villager has to attend religious tuition for several years. After a test, the person becomes confirmed and acquires the status of 'anggota sisi'. The constraints which the religious schooling imposes on youths who have normally left school are highly disliked and a number of persons never bother to become 'sidi'²³. By implication this means that they cannot perform the Church wedding. In the past the Church apparently rigorously forbade those who had relationships with non 'sidi' to marry in Church and thus created a second class of "unmarried" couples²⁴. A confirmed person who is married to an unconfirmed cannot take the Holy Communion. Any incomplete or improper union, in the Christian sense, can still be covered by the 'adat' wedding which is accessible to everybody, christened, unchristened, confirmed and unconfirmed. The 'adat' wedding is then not neutral in relation to the Church wedding.

Nowadays the minister allows couples to perform a Church wedding, even if one of them is not yet a 'sidi'. The unconfirmed person promises to attend the religious teaching and to become a 'sidi' later. In a certain sense, such a marriage increases the obligation to become a 'sidi'. As far as I am aware no positive discriminations against non 'sidi' or unmarried couples are made in ordinary village life.

²³On Christmas the village head put pressure on various youths to join catechism classes which last for 3 years, held twice a week for one to two hours (in Ambon and for better educated pupils the period is reduced). Youths under instruction are not allowed to leave the village without prior permission of the minister or deacons and their public behaviour is generally closely watched by deacons (cf. Cooley 1966:412f).

²⁴It is in fact the other way round, the Church created an exclusive category of couples who both marry as confirmed Christians. This sets all other forms of marriage against it.

However it would be difficult to be elected into the village government and impossible to become a deacon without the status. In my opinion, the couples who have avoided performing these (and other Christian) rituals try to delay such responsibilities or to avoid them altogether.

I have now described how a couple's union can be sanctioned by different stages in the marriage status. Firstly there is the bride service marriage which lacks public celebration; secondly there is the 'adat' wedding; thirdly civil marriage and fourthly the Christian wedding ('bersumpah nikah'). The latter is more or less directly connected to the registration of the state administration ('surat kawinan') and thus subsumed under the same category "Church wedding" in the tables. 'Adat' and Church wedding are not mutually exclusive and I have therefore added a fourth and supplementary category which comprises all couples who performed both.

Table 8 Comparison of Types of Marriage between Ahiolo and Abio (the census adds section A., B.2., B.3. and B.4. of table 10 and 11 in appendix C)

Status of the relationship	Ahiolo	%	Abio	%	Sum	%
1. Bride service marriage	11	27	25	31	36	30
2. Adat ceremony (<u>hassuane adate</u>)	1	2	9	11	10	8
3. Church wedding ('bersumpah nikah')	19	48	16	20	35	29
4. Couples with 'adat' and Church wedding:	9	23	31	38	40	33
Total:	40	100	81	100	121	100

The most important result from table 8 is that only 62% of all recorded couples married in Church; for Ahiolo the percentage rises to 70% and for Abio it declines to 58%. On the other hand the correlation is reversed for 'adat' weddings. Compared to a total of 42% of all couples, Ahiolo has only 24%, while Abio has 50%. The percentage of bride service marriages is as high as 28% for Ahiolo and 31% for Abio. This general

comparison indicates that Abio adheres more to "traditional" 'adat' weddings and Ahiolo more to Protestant weddings. There are two likely reasons for this which both result from Abio's larger population. A bigger share of old people makes it firstly probable that a higher proportion are not 'sidi' because they either failed the standards to become 'sidi' or evaded confirmation in the first place. The nine couples in Abio, who married only 'adat', had probably no 'sidi' status. Thus the percentage of Christian weddings in Abio is consequently subject to some uncertainty since I am unable to report whether the concerned persons were 'sidi' or not. In Ahiolo there is only one case, the separation of a young couple mentioned above. Secondly, as we saw, the elders of Abio consider themselves as carriers of tradition and perform "traditional" rituals more frequently. The resident minister in Ahiolo probably brought about the opposite tendency in Ahiolo. In both villages there is a high proportion of couples who could or would not marry in Church.

Table 9 Comparison of Marriage Status between Ahiolo (1988) and Abio (1989) according to Age; (the table summarises tables 10 and 11, sections A., B.2., B.3. and B.4. in percentage)

Age of older partner	<25 years		<45 years		>45 years	
Status of marriage:	Ahiolo	Abio	Ahiolo	Abio	Ahiolo	Abio
1. Bride service marriage	5	12	20	15	2	4
2. 'Adat' ceremony	2	1	0	7	0	3
3. Church wedding	0	1	38	15	10	4
4. 'Adat' and Church wedding	0	0	13	28	10	10
Sum:	7	14	71	65	22	21

Table 9 provides a break down of table 8 according to age groups. It clearly shows that a sizable proportion of middle aged couples do not perform 'adat' or Church weddings, not

just the age group under 25, as one would expect. Considering that during my stay in Ahiolo three young couples (not included in the tables) set up independent households, but made no arrangements for ritual celebrations, the percentage for bride service marriages in Ahiolo would be even higher. The high rate of bride service marriages among the middle aged in Ahiolo (20%) possibly suggests there is an overall increase of couples who are content with their status. In other words, the phenomenon of "not marrying" is not restricted to youth and may be increasing quite independently of the fact that in Ahiolo, Christian marriages appear more prevalent than in Abio, where 'adat' weddings are more frequent.

Reluctance to perform Church weddings is not an isolated social fact. For instance to argue that couples cannot marry because it is predicated upon confirmation only poses the question, why are village youths reluctant to become 'sidi'? During fieldwork I kept asking people about their lack of motivation to marry. With respect to the Christian ritual villagers usually asserted that it was too expensive, although already married elders rejected this notion. When pressed, the "dodger" might add that it is a long way to Kairatu. The obvious reluctance to perform public ritual does not lead to a questioning of the norm which has it that all couples should be married in Church. Many householders in Ahiolo consider 'adat' weddings redundant and some youths even consider them dangerous in that if a couple performed the ritual and there was trouble, then the compensation had to be paid in full. By not marrying, compensation could not be claimed and nominally elders are supposedly not even entitled to arbitrate the conflict. This view seems to me somewhat illusionary as elders or the government will always settle disputes. Another view was taken by a young man with interest in religious knowledge. He agreed nostalgically with me, that all villagers should hold 'adat' weddings, not just marriages of outsider individuals who marry into Ahiolo. By far the most revealing explanation was conveyed by a young householder and father (his wife and he himself are both 'sidi'). He explained that if he and his wife would marry, the minister would come and

urge him all the time to become a deacon. Certainly becoming a deacon promotes him in the parish hierarchy but it makes for a busy, harassed, life with heightened communal obligations. Such parish service is unwelcome. Similarly householders gain little or nothing if they perform the wedding rituals. In the end they will probably succumb and perform them but for the time being they could be postponed without facing unpleasant consequences.

The village leadership was troubled by the minister's and deacons' failure to persuade couples, who merely had the bride service marriage status, to comply with the Christian norm. As I mentioned in chapter 4, they imposed a restriction of naming practices. Taking the view of the Church, the village government now proclaims that as long as the couple is not married in Church, wife and children cannot receive the father's name and offspring are thereby precluded from perpetuating his "house". This, they say, is 'adat' practice²⁵. Such children are now automatically registered under the mother's mataluma name when the father comes to the village secretary to register the birth and to have the child's name documented in the village books. This imposition, the leadership thinks, will increase the father's wish to hold a Christian marriage ceremony, because he will want the children to continue his rather than his wife's name.

The leadership's assumption about a general desire for patrilineal name succession is correct and will prove an incentive for Church weddings. The village head defined 'adat' in opposition to the Church and vilified it since such 'adat' no longer allows succession through the father. This, not the inability of bride service couples to attend Holy Communion or their supposedly lower status was the primary point at which he can exert power. The village government has thus redefined

²⁵It is commonly accepted in the village that under 'adat' custom children follow the mother. In this respect no difference is drawn between 'adat' marriage status, bride service marriage and the undesired situation (suku nyana) when fatherhood is not acknowledged. 'Adat' marriage does not necessarily enable a husband to name children after him.

'adat' by conflating bride service marriage and 'adat' marriage, and suppressing the fact that even in the past, at least one child was allowed to "follow the father". The village government's language of transition and modernisation denigrates the "traditional" compared with the normative Christian life.

Conclusion

Marriage among the Wemale is a gradual process which begins with secret liaisons, the "entering" of the groom into the house of the bride's father and the bride service period. Although the 'adat' wedding defines rights and obligations of the couple, the ceremony is of lesser significance than the birth of children and the founding of an independent household. This is underlined by the fact that a number of couples never perform a public wedding ceremony. Their status, of what I have labelled bride service marriage, makes them mature and competent members within the village community, although it excludes them from official positions in the parish and governmental office. The Church and 'adat' wedding in contrast defines the couple's status towards the community, the Church and state. The general reluctance to perform these ceremonies equals a reluctance to assume public office. In the words of the village secretary: "... people are busy marrying but not strong enough to take up their responsibility" ('.. ramai-ramai kawin tapi tidak mampu masyarakat tanggung jawab'). Simultaneously the couple shelters itself within the household from public interference. Although unmarried villagers say that they do not wish to marry and give up their independence, it can be said that the villagers' emphasis of the household as an independent unit serves to maintain individual autonomy within marriage. It may even increase when the couple sets up an independent household free of any interference in the daily routine by the parental generation. This applies also to couples who have married in public ceremony, but obviously to a lesser degree. To put it differently since the loss of independence and conversion to Protestantism the public roles of adults were deprived of

their aspect of energetic power, ceremony, wisdom and danger (cf. Levy 1973:196f.). The impoverished adult life offers few rewards but considerable burdens. To set up a household without marrying allows couples to become independent; to avoid a marriage ceremony allows them to evade public responsibility.

Chapter 6

The Council of the Elders and Village Meetings

In the last chapter I located the household or luma in its strategic position in relation to the "public", primarily represented by the parish but also by village government and other households. We saw how a luma can be founded by young couples without going through the wedding rituals. Conversely the parish with its institutions seeks to define and construe the household in a dependent relationship to its centralised organisation and an almighty God. Thus Church rituals and the visits of the deacons to individual households and the prayers spoken on the luma's behalf set elusive householders in a static relationship to the parish and its norms. I described these antagonistic tendencies by discussing marriage and the founding of new households. However in chapter 4, it was also made clear that the village with its households is conceived of as a group of relatives. Here the luma is not only a separate household but part of a larger kinship group which is also labelled "house" and which binds households to one another.

Especially during village meetings but also informally, dignified elders integrate households. At first glance their authority is based on kinship relationships and appears reminiscent of their former glory as bold warriors. In fact their political power is limited. Village government in union with state law and the Church, restrict the council of the elders' responsibility and relegate it to what became regarded as a primary version of the notion of village 'adat'. It does not automatically follow that either the state or Church administration exerts more effective control over householders (the relationship to state and Church is examined in this and following chapters) than the elders. Given these conditions, the council of the elders exhibits distinctly different values and principles than those which govern village meetings, called by the village government. To grasp the contrast between the format of the two meetings is essential as I shall

argue that they are not two versions of the same set of power relationships. The comparison serves here to illustrate where the "household-bridging" authority of elders ends and where the "abstract" power of the administration begins.

Village meetings have a fixed hierarchical structure in which the subjects of the state are told what is expected from them. The highly authoritarian tone of these meetings is conspicuously interwoven with the rhetoric of development: simultaneously there are orders to be obeyed, future favours to be gained and sacrifices to be made for securing household and village benefits. Conformity is obligatory but (in the logic of development) also for the good of villagers and this serves as a legitimation of the demands made on households. The authoritarian style of the village meeting remains largely confined to the meeting itself. The potential power of the central administration forms, of course, a threat implicit in the background of any actual meeting, but every village assembly ritually enacts and institutionalises relationships of authority which are to some degree as illusory as the presumed benefits of development.

The villagers distinguish three spheres of power and authority: 'hukum gereja' (the law of the Church), 'hukum pemerintah' (law of the State) and 'hukum adat'. 'Hukum adat' means in this context not the entire body of what is considered to be indigenous Wemale customs but more specifically regulations, norms and procedures as far as they concern conflict in the village and among neighbouring communities. As has been discussed 'adat' cannot be accepted at face value for genuinely pre-colonial values and practices¹. The sole fact that 'hukum adat' is restricted to conflict is at least partially a reflection of the state administration's desire not to be burdened with internal village quarrels. Building upon the notion of custom, "adat"

¹Only in a very broad sense would I defend the idea that the 'adat' council is the product of pre-colonial egalitarianism and a striving to preserve personal and household autonomy.

acquired legal² qualities (Adatrecht) under the Dutch (cf. Lev 1972:252) and became an instrument of indirect rule³, as long as it did not clash with either state, or in Ahiolo and Abio, Church interests. In this meaning 'adat' was and is congenial to maintaining control with the least effort and resistance. Theoretically village disputes ought therefore to be settled between the groups concerned and only then brought to the attention of the village head. The villagers agreed generally that internal conflicts should be resolved among themselves and outside agents, like the police, stationed in Kairatu, are hardly ever called upon, except for homicide cases (it is obligatory to report homicide to the police). Ultimately the village government decides about the status of the conflict. The council of elders represents 'adat' in distinction to the Church and the village government⁴ and its invocation of the

²When Bourdieu (1977:17) writes, "Thus the precepts of custom, very close in this respect to sayings and proverbs (such as those which govern the temporal distribution of activities), have nothing in common with the transcendent rules of a juridical code: everyone is able, not so much to cite and recite them from memory, as to reproduce them (fairly accurately)." he draws attention to the fact that much of what we call customs (and in Bourdieu's terminology "habitus") has no direct legal relevance. Once certain aspects of social life were however widely enshrined as 'adat' law in Indonesia, it seems logical that village heads were delegated to settle minor conflicts, even where no codification of 'adat' had taken place (as among the Wemale).

³All three domains, 'adat', Church and State are related to one another and have their own power structures and procedures. As was common practice, the Dutch administration either created or redefined existing "indigenous" offices for its own purposes. By installing a "traditional" head of 'adat' (subordinated to the village head), local customs came indirectly under the supervision of and thus became dependent upon state control. 'Hukum adat' can be over-ridden by the government (legislation) and national law. The latter is also superior to religious law and stipulates that regional 'adat' traditions have to be subordinated to Church law.

⁴There is a clear difference to Cooley's (1966) description of 'adat' on Ambon, further discussed in the next chapter. The present day village government is not as closely associated with local 'adat' as Cooley describes it to be. It is as much aligned to Protestantism as to 'adat' but, depending on the context, may also distance itself in certain respects from either.

ancestors serves to reach legitimate consensus.

An Adat Meeting of Elders

The elders' council to settle conflicts is attended by the involved persons and their close senior male kin. Once labelled 'adat', the language used is Wemale⁵. Minor meetings are held in the house of either the village head or secretary. Women and children assemble outside and watch at doors and windows. The elders assemble in the house of the 'kepala adat' or 'saniri'⁶, an officially acknowledged ritual expert, for major delicts⁷ such as severe cases of incest, adultery or homicide. The village government partakes automatically but may play a subordinated role. Demonstrating calm pride asserts generally independence towards and distance from fellow villagers. This is more pronounced for men than women. Unrelated male householders call each other frequently kela or friend, while related persons of the same sex are always

⁵The Wemale is corrupted by Ambonese Malay and Indonesian.

⁶Villagers regard the 'saniri' as the main public political village organisations in the Wemale region of the past. It was probably an instrument of the Dutch administration because the 'saniri' constituted a village council, an assembly of all mature village men. It elected the 'raja'. The literature (Tauern 1918:145-155; Duyvendak (1926:75-96); Jensen 1948:82-86) describes a regional meeting for each of the three river areas on western Seram as 'saniri' or 'saniri hutu'. It resolved regional issues like inter village conflicts and served the Dutch to exert administrative influence over the area (Jensen 1948:82, Seran 1922:137-139). All authors suspect a close link between the kakehan and the 'saniri hutu'. The elders of Abio did not agree with such a view (cf. also Jensen 1948:85), nor did they think that the 'saniri' was in any way linked to the kakehan. They argued that the 'saniri' was an ordinary village council and that the regional 'saniri', as imposed by the Dutch, assembled only exceptionally. The origin of the 'saniri hutu' remains then obscure but it is clear that the institution was used by the Dutch.

⁷Instead of stating that an action or behaviour is a breaching of traditional norms or 'adat', Wemale villagers can use the term holine. Holine means forbidden or taboo and is not a comprehensive code of regulations as Jensen (cf. 1948:126, 145ff) claimed since unlike holine 'adat' is also supposed to prevent conflict or at least to lay down the rules of conduct and for compensation of transgressions.

addressed as elder or younger sibling, wali-waya, and other kin terms. The women's vocabulary contains no equivalent for "friend". Those of the same generation call each other wali-waya (which means in this case older and younger sister) and all other village members with other kinship terms (see appendix B). This underlines the idea that all villagers are seen to be related. Yet men who do not trace common kinship invoke friendship which connotes mutual good will.

All persons cognatically related and of senior age and generation are the person's elders, vested with legal and moral authority over the junior. However in most conflicts, male rather than female elders take responsibility for their offspring. Elders include the father, both grandfathers, mother's and father's brothers and male (older) siblings. Only if these categories are under-represented, male (parallel and cross) cousins can speak on a persons behalf. Only when major conflicts have arisen, are the household boundaries extended and the authority of elders is called forth to arbitrate conflicts. Under these circumstances the elders can be regarded as a bridging extension of individual households. Like the appellation of the village ancestors (kaitia) they take on responsibility for their "children".

The following description draws on my notes of a council convened over a case of adultery between a married woman and a widower in Ahiolo on the 17. March 1988. This was the most serious and therefore formal 'adat' meeting I witnessed. The elders, some came from Abio, assembled in the house of the 'kepala adat'. They entered by the front door and took their seats on benches standing parallel to the walls. Supporters of the main contending groups sat on either side of an elongated circle but the third set of people involved did not sit together. No tables designated a front and no spatial hierarchy was apparent. The plaintiff, from the "house" Latekay-Laamena, confronted the defendants, the senior

representatives of the wife, Latekay⁸ and the adulterer Haikutty on the other (see list which shows the names of persons and their relationship to the main characters, below). Adulterer and adulteress sat bent forward, looking steadily at the floor. The wife⁹ (i.e. the adulteress) sat isolated among her affines, not her legal representatives. Women and children had been forbidden to follow the events, so very few were watching. Two young men in uniform were there on orders of the village head to prevent fighting. They are members of the military organisation (called ABRI, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia), which the village maintains by decree of the State.

The 'kepala adat' was not spatially singled out as the leader of the meeting but he sat among the husband's group. As the guardian of the meeting he stayed neutral during the session. He was hardly noticeable for long periods. Another elder (No 5), who is also senior deacon, opened the meeting by reminding everybody of the taboo on fighting in the 'kepala adat's' house¹⁰. Two additional elders (No 2 and 3 on the list) were also said to be 'kepala adat', though they held no officially recognised position as such. Elders are all paid respect and formal positions become of little concern.

⁸I know of no mataluma affiliation since the wife's parents changed names from clan Mesinai to Latekay because of their incestuous relationship. After performing the mulia hatasile ritual the couple lost its original clan affiliation and adopted the name Latekay.

⁹Initially she was the only woman, but was later comforted by the 'adat' chief's wife who placed herself next to her.

¹⁰People who do not comply have to pay a fine, the meat of three cuscus (tree climbing marsupials) and three bamboos filled with palm wine.

List of Persons Attending the 'Adat' Meeting in Ahiolo

The meeting took place in the house of the ritual head in Ahiolo, on the 17 March 1988. The principle kinship relationships as they were alluded to by speakers are indicated¹¹.

A. Not Directly Related or Neutral Persons:

1. 'kepala adat/saniri': Johan Mesinai (FBD was husband's [5.] stepmother)
2. Marcus Haikutty: father of 5.
3. Oleng Haikutty: in the past elder of the Haikutty clan ('kepala soa')
4. Andreas Latekay: village secretary, distantly and affinally related to Since (14) and adulterer (19).
5. Zaka Haikutty: leader of deacons and expert in Wemale ritual
6. Amus Haikutty

B. Group of Husband and their Kinship Relationship to him:

7. Uta Latekay Laamena: husband, FyZS=19.
8. Wem Latekay Laamena: FyB
9. Demi Latekay Laamena: FBS
10. Andi Latekay Laamena: eB
11. Chales Latekay Tayane: MyB
12. Meri Latekay: FyZS
13. Bastian Latekay: MBS

C. Group of Wife and her Kinship Representatives:

14. Since Lakekay: wife
15. Octovianus Latekay: eB¹²
16. Moses Kwuatomole: village chief, MeBD
17. Pede Mesinai: FeBSD
18. Dace Mesiani: FeBD

D. Group of Adulterer and their Kinship Relationship to him:

19. Marcus Haikutty: MeBS=6.
13. Bastian Latekay: FyZS
20. Merianus Haikutty: three generational link through father

¹¹At the time I compiled this list I did not sufficiently comprehend the concept of luma or house as described in chapter 4. I can only provide an incomplete list of mataluma affiliations, but these are, in any case, of no major significance in Ahiolo.

¹²The reason why the wife's (No 14) elder brother is not the primary legal representative is that although he still carries the name Latekay, his clan affiliation is Haikutty. Having accidentally killed a member of the Haikutty clan, he himself substituted the victim by becoming a member of that clan. Since then his former kinship connections are acknowledged but he no longer carries primary legal authority.

Third party elders sometimes take sides but are generally concerned with preventing an escalation of the conflict. One man (No 11) spoke resolutely. As an unchristened¹³ man who lives with his family isolated in the distant mountain, he was credited with authority. The otherwise eloquent secretary spoke only once and his advice to postpone the meeting was ignored. The village head, on the other hand, was a prominent speaker but he emphatically distanced himself several times from his official role. He explained that he did not speak as 'kepala desa' (village head) but only as senior representative of the wife who committed the adultery. Generally he was articulate but submissive towards council and plaintiff. The ritually versed person No 5, concluded the meeting with a Wemale chant, after five and a half hours.

Most elders expressed an opinion at some stage and quietly uttered comments were interjected throughout the session. Several speakers became the main orators, speaking in turns and not usually for long periods. When tempers rose, several persons spoke and shouted simultaneously. The speeches were shorter than during government village meetings. They began with standard phrases to show peaceful intentions and, on the side of the defendants, a ritualised admission of wrong doing. Despite the taboo that bans "hitting with arms and legs", Bastian Latekay (No 13), who is equally related to the husband and the adulterer, lost his temper and punched (topo) Marcus. He was immediately fined although he was an elder of the adulterer (and he was going to help raise the compensation payment). Some elders commented that he should have done the beating before the meeting. Later the adulterer was beaten by the husband. Although the two men were separated by elders and the two above mentioned youths in uniform, many elders said that this was not beating but only "educating" ('ajar' or

¹³He and his wife were un-christened and refused to become Christians; some of their children lived in Abio and attended school. They were baptised.

'didikan' and hano)¹⁴. The adulterer once lived in the household of the husband and his wife. In fact the two men are first cousins calling each other brother. Consequently the husband was not fined and some voices said instead that he behaved well: he did not kill the adulterer when he learnt about the incident but restrained his emotions. Violent retaliation continues to be a real threat and led in the past to numerous feuds. Towards the end, the agitated village head, who was visibly ashamed for his junior cousin, slapped her several times with his open hand. Nobody interfered or said anything and the 'raja' was not fined.

Initially the atmosphere of the council was strained and only as the men began smoking and chewing betel nuts tensions gradually relaxed. The defendant sides had from the onset conceded guilt. Had elders not already agreed in principle on the behaviour of their juniors, the meeting would have led to more controversy. This is an important point to observe since the reader might be misled by the following quotations from the council into seeing too many parallels to the hierarchically structured government village meetings described below. As it was, the elders of adulterer and adulteress turned in uniform vehemence against the offenders. The guilty sides were more reprimanding than defending their juniors in front of the council. The culminating outrage provoked the violence, aimed mostly at dependants. There were constant warnings that the trouble ('masalah') should end with a solution which would not result in further trouble.

The main purpose of the meeting was firstly to decide whether the couple would divorce or remain married. Secondly the price of compensation for the husband's group had to be agreed about. Most of all, the elders wanted to find out what the relationship between wife and adulterer was. At first the defendants invited the husband's party to decide over the

¹⁴One man said: "Kasuwei ho hole deruwei walini na ho, mata ititiwa", which means: "Good, throw him away (abandon the offender) because he himself (the husband) has a younger brother (in the adulterer) it is good (to beat him), so that he will understand (now)".

marriage¹⁵ and claim the amount of compensation for the adultery. They admitted guilt and felt that they could not speak up (since they were ashamed). The offer was instantly rejected by the husband's side who pointed out that all groups should openly express their feeling and contribute to an agreement. Then most of the meeting passed by asking and then demanding that the culprits reveal what kind of a relationship they maintained with one another. The wife was pressed hard to declare whether she wanted to live with her husband or not. Like Wemale children being disciplined, the two sat silently while being alternately questioned and reproached. The collective condemnation of the elders weighed visibly on their shoulders and offered little encouragement to overcome their shame and speak up. The following transcription is from a taped record selected from the mid section of the meeting. For reasons of readability I append the Wemale transcription (in the order of speakers) in appendix D.

No 13 "Great Ones (i.e. elders/ancestors) I speak a little bit. Indeed we ask the woman until now and indeed the woman has given no answer yet. Therefore we ask the man (adulterer) first so that we understand all the facts (data) before we ask the woman again. Not that we only ask the woman while the man sits silently. Let's try asking the man in order that we understand who is true, so that the two go together; if not, the man sits silently like before. So, who knows, the women, she said possibly nothing because she wants? to hear from the man first since he is only thinking. So perhaps she doesn't like it as it is now; ask first the man, this is what I say to the elders."

No 10 "Who asks Maku? Maku you have not declared yourself yet, speak."

No 19 "I confess like a person who sinned, I prepare myself (to give) the compensation, I am truly ready (to pay)."

No 10 "That compensation, it must be high, it must be discussed."

No 9 "We have not reached that decision yet. Speak decently!"

No 1 "This comes last, when the meeting is finished, that comes at the end; that comes from us Great Ones (is up to us) later on."

¹⁵Their five children attracted little attention in the following discussion.

No 10 "You made us come here with "that" (trouble), but my friend (and) brother (they are cousins), who are you, who am I?¹⁶ In truth I see you together with (my/your/our) brother Leniamai¹⁷."

No 4 "That problem, does (did) it come first from the woman or the man?"

No 10 "If we question the woman, to admit (announce) whether the man with the woman, you two, whether you were happy with one another, does she answer? If the woman hides her inside (feelings) from us elders, you reveal what happened. That is because here are the Great Ones, but there is (also) like the government's law/jurisdiction which demands the entire truth - as long as the matter does not come up again (and) you don't do wrong again. How did the woman speak to you or how did the man (husband?) talk to you, or did the woman say that you two leave or you two marry, (talk) so that the elders can hold (judge) it. But if you bury it (remain silent) then, in the end, that will mean . . . I speak to you openly (with honesty), you! I myself still have a younger brother¹⁸."

No 20 "Elders, I speak a little bit more. (From) Maku, I try to ask you a little bit. So, you are not allowed talking like this before, don't talk to the Great Ones, "I (give) compensation", that is not 'adat', you are not allowed (to speak) like this."

...

No 10 "You don't feel friendship (shame)."

No 20 "Now, perhaps Leniasi¹⁹ kissed him - did you kiss Lenia? ... So you say compensation, so the compensation is not your own matter alone (it is not only you who is affected by the compensation). Try (see) if later on the compensation is large, undoubtedly we, the whole family, will have to carry the burden. So Maku, you need to think, not that you sit (like) before and say oh, I do it. ..."

No 13 "Maku open yourself (say what you think), you see the venerable Uncle Meri, who is he? Or me, who am I? We are all brothers in a house (younger and older brother in one family)."

¹⁶This stereotyped rhetorical question is only asked when conflicts arise. It is intended as a reminder that the two sides or persons are the same or related and should therefore not inflict harm upon one another.

¹⁷Leniamai is a teknonym for the husband, No 7.

¹⁸He could mean either his brother Uta or the adulterer. The ambiguity seems intentional.

¹⁹The wife (No 14), and the mother of Lenia. Leniasi is a teknonym and the ending si designates motherhood (cf. footnote 13).

No 20 "Because we here are like human Great Ones, we don't behave like that. We did not order you to ask Leniasi, so that you two receive each other, you two commit a mistake of hands and a mistake of legs, now you two have us Great Ones sitting here."

Some time lapsed before the resigned adulterer quietly admitted that the act of adultery had been, as it were, "an act of temporary passion"²⁰ and that they never intended to marry. His expression²¹ stirred again the anger of the elders. The attention reverted to the wife who was even more reluctant to speak. Eventually after an elder had declared that he would go home to have lunch (because nothing would come from this), she admitted her fault and said she wanted to return to her husband. Like the adulterer, she only spoke one or two brief sentences and excited considerable emotions. In particular the village head gave her a long lecture, reprimanding faults²² in her general behaviour. He told her that she should stay at home and not socialise with the village youths. Following this example other misconduct was recounted by senior relatives of her husband (who himself however remained silent).

²⁰The revelation caused embarrassment among the elders since the comparison between him and the pig was regarded as shameful:

"Yau pilihuwa ukina, seh, memang, suka se hasuwana 'memang tidak bisa. Memang' yau berbuat' duwei ni, 'karena memang manusia yang u'salah' ni. Umanakuwe wawei seh tohiaya unsate yakale eane Yau kina ke pilihuwa."

"I said already before that (we) received (each other) but marriage is indeed not possible. Indeed I already did it with her because, indeed, I am a human who made a mistake (sinned). I admit towards him/her that it is true that I am like a pig which feeds! That is what I said."

The part in which the adulterer says that he made a mistake or sinned derives from Church ritual language. It remains unclear whether he admits his guilt towards the wife, or her husband, or less likely, God.

²¹Mitigating circumstances can and are considered by elders in their judgements but any idea of a "crime of passion" is absent since any transgression of a norm would be considered egoistic and selfish, i.e. synonymous with an individuals temporal desires.

²²This was not intended to be a character analysis of the accused which might possibly affect the verdict but rather a suitable opportunity to highlight behaviour which is not approved of but would not be mentioned without the authoritative character of a formal context.

In the end the elders agreed that the couple should stay together although this was never made explicit, or put to a vote. The group of the husband set the amount of 'adat' compensation to which they were entitled, in ritualised and rhythmic Wemale because the couple had married in an 'adat' ceremony²³: three large Chinese plates (hana patu sinti), three gongs (tipa), money (mayauwa) Rp. 30,000. Replying, the 'raja' said that this was the traditional compensation for adultery and that it is not his duty to say anything. In response another elder of the husband's side suggested that the other side could, of course, negotiate the amount of the compensation. As nobody answered, he lowered the price by himself to three tuliya (bush knives), three large Chinese plates, three new cloths/sarongs (salipaya aluna) and Rp. 30,000 and declared this as final. Subsequently one elder tried to raise a past marriage dispute but he failed to catch the attention of the tired group.

On the following day the minister, who took no part in the 'adat' council, performed a reconciliation ceremony between the couple and the adulterer. The ritual was held in the couple's house and involved praying, oaths and the shaking of hands over a bible. The final 'adat' ceremony in which the total amount of valuables is handed to the husband's group was supposed to happen three months after the meeting. At the same time the fine for violating the fighting taboo has to be paid. A year later when I returned to England there was no indication when this ceremony would be held (though undoubtedly it will, some day).

The council of elders pursued contradictory tactics. Expressing indignation and reminding the culprits of their moral responsibilities, adulterer and adulteress were

²³Some people regarded the entire procedure as the outcome of marrying 'adat'. As I already mentioned (cf. chapter 5) certain male youths concluded that they would be better off without being under the yoke of 'adat'. This way of thinking does not imply that they were actively trying to seduce other (married) women in the village. During the council an elder said to the widowed adulterer that there were many other unmarried women whom he could approach.

pressured to conform to norms. The unanimous condemnation was severe and the silence of the guilty pair allowed the elders to reiterate the heinousness of the transgression, perhaps reminiscent of what the kakehan society might have done in the past. Simultaneously the elders demanded explanations. Repeatedly, it was announced, that all emotions should be brought out into the open. On the surface they expressed the desire to discover what the two culprits actually wanted. As we saw, this concern with hidden ('sembunyi') emotions served the aim of practically resolving the problem, otherwise the elders would have expended more effort in questioning rather than intimidating. Yet by exposing the culprits to public shaming, any confession was made impossible. As when punishing a child, the elder asks the junior to admit what was done wrong but prevents any explanation by striking the child as soon as it begins to elaborate. Rather than speaking and admitting a transgression, the child remains silent and cries loudly, from pain and the humiliation of being hit.

Nobody is then concerned in extorting a secret confession in Foucault's (1984:59f.) sense. There is no real dialogue between accused and accuser and this instance is at any rate somewhat unusual because the fault of the two culprits was accepted a priori. Despite the inquisition into the hidden "deep truth" nobody expected to receive substantive information about the relationship between husband and wife, nor about wife and the adulterer, to form an intimate psychological picture of the relationships involved. At the same time elders were suspicious about the inner feelings and wanted the culprits to express their true sentiments openly. Apart from the immediate objective settle the matter, I would suggest that there is a more general point. The elders' suspicion concerning covered intentions reflects the village experience with the extraneous power of the state administration. Hiding feelings and intentions from the public is a familiar occurrence. It is a strategy to evade authoritarian hierarchy and as such a constant feature of public life in which the leadership commit the group to norms and action which are subsequently evaded and undermined.

Jensen (1948:43) mentions a term habubunita for persons who live hidden in the forest to circumvent the colonial government. It seems possible that the word (no longer in use) derives from 'sembunyi'. In any case, as much as households hide ('sembunyi') from public hierarchy, individuals may conceal themselves from the moral force of the ancestral council (cf. M. Strathern 1972:212-219 for similar reactions of two women to male dominated councils). Turning the perspective around, one can say that despite many differences in the way the elders and administrations exercise authority, the reaction to imposed control under circumstances where escape is no option, lies in withdrawal from the public.

The Present Village Government

In 1988 the structure of the Ahiolo/Abio village government was reformed. Based upon central government legislation from 1979 (cf. Watson 1987:56), changes are intended to create a uniform village government structure all over Indonesia and to give impetus to pragmatic self help in development ('pembangunan'). Despite connotations of expanding the subsistence economy into the market and notions of local or regional self sufficiency, 'pembangunan' does not only apply to "economic" aspects of village life. Under the label of development the state apparatus anticipates a renewal of society on all planes and importantly the building up of an administrative structure penetrating (in 1989) 66,437 villages distributed over 13,667 islands. Under this growing state structure all important aspects of society are reordered. Generally the propaganda stresses a rupture with the past during which the Indonesian nation was exploited by the Dutch. In the colonial period social and economic growth was prevented but now an active process towards modernity is in progress in which villagers improve their educational standards, hygiene, health, gardening and village infrastructure. For example schooling of children is considered very important (as well as obligatory) and this includes the transmission of State norms which are celebrated in 'Pancasila', the moral principles upon which the Indonesian

nation is said to be based. Communal projects which require the cooperation of all villagers for their common benefit ('gotong royong') are also emphasised.

The government reform supposedly intends to create village democracy and broaden participation in this village development, shifting the burden of planning and initiation of development projects from the official leadership to a broader village base. In Ahiolo/Abio the elected²⁴ village head continues to have far reaching administrative, political, and jural powers. Office holders have to write reports and organise all the bureaucratic formalities like collecting taxes and collating various statistics. In addition trips to the regional and superior administration have to be undertaken to attend meetings where regional concerns and problems are addressed. Naturally both positions also imply representing the village at home and therefore office holders have to receive outside visitors and officials.

Two bodies were formed to achieve the objectives of furthering village development: first of all the LKMD ('Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa'²⁵) was established. The history of the organisation and its ideological and political appropriation by the government have been described by Schulte Nordholt (1987). The LKMD is headed by an elected member of the community ('ketua') and his deputy ('wakil'). The membership includes all male and female adult villagers, except very old men and women and immature youths. In Ahiolo it is considered

²⁴The village head 'kepala desa' of Ahiolo/Abio was elected for a five year term by the mature male villagers in 1987. His position as village head was confirmed by the subdistrict office ('camat') but he was not appointed by the district head as 'lurah' (cf. MacAndrews 1986:25 and footnote 24 on page 39). The villages have no government appointed civil servant. Watson (1987:58) says that both the 'kepala desa' and the 'lurah' are elected (see also Indonesia 1989:73).

²⁵There seems no agreement about precise translation of LKMD and LMD (see below). Watson (1987:69), MacAndrews (1986:xiv) and Schulte Nordholt (1987:48) all provide different translations, which perhaps reflects to a degree the different local interpretations of these bodies.

responsible for accomplishing what the second body (LMD) plans for the village. According to Morfit (1986b:59,60) the intended role of the LKMD is to initiate and devise village projects but so far it hardly constitutes more than the village's work force which carries out community projects renowned by the Javanese concept of 'gotong royong' (cf. Koentjaraningrat 1967a, 1967b).

Secondly the LMD ('Lembaga Musawara Desa') was formed. It is a village council with representatives from influential village and national organisations²⁶ which exist largely nominally apart from the Church. The LMD is headed by the formal village government. The membership is appointed by the village head but needs confirmation by the sub-district administration. However once established the council can exert pressure on the 'raja' as it has the power to complain about him and it was said, even demand his removal from office. The council is responsible for planning all village development projects during 2-3 meetings in the course of the year. In Ahiolo/Abio the membership consisted of nine persons: the village head, the secretary, the school teacher of Ahiolo, the 'adat' head, the leader of the deacons ('ketua majelis'), the head of the governmental party (GOLKAR or 'Golongan Karya') and two men, aged 25-40, who had no obvious official positions in the village, although one had a professional qualification as a machine engineer. Most members for the LMD come from Ahiolo and are middle aged or even young unmarried men rather than true elders. Their decisions are, after approval by the Kairatu administration, binding to both villages.

The Village Meeting

The LKMD is informed about the LMD's decisions in what amounts

²⁶I have already mentioned that there are several Church and other organisations many exist only theoretically. Among these the governmental party GOLKAR and others play a minor role. Under directives from the administration, the village head elects villagers to office in these organisations. Householders do not like their offices and the organisations are inactive. If there are meetings these are structured like the village meeting described below.

to a village meeting. These have a long tradition and the LKMD takes over a fixed hierarchical pattern first introduced by the Dutch and modified under the Indonesian administration. Meetings of this kind are widely found all over Indonesia and are broadcast on television. They reflect not only the heritage of the colonial state but also Javanese²⁷ forms of order and hierarchy²⁸. The village government vested with power by right of holding a public office, is at the centre of attention and firmly controls the meeting. The spatial arrangement sets the leadership²⁹ apart from and in opposition to the rest of the village. From their platform the officials decide about items on the agenda, their order and who is allowed to speak and when. It is well understood that the leadership represents and speaks not only for the village but for the Indonesian State. When, for example, a younger man requested that for the next meeting the agenda should be listed beforehand, so that everybody would know what would be addressed, he indicated that the leadership has to conform to

²⁷Watson (1987:55) calls it the "Javanisation of bureaucracy". His paper discusses the intentions of the village reforms in detail and examines their effects in Kerinci, Sumatra. Certain parallels to Ahiolo/Abio concerning hierarchical structures of the administration and the apathy with which orders are received are noteworthy and a widespread phenomenon in Indonesia. His essay complements well Schulte Nordholt's (1987) analysis which explains that the LKMD is considered by the government as the institutionalisation of "traditional self help". As such it should further grass root development. In fact communal labour is often ordered from the administration and has similarities with forms of Dutch compulsory labour ("heerendiensten") (Schulte Nordholt 1987:48,59f.).

²⁸Morfit provides a good description of the half-hearted attempts of the central administration to devolve central power to the regional levels. He concludes (1986b:75) "Indeed, it could be argued that in many respects what has been strengthened in the recent past is the capacity of central government agencies to reach down effectively through improved provincial and 'kabupaten' offices to the 'kecamatan' and the village levels." With respect to Ahiolo/Abio it should be kept in mind that the village is at the very margins of the state's power and interest.

²⁹In the following description I use the term "leadership" in the sense of persons who preside the meeting, not as a general category of persons (teacher, minister and village head, etc.) in the village.

prescribed regulations.

Village meetings are held every 2-3 months, depending on when the necessity arises. Sometimes village decisions have to be reached or the central administration has announced new instructions about which the householders have to be informed³⁰ (e.g. when tax is collected). In Ahiolo the LMD as well as the LKMD met in the village assembly house³¹, ('balai desa' or suane³²) which is widely found in the Moluccas. It consists of a simple undivided room with two doors and several windows. Like all houses its construction was financed by a government grant. To the front a table with several chairs is placed on which village head, secretary and another villager (all wearing long trousers and shirts), who takes notes, are seated. They lead the meeting and enter the house by a door close to their seats while the rest of the village enters mostly by a second door in the back. The seating patterns in Church are replicated as men tend to sit on one side and women on the other on wooden benches. The men gather in the back of the room, where they whisper and wait for somebody with tobacco. Some had changed into newer clothes. More men than women attend meetings though for parents' school meetings and Church services the reverse holds. Despite having the right to speak, women form part of the audience and hardly ever express their views by addressing the assembly.

Due to the repetitive and indoctrinating character of these meetings, any assembly takes hours and hours. Everybody is

³⁰Once a former villager who is employed in the Indonesian army visited Ahiolo and Abio and called meetings. This particular event was extra-ordinary as the man had no governmental function but it served as a reminder to the citizens to behave well.

³¹The house was exclusively used for this purpose and stood therefore mostly empty. The villagers of Abio assembled in front of the village head's house since they had no 'balai desa'.

³²The name suane for ritual village houses is common on Seram (Stresemann 1923:350, Ellen 1978:14).

exhausted by the time they finish. People are allowed to go outside to urinate but the leadership tries to prevent villagers from leaving prematurely. This happens all the same as no effective sanctions can be imposed. Especially women leave prematurely. There are no obvious "rewards" for attending such meetings other than assuming one's position as household head or citizen.

Every meeting is marked by a fixed formalism. The secretary stands up to open the meeting. He greets the leadership and welcomes all villagers. This ritualised introduction is invariably spoken in correct Indonesian. In Abio a brief greeting in Wemale is added occasionally. Gradually during the meeting Indonesian is replaced by Ambonese Malay and the leadership also speaks selected phrases or complete passages in Wemale. However Wemale never takes over completely and the meeting is always closed in standard Indonesian.

The manipulation of language between Abio and Ahiolo diverges interestingly. Although elders in Abio are certainly more at ease in Wemale and Ambonese Malay than formal Indonesian, the teacher's demand that the main points of the meeting were repeated in Wemale not only ensured that the elders understood what they were told but also served to patronise the audience. The teacher did speak in Wemale but he was not fluent. Having become an outsider to his native village, he regards Wemale as an inferior means of communication and knowledge and he was planning to hold adult courses for reading and writing in Indonesian. In Ahiolo the tactical strategy of the speaker's rhetoric employs Wemale more pointedly as a means to achieve solidarity with the speaker and identification with his demands. Even a member of the military who addressed the village in an aggressive manner, spoke some Wemale at the very end of the meeting although his command of the language was poor (for which he apologised to the audience). His intention was to emphasise and legitimise his commands but also signal understanding. Before, he had harangued them with warnings that, although he was well-disposed towards Ahiolo as it was his home village, if they did not adhere to the rules,

somebody else would come and force them to conform.

After the greeting the main speaker takes over. This is always the highest ranking official and therefore in most cases the village head. He talks continuously until all aspects of a particular point in his notebook have been illustrated. Sometimes he immediately proceeds to the next topic on the agenda. Then the secretary covers the same issue, repeating the previous speaker's points, agreeing with his conclusion, and perhaps adding different aspects. Only rarely does the second speaker bring up new issues but if he does, the main speaker will address the point immediately after the second speaker has finished. The length of the speeches is overwhelming. Monologues are filled with excursions, references and examples or general instructions. By and large the leadership avoids singling out individuals for criticism ('kasih kritik') or as bad examples ('kasih contoh'). During one meeting however several young men were personally criticised for the neglect of their houses³³. One unmarried, named man stood up, looked around and interrupted the speaker. Such overt reaction is unusual.

After the leadership has dealt with all points, and has read out letters from the central administration or a passage from a handbook of government regulations, the audience can ask

³³The village government claims nominal ownership of the government sponsored houses, especially those which stand empty. Feeling obliged to the central administration it would like to keep the houses clean of wild plant growth and to see them occupied. Although several bachelors claim ownership to empty houses they do not actually live there for various reasons: 1. Deceased parents used to occupy the house, 2. The wife died and a single father left the house to move into his sister's house, 3. Two men moved into a house still unmarried; due to migrant labour one was absent for long periods, the other still ate with his parents and did not spend much time in the house (which he kept well). Now the leadership declared that it would allocate the houses to families who needed them unless the owner took proper residence in their homes. Gossip had it that the secretary, who had brought the matter up, was only annoyed because one bachelor had objected to the secretary feeding his cow on the grass which grows in the garden of the house.

questions and comment. Responses fall into two categories: first of all some persons imitate the leadership, i.e. they criticise, complain and condemn in general terms any common practices which the leadership omitted. The minister, for instance, complained about children who were attending school but had not yet been baptised. Other villagers sometimes follow this pattern by pointing out faults in the community and demanding changes. The second type of response is a more direct challenge to the leadership, usually phrased through a question. For example a villager asked what was going to happen to the wood which had been collected for making the new school's chairs and tables. It was lying outside the school, slowly rotting and nothing was done about it. Implying that the leadership was idle, he added that it was not surprising that some household heads did not donate their share of wood. Interventions or questions are brief in comparison with the lengthy response by the leadership who, having had a break, answer with renewed vigour. Sheer length of speechifying signifies who is in control and whose views are legitimate. One by one the 'raja' replies to the various questions and statements. Only occasionally do the leadership need to find out whether householders are willing to cooperate in certain decisions. Such decisions are not made by taking a vote but after hearing some views, the leadership will sum up a "consensus" and state what will be done. This can take some time if the leadership disagrees with the general reaction.

On Sunday the 4th December 1988, the village meeting in Ahiolo addressed five issues:

1. The Church had asked for help ('gereja minta tolong') to organise the repair of the old church building. For some time the minister and the deacons had tried to order the necessary building materials from the village men. Although several weeks had passed not all men had submitted their contribution. The minister took the opportunity of the 'raja's' temporary presence to ask the village leader to appoint a day for collective repair work. Thus the men were told to replace the decayed sagu leave stems ('gaba-gaba') which are used as wall material.

2. The secretary announced that levies would be introduced for cash exchanges when householders sell produce to outsiders. The LMD would receive the cash and use it for communal development. Outsiders should pay for trading with villagers and exploiting local resources.

3. A letter was read from Kairatu explaining about tax. The leadership became defensive on this point and the 'raja' explained that they had to pay tax, so that the government could pay the subsidies³⁴ which villages receive. The secretary added that paying tax secured householders' land rights in legal conflicts. He also said that it was unclear how much and what sort of tax would have to be paid since the list which he received from the administration was old and had not registered the movement of households and omitted their last year's tax (PPB, 'pajak bumi dan bangunan'). Provisionally households were asked to pay Rp. 600 (in the previous year the tax had been Rp. 1,500 which was less than one pound Sterling).

4. The village secretary announced that all villagers were responsible for new school chairs and desks. The central school administration had decided that the long communal tables and benches had to be replaced by individual chairs and desks. As in the village in which the houses are evenly ordered along roads, each defining a household and a family, the new school seating arrangements individuate each pupil and allocate it its separate space. This seems just as much a mechanism for controlling children as a means to construct the individual pupil (cf. Foucault 19..). The secretary said that according to Pancasila all people had to help one another and even if households sent at present no child to school, sooner or later they would and therefore it was in their own interest

³⁴"Starting in Repelita 1, this block grant scheme aims to induce village development through the "gotong royong" system, i.e. the old tradition of village self-help" (Steigerwald 1987:77). Repelita 1 is the first five year development plan of the central government (1969/70-1973/4). In chapter 8, I will show that the term "gotong royong system" is ill founded and an imposed concept derived from Java.

to help. Otherwise who would assist a single mother³⁵ with several children, he asked. She would be forced to keep her children at home because she could not pay. This problem had already been discussed in previous school and village meetings but every attempt to obtain wood and labour had failed. Eventually it was proposed that some Muslim carpenters (who had worked in Ahiolo before) should accomplish the task and be paid with the state subsidies. The 'raja' objected to this plan and wanted communal labour ('gotong royong') so that the money would not "flow out" of the village. Then the teacher pointed out that this project was a contribution to village development since materials and work furthered the education of the children. He had not caused the problem but the matter was a national concern. It had been ordered from "above" ('disuruh dari atas, dari Presiden') and as in the case of the school uniforms, parents carried the responsibility together: "We have to follow and make our own contribution" ('katong harus ikut, kalau anak mau sekola lalu risiko tanggung jawab'). If people did not understand the instructions, they should not gossip about him (the teacher) but come and ask. The recalcitrant householders did not reply and the village head decided to offer the job to the cheapest bidder. In the end the Muslims received a large sum of Rp. 450,000 for their labour.

5. For the fourth time the banning of spear traps was on the agenda because a villager in Abio had been lethally wounded by one. The leadership had forbidden the traps several months previously but a number of villagers still used them to protect their gardens against pig devastation. Everybody was told that whoever goes into the forest should say where s/he intends to go, before leaving. Nobody should deceive others about their plans so that if an accident ensued, the person could be found as quickly as possible.

Closing the meeting, the presiding person thanks leadership and villagers for attending and ends by saying 'salamat siang

³⁵That is a mother without a husband who could neither make the tables and chairs, nor earn the necessary sum to pay for that labour.

dan pulang'³⁶.

Elders and Citizens

Granted that the council of elders exists within its ascribed 'adat' limitations, i.e. it arbitrates inter-household conflicts, the even distribution of power among the elders contrasts with the hierarchical order of village meetings. The elders assemble post hoc when they order quarrels in presumed compliance to ancestral customs and then they address each other as friends and kinsmen. The opening and the closing speeches at each meeting contain references to God (upu lailai) and ancestors (kaitia) or the Great Ones and the frequent use of Wemale phrases assures conformity with ancestral ways through filial submission. The relationship between each other is however based on a proud equality which they are prepared to defend by force against fellow villagers. In fact many 'adat' sessions result from quarrels which escalated into fights. Consequently conflicts have to be negotiated as a mutual consensus must be agreed to. Subsequent compensation payments reestablish balance and integrity so that a communal 'adat' meal can confirm amity and honourable relations between the factions. In contrast to demands by Church and state the payment restores normal social relationships which had been disrupted by a concrete violation of inter-personal integrity.

Historically the village meeting is a remodelled elders' meeting and its most recent modification separates the unity into LKMD and LMD. The transformation is radical and captured by the verb 'perintah', to order, command, instruct. The noun 'pemerintah(an)' means central and also village government. The state imposes its own structure, language and development rhetoric which is geared towards change and progressive conformity towards its own norms. Much of the oratory does not

³⁶which means approximately "Good Day and return home safely".

pose an identity with the (ancestral) past but is directed towards fulfilling obligations not yet realised.

However in the course of any one assembly the village head can make references to the other type of meeting on the most basic level simply by switching between languages. In general, where the village meeting distinguishes office holders, the elders' council plays it down. For instance the village head declared that he does not act as 'raja' (kamale) during the 'adat' council. Furthermore his views would count little since he is still young³⁷. The significance of this apparent submission to the collectivity and his comment during the village meeting, i.e. that he could be removed from office by the householders, should not be exaggerated. These are rhetorical devices which underplay the power vested in him by external state agencies.

The state creates an official hierarchy from the senior administration to the village head, his secretary and other village leaders down to the populace. The latter is divided into male household heads, wives and children who attend school. Each level is ascribed with certain responsibilities and these are conveyed in the meeting's rhetoric. Rephrasing Geertz (1980) in an entirely "un-Geertzian" spirit, one can say that the exercise is a performance of a "theatrical administration" in which villagers become citizens. This is what is enacted in the village meeting: the householders form the audience for the 'pemerintah' which informs and educates. Elders talk, citizens listen. The performance has no pomp and contains little meaning and in a sense the theatre metaphor is misleading because villagers would not regard these meetings as play (probably due to the emphasis on civil duties).

Despite the patronising rhetoric and tedious repetition, there is a certain sense of importance in village meetings because it is men's business to assume responsibility for their households and the village. After all, while the village government relies on active cooperation it also needs to

³⁷Less than half the elders in the council were indeed older than him (he was about 65 years old).

persuade and compromise with the householders' perception on the matter. On the other hand the state administration grants considerable cash subsidies and has donated and built new village houses, for which Ahiolo is genuinely grateful. The emphasis on duties as citizens is complemented by threat of violence and by material benefits to be obtained. The final section shows the limits of the power structure enacted in the village meetings.

Reactions to Hierarchical Leadership

The problem of mediating state orders in the village partly defines the relationship between the "public" on the one hand and household or personal autonomy³⁸ on the other. It closely relates to the phenomena of 'sembunyi' (hiding) and gossip. Every leader of any regional or national organisation in the village lives with the knowledge that he or she is potentially accused of abusing the position for personal profit. Whilst open public contradiction is practically unheard of, indirect criticism can be expressed by alluding to the failure of the leadership to fulfil its duties³⁹. Such tentative challenges seem inherent to the hierarchical system. For the most part they are confined to the end of meetings and still leave the last word to the leadership.

More subversive is gossip. Office holders in the Church and state administrations are accused of having 'ambisi' (i.e. ambitions), either for personal material gains or for political domination. Some are said to have had illicit sex,

³⁸What might be called Wemale autonomy is a lived concept. It is not defined or enshrined and vested with value. On the contrary it is with certain exceptions devalued as "unsocial" or "un-communal" in contrast to norms of sharing or collective obligations. However it could be said that the ethos of the warrior and hunter is based on a more aggressive individualism than those of a cash crop farmer or a householder.

³⁹I once asked a bachelor who was annoyed with the teacher why he did not discuss the matter with him. The young man replied that he would rather wait for the next village meeting and raise the matter then (which he never did).

benefitted from patronage or diverted public funds. One Sunday when most of the village watched their football teams, a woman commented to another woman that the village secretary's wife was elevating herself arrogantly ('tinggi diri'). The secretary's wife overheard⁴⁰ this and the two women immediately had a row. Several weeks later the woman came, accompanied by her husband, to the secretary's household in order to apologise. First her husband and the secretary spoke, then the woman apologised briefly and the last as well as longest word had the secretary's wife, who rejected the idea of elevating herself with conviction and vehemence. Both sides affirmed mutual good will and then declared the matter as "closed/covered" ('tutup'). The example demonstrates how the carefully constructed hierarchical relationships in the village quickly find their limits outside formal occasions. Discontent is largely expressed in the domestic sphere where the authority of office holders and even elders reaches its limits. When I asked the best educated and most knowledgeable youth in Ahiolo whether he wanted to become village head, he said no, it was too much 'politik' (huli-huline). Expanding on this he added that secretly the people were constantly disparaging, accusing and undermining the leadership.

Only once did I hear about witchcraft accusations but the circumstances expressed an underlying fear. The accusations were directed against other local communities and any suggestion that local villagers might bring harm to the secretary or anybody else was rejected. A member of the Indonesian military, who originally comes from Ahiolo, returned for a visit. He performed magical healing operations among several male household heads in Abio, Ahiolo and Tala. His various techniques were unknown to the local people but considered to be potent and the removal of stones, hair, finger and metal nails and other substances caused moral

⁴⁰Deliberate confrontations with another person, e.g. accusation of theft, lying or saying something derogatory about a person result quickly in anger and violence or otherwise in withdrawal.

outrage as well as relief. The village secretary and his wife suspected that neighbouring villages had been envious of the secretary's success in receiving government favours. The whole village had developed ('maju' which means to advance) and obtained a TV, corrugated iron roofs and a generator. The secretary added that people, including those in the village, saw that he now owned a cow and would wrongly infer that he had lots of money. That was not good.

Conclusion

The elders' council as well as the village meeting transcend the confines of individuals and their households and place them in relationships of political dependency. The elders' claim their authority from the ancestors and their sphere of power is restricted to the village. As such they represent an egalitarian and elitist ethos of the past male warrior council and the kakehan, with the essential difference that their influence has been handicapped and reduced to maintaining 'adat' like a function of law. On the other hand, in the village meeting an elder's role is reduced to celebrating a state administration addressing its citizens. The village government is set into a position from which it commands, orders and explains to mute householders in its "enlightening" language of development. The rhetoric and format of the meeting are ritualised and the role of the elder has been displaced. Some younger men receive positions in the administration but that invests them with limited authority since outside the meetings the carefully enacted power structure ebbs away. Gossip and evasion ('sembunyi') contests and resists public office. This is the reason why the village head says that he is talking as an elder while retaining the privilege to threaten with his official power as a last resort.

Chapter 7

The Service to the Church

In the second chapter on consumption, we saw how the idea of "development" is constructed with recourse to different styles of consumption. They are on the one hand associated with the pagan 'adat' and on the other with market products, coastal and urban life styles and Christianity. This dichotomy also serves as a representation of change from "tradition" to "modernity". Conversion to Christianity, living a "decent life" (according to coastal and urban standards), cash cropping, schooling and being able to acquire market commodities are all part of the development project and the possession of a new village Church is its most powerful material manifestation. Previous chapters have revealed that such a holistic view of the development ideology is not entirely concurrent with social practice. Whereas householders pursue farming and cash cropping on their own initiative, complying with Christian¹ norms presents problems to them, a point previously developed with respect to formal marriage (chapter 5) above and which will be discussed below (chapter 8) in relation to communal labour. Adhering to norms and practices of the Protestant Moluccan Church (GPM) has several implications which are discussed in this chapter: a) it organises most public and communal events and thereby imposes a formal structure which is reminiscent of bureaucratic formality rather than the emotional effervescent of Durkheimian ritual, b) the same administrative structure creates hierarchical relationships among households and individuals, c) the maintenance and reproduction of the Church requires considerable time, labour and material contribution from households and persons.

In other words, what I shall argue is that the Church was extremely effective in establishing the faith in a universal, almighty God ('Allah yang mahakuasa') and in Christ ('Tuhan

¹But also 'adat' customs (see chapter 5 on marriage).

Yesus') by stressing God's authority and power, either in providing or in punishing. To a surprising degree the Church has displaced and marginalised most pre-Christian rituals since the first conversions to Christianity in 1922. At present it is not rivalled by ancestral 'adat' and other pagan beliefs, and Church organisations almost exclusively dominate public space. Yet the minister is constantly faced with villagers who evade committing themselves to Church projects and rituals. Children are not baptised, young couples set up new households but do not marry in Church, the parish has problems finding replacements for deacons and many projects in which parish members have to cooperate present problems and occasionally fail all together because of a marked lack of enthusiasm. If it is true that the Church organisation is unable to generate a consistent commitment, the reader may ask, why are the villagers building new churches? In the next two chapters I suggest several answers to this question. I begin with a brief introduction to the history of the Protestant Church in the Moluccas.

Historical Remarks on the Protestant Church, Missionisation, Finance and Schooling

The Protestant Church² came together with the Dutch and their Netherlands East India Company ('Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie' or VOC) to the Moluccas at the turn of the 16th century. Before then Jesuit priests were active in the area and according to Cooley (1966:345) the sash worn across the shoulder by confirmed women ('kain pikul') is one of the few remnants of Portuguese Catholicism left. Ambon was the main administrative centre of the colonial government for supervising the production and trade in spices and the Church was closely aligned to the government. The Ambonese Church imitated the Dutch Church of the Reformed Faith in dress and ritual (Cooley 1966:351) and served mainly already established congregations and the colonial Dutch (Cooley 1966:353). From

²A summary of the history of the Ambonese Christianity and the Moluccan Protestant Church is found in Cooley 1966:342-377).

1605-1799 it was financed by the VOC and then by the Dutch government until 1935. Missionising village communities in remoter parts of the Moluccas was not a high priority until the mid and especially late 19th century (cf. Cooley 1966:359,363), when the state began to bring the entire province under effective administrative supervision and the Protestants came into competition with Catholic missions. The majority of villages which were converted to Christianity moved to the coast and adopted Ambonese Malay as their main language; villages which chose to "follow" Islam also moved to the coast. Although the Dutch controlled the central Church hierarchy, most missionising which began during the first decades of the 19th century was accomplished by Ambonese Church personnel (Cooley 1966:361-363). There were two categories of so called 'gurus' ('Bapa Guru'). Firstly 'guru injil' ("teacher of the Gospel") were trained by assistant ministers and had the status of civil servant. The government paid them a salary. Secondly there were even less educated 'guru jamaat' (parish teachers), supported by the congregation or the Church. Usually they functioned as school teachers and received a government salary (Cooley 1966:396). Primarily the latter were trained as teachers and received only tuition in theology for one year (Cooley 1966:67,377) to lead the congregation and conduct the service. 'Gurus' were not ministers and could not administer the sacraments.

Early experiences with the Dutch military, the government administration and 'gurus' were closely related for Ahiolo. Shortly after the community had been finally brought under control by the Dutch military in 1908, probably without much loss of life (cf. Seran 1922:177-184), a 'guru' arrived and ordered the villagers to build a church and a school. The Ahiolo Church register records the first conversion on 5.10.1922³. One of the first converts to Christianity, Gotlieb Saule, aged 25, was installed as the village head, by the colonial administration. Although little information is available, this period seems to have been turbulent for the

³According to elders this man, Saule was not baptised in Ahiolo but in Honitetu and the Church books back-dated.

village. With strong anti-Dutch sentiments lingering after the submission of Japiobatai, the first 'raja' is not fondly remembered. Large sections of Ahiolo left and moved to other areas when the 'gurus' prohibited all traditional ritual⁴. Unlike the 'adat' traditions of the Ambon Lease area⁵ with which the 'gurus' were familiar, Wemale culture must have been alien to them (Pannell, 1990:32). Thus with their supposedly superior "rank" ('pangkat Serani') as Christians they were willing to suppress what they variously denigrated as customs of 'Alifuru' ("tribal mountain people"), 'Hindu' (which meant that they did not adhere to a world religion) or 'orang kafir' ("unbelievers"). Instead they spread Christianity and "civilisation". What constitutes 'adat' to the 'gurus' was not so much Wemale practices but 'adat' as it had been developing for centuries in conjunction with and opposition to the Dutch colonial state structures and its close ally the Church, among Christian villages on the Ambon Lease. 'Gurus' influenced not only notions of Christianity but also of 'adat' in the villages they missionised.

Gradually the Church and Christianity became accepted and only a few Wemale were not baptised by the 1950s when the defeated followers of the nationalist movement of the South Moluccan Republic ('RMS') moved into the interior of Seram and continued a guerilla war against the central government. The followers of this rebellion were anti-Islamic, and forced unchristened (so called 'Hindu') Wemale into baptism. Since this rebellion the Church⁶ has been anxious to maintain cooperative bonds to the central Indonesian government and indeed prayers in Church always include the central government and the president, irrespective of the fact that most of these

⁴It is likely that at least some of those villages converting to Islam avoided 'gurus' and a stronger inclusion into the Dutch administrative structure.

⁵The Ambon Lease (formerly Uliassers) islands are small islands, Haruku, Saparua and Nusa Laut close to Ambon.

⁶Nominally the Church remained neutral during the rebellion but the vast majority of RMS followers were Christians who claimed to defend the "rights of Christians" (Cooley 1966:372).

government officials are Muslims.

The contemporary Church, 'Gereja Protestan Maluku' became independent of the government in 1935. Since 1950 it has not been state subsidised and therefore has to maintain the costs of its own administration. This created severe problems (cf. van Ufford 1987b:67ff.) as hitherto offerings in Church were "ceremonial and symbolic" (Cooley 1966:369 and see below). The GPM has a strict hierarchical structure, which according to Cooley (1966:440,388, citing also Kraemer) is one of the main general characteristics of colonial Ambonese Christianity. Both authors see this centralist-bureaucratic spirit and organisation as the result of the Church modelling itself on the colonial government system. The central administration called 'synode' is in Ambon. Secondary regional centres or Presbyteries (which are equivalent to the government subdistrict level) are commonly referred to as 'kelasis'. The need for financing the Church organisation presents problems to Ahiolo with its lack of cash. Unlike coastal villages with a longer established cash crop tradition, Ahiolo has not been able to raise the money to finance the ordinary administration and a new church building at an estimated cost of 14-20 million rupia. The resources for this sacred building are found in various ways: some villages receive sponsorship from richer parishes, some receive government support, some sell forest areas to timber firms and others receive the money from village households. Income and financing of the Church administration is further discussed below.

Since national independence, schooling has fallen within the authority of the central state. Villagers still carry the responsibility for providing school buildings, equipment, school uniforms and certain fees but teachers are paid by the government. The school name receives sometimes an addition 'Kristen' which ensures that Christianity is taught in school. Thus, apart from the Church institutions, pupils also receive

Christian education in school⁷ and the teachers of Ahiolo and Abio are considered not only important members of the local government but also of the parish.

The Hierarchical and Administrative Character of Religious Events

Although state administration and Church represent different power structures, I would suggest that the similarity and mutual support of these administrations on all levels, i.e. including the village, is far greater than their antagonism as emphasised by Cooley (1966). He constitutes a major distinction between local village government and colonial administration which I find completely unconvincing, even if one allows for the fact that villages were for everyday purposes not under permanent control of the colonial regime. Cooley's analysis builds up an opposition between secular village leadership responsible for 'adat' customs and the general welfare of the community and its antagonism to modern institutions in general and the Church in particular. He employs a Durkheimian functionalist model. On the most abstract level he sees a process of acculturation from a tradition based on mechanical solidarity grounded in kinship relationships to a complex of modern institutions. The latter are an expression of a generalised morality ("common interest" [1966:61]) and carry an "element of individual volition" (1966:61) in the motives of persons. In contrast, the old structure based on kinship and 'adat' is based "... almost exclusively on family ties and unquestioning performance of customary observance (adat)" (1966:60). Having adopted this position, he then argues that

"the traditional pattern", or rather its "spirit, and character of the activities, as well as the motivations and attitudes of participants, carry a strong traditional flavour. Beliefs, and the practices associated with them, are accepted

⁷The GPM shows continued interest in sponsoring new school buildings. Apparently this allows them the prerogative to place teachers, who belong to the GPM, in teaching positions and prevents Muslim or members of other Christian denominations from teaching religion to pupils who are members of the GPM.

from the older generation and passed on to the younger generation not because they are felt to be rationally compelling or volitionally or emotionally satisfying, but simply because these are elements in the pattern of religious tradition which has characterized the society for generations and centuries" (1966:64).

In other words Cooley ascribes the formalistic character of the spiritual village and Church⁸ life to the "mechanical solidarity" of the ancestors ("Christian adat"). However similar characteristics are recorded of the Rotinese Protestant Church. Fox (1977:131) quotes a missionary who points to the inadequate process of missionising as being responsible for this state. The view taken in this thesis is that the current state of "Entzauberung" (disenchantment) is the result of formal and hierarchical administrative structures introduced by the Church and the state. Whatever 'adat' may have been in the past, today it is often associated with lavish and immediate consumption which bears no resemblance to "mechanical" structures but to joyous communal feasting.

In Ahiolo or Abio there exists no radical division between secular leadership and the congregation. Local village government today has strong ties to the Church and the institutions of 'adat' do not strictly fall within its sphere of operations. As we saw, 'adat' meetings elaborate upon the equal standing of the elders and their collective responsibility for the village under the ritualised leadership of the 'saniri' office. The village government on the other hand is primarily accountable to the central government, or rather its administration. 'Adat' meetings may well be used to solve internal village conflicts but if they break down, the village head still carries responsibility for maintaining peace and order in the community⁹. To put it in the 'raja's'

⁸The main characteristics of the Protestant Church according to Cooley are described on pages 383-397 of his thesis.

⁹In this respect 19th century Ambonese villages seem to have been different. There, according to Cooley, the 'raja' carried the main responsibility for 'adat'.

own words: "We have 'adat'-law but now we follow the government"¹⁰. Of equal importance is that the village government uses the service to make announcements and it is of course the village government which has a strategic position in negotiating help and assistance from timber firms and government institutions for the construction of the new church¹¹. The main reason for similarity rather than opposition between village government and Church, is that both administrations form hierarchical organisations. The format of the service and village meeting sets up formal command relationships for the duration of the meeting. Outside the ritualised structures, the authority of both institutions immediately loses much of its force.

With the exception of village meetings and certain obligations like road cleaning, which falls into the village government's sphere of authority, communal events are almost exclusively structured by the village Church organisations as described in the introduction. General Church structure and events are comprehensively reported by Cooley (1966:399-450) who adequately calls the congregation the most highly organised institution in the village (1966:417).

Hierarchy in the Parish

Like most Indonesian associations, all Church organisations and groupings, including the flute orchestra, have a formal structure and ordered procedures for their meetings. The models are derived and handed down from the central Church administration. At the very least, there is a nominal head ('kepala'), a secretary ('sekretaris') and a treasurer

¹⁰ 'Hukum adat ada, tapi sekarang kami ikut pemerintah'.

¹¹In 1824 (Cooley 1966:522) a government decree (slightly altered in 1935) appointed the village as formal owner of the church building and made the local government responsible for repairs. This was apparently a major bone of contention between ministers and village heads. As we saw, today the village government supports the parish in repairing of churches. The construction of the new buildings is in the hands of a committee. In Ahiolo this is headed by the minister and in Abio by the village head.

('bendahara') who keeps money and corporate property. Only the parish units¹² seemed exceptional as their leaders subsumed all three roles in one. Functionaries are appointed by the head of the organisation or the minister. As there are several organisations a wide range of villagers are drawn into the parish administration, especially since Ahiolo and Abio are rather small compared to other Moluccan villages.

At the head of the parish stands the minister ('pendeta') who is always an outsider to the community and has enjoyed better education than the great majority of villagers (see plate 19). He is considered to be closer to God than anybody else in the community and his powers may be equally feared and appreciated. Thus his religious proximity to 'Tuhan Allah' and 'Tuhan Jesus' gives him power, not only to ask for God's benevolence but also, it is feared, for punishing villagers. For instance, after some unrest in the parish the minister unexpectedly conducted a ceremony after a service to settle all differences, gossip and slandering. Holding the Bible in one hand and in the other the Hymn book, he prayed that whoever revived the trouble ever again would be severely punished by God, that is, would die. The parish considered this procedure excessively draconian but, as usual, nobody protested publicly.

The minister speaks fluent high Indonesian but will, in everyday conversations, talk Ambonese Malay. He is unable to understand or talk Wemale and he shows scant interest in local traditions. On the contrary, his preoccupation lies with demanding that the parish lives up to what he considers proper standards of behaviour. Being an outsider to the village, he can show unrestrained dismay and anger towards his parishioners as no other villager can. For example, I noticed early on during fieldwork how the minister kept parish members

¹²For organisational reasons, the parish is divided into two units ('unit') which group the village into a northern and a southern section. To avoid rivalry, deacons of one section are supposed to attend the prayer meetings of the other section.



Plate 19

after the last prayer of a funeral¹³. Barely finished with the ritual, he furiously reprimanded the group for having forgotten to decorate the simple coffin with flowers.

Ministers are the prime representatives of urban centres. As outsiders they live in the village for a limited time until the Church administration sends them to another parish. Education, training and familiarity with cities as well as salary distinguish their person. Nobody else but the minister would be addressed in a formal Indonesian "you" and referred to by the reverential third person 'beliau'. This is even more accentuated by the fact that the ordinary Ambonese Malay has only one (informal) pronoun ('ose'). Formality and distance in interaction serves the minister's authority but also excludes him personally from the community. The minister heads the council of deacons (session¹⁴).

Next in the parish hierarchy stands the senior deacon, the 'wakil pendeta', who together with two other senior deacons ('penatua'), head three additional parish deacons, 'diaken' or 'majelis'. In recent years female ministers have been trained in Ambon and it is also fairly common to have female deacons. Ahiolo however has none. The deacons are middle aged household heads who support the minister in his quest. They keep the parish money, conduct the service, plan parish activities and often travel to photocopy paper-work or collect letters. The majority of deacons are married men who have been elected by the parish and confirmed in office by the minister. They can carry the office twice for four year terms and during this time they are expected to set an example to other villagers. In their function they pray on behalf of the parish and families. They are also vested with moral authority to

¹³In Ahiolo there is no Missionary Group, nor a mutual death help society ('muhabet'), as mentioned by Cooley (1966:416f. and 72f.,416).

¹⁴Following Cooley (1966) I call the council of village deacons under the leadership of a resident minister the "session".

supervise the conduct of ordinary villagers. This position sets them in an ambiguous relationship towards the community in which persons usually do not interfere directly in the affairs of other households. Thus criticism of fellow villagers is restricted to religious occasions when the deacons are clearly identified as acting in their role as representatives of God and the Church.

Under the leadership of the minister the deacons are careful to avoid initiating any action which would further burden the community. In the Saturday Church meeting which deals with the administration and plans parish activities, the minister sits opposed to the deacons. As leader, the minister conducts the meeting and says what he wants accomplished in the near future. The deacons regularly hear complaints about a lack of progress with the new church building or other Church matters. Sitting in the shadow of a little oil lamp, they mostly react to what the minister brings up and only introduce new topics when the minister asks whether there is anything else to be discussed. The meetings are noticeably shorter and talking among the deacons is more evenly shared when the minister is absent. However all major decisions are postponed. A deacon answered when I inquired about this, that deacons are not bold ('berani') enough to take such decisions. In their capacity as deacons they should take responsibility and one could anticipate that the returning minister would reprimand the deacons for neglecting their duty. On the other hand the fear of making decisions which subsequently fail to meet the approval of the minister, leads to severe accusations of assuming too much authority. We already saw how any leadership is suspected of having too much 'ambisi', that is ambition. However this concern exists also within the organisation and in this case the deacons have to be careful not to transgress their field of responsibility, even if they think they act on behalf of the general welfare. Formal responsibility is therefore always an issue in meetings. The leadership is supposed to initiate, command and supervise action and the membership, in this case the deacons, can operate as passive followers and thereby avoid initiating action.

Another side to a deacon's role is the supervision of fellow villagers as far as it concerns religion. The deacon addresses short comings, like the failure of householders to bring materials for repairing the church roof, in an unspecific way at the beginning or end of the service. No individual names are mentioned. Only once at the end of the year, village government, minister and deacons make an concerted effort to clear the problems of every household. Two full days are needed to visit all households. After an initial prayer, reading of a bible passage and singing a song, the village head, minister or deacon tell the assembled family what conduct or behaviour is in some way not satisfactory. The problems may range from youths who misbehaved when they were drunk, to personal quarrels between households and failure to baptise children or to marry in Church. For the most part the village head and minister address the issues but one deacon will pay special attention to the frequency of Church attendance and pressure fellow villagers to come regularly to the weekly Church meetings. To my knowledge this was the only occasion when persons were individually censored by deacons. The tone towards same aged and senior villagers is considerably more moderate than to youths. Every visit of the leadership is embedded in a ritual format, as the group prays on behalf of each family and only a few households are spared criticism¹⁵.

The deacons also replaced the role of elders in praying and making offerings to the ancestral spirits. For life cycle rituals families call upon the Church to pray for the family. This means that the family has largely lost its former autonomy to channel thanks to God and to implore him for help. Accompanied by a voluntary cash donation (only exceptionally is no offering made) the Church leadership perform a prayer service on the families' behalf. As far as I am aware only a mataluma member or directly related elder would pray on a

¹⁵The session, under the leadership of the minister, can ban persons from offices and from rituals for their misconduct. This right is to my knowledge only exercised with respect to participation in the holy communion from which e.g. couples with only a bride service marriage are excluded.

person's behalf in the past. Crediting the deacons and the minister with this task implied that the session assumes responsibility for the household and functions as mediator to the divine.

The parish itself is further divided. A number of regular offices are filled to run village organisations, ring the church bell and collect donations during the service. These positions carry less weight and grant no authority to the office holder.

All children are baptised but most parents try to postpone the rite until the child is several years old. This does not meet the approval of the minister for whom the unchristened school children are of special concern (see chapter 6). A major rite of transition is confirmation. Pupils who undergo the tuition which ends in confirmation are called 'Getsasi'. Most youths find the weekly lessons for three years which end with an oral test a severe restriction on their freedom. A large proportion of the village never submit to the regime (cf. chapter 5) to obtain the certificate ('surat sidi'). During the colonial period this certificate distinguished an elite minority (especially the Dutch) from the majority of ordinary Ambonese Christians. They claimed the rank of 'pangkat Serani' (confirmed Christian) as opposed to Muslims and people not adhering to these world religions (cf. Cooley 1966:390-392). Unconfirmed persons are excluded from the holy communion, cannot become deacons or take up the office of village leadership. Otherwise these villagers were not considered of lower status or discriminated against, except in Church matters, where for instance only confirmed parish members, 'sidi', can wear the black Church uniform. Not all attend the service in these clothes and some do not even own them. 'Sidi' are supposed to marry other 'sidi'. This imposition does not affect youths in selecting lovers and conjugal partners (cf. chapter 5). When they marry a non 'sidi', they are automatically excluded from holy communion (cf. Cooley 1966:440) and in the past, they were not allowed to marry in Church. The children from "mixed" marriages or unchristened

parents should be baptised. Hierarchical relationships are also brought into the household where husband and wife are ascribed with distinct gendered roles. This has been discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

Cooley (1966:82-85) noted how the status divisions of the parish are enacted in the spatial arrangement of the parish Church. His diagram shows a much more detailed division of the congregation than is presently the norm¹⁶. Entering the Ahiolo church from the main road, one passes a black box ('peti derma') in which one places gifts of money for particular wishes such as recovering from sickness, safe journeys and the like, called 'nazar' (taking a vow)¹⁷. In the main part of the room three sections of simple wooden benches are placed. The men always sit to the left, women in the middle and the right hand section. Toddlers stay either with father or mother during the service. In front of the women's section to the right, mostly used by old women, the older children sit on benches. For their supervision a deacon sits among them. All parishioners' benches face a table on which the containers for the collection lie and behind that the lectern for the lay

¹⁶Cooley's rigid dichotomy between the "traditional" and the "emerging" pattern of status distinctions is questionable. Major supposedly "traditional" or pre-colonial offices were subject to approval by the higher state or Church administration (Cooley 1966:97,8) and school teachers, the village leader ('raja') with his family and the village council members all have elevated seats in church. Whatever rivalry between village and Church leadership may have been, the structure of the village is the result of Dutch colonialism. Having lived under close Dutch supervision, the Ambonese seem to have developed a particular obsession with rank and status, which can be noticed throughout Cooley's thesis (especially 1966:297-315,374,388-392).

¹⁷This box for the collection is symbolically highly charged. The minister told me that it is an "instrument" for witnessing oaths ('alat saksi') like the Bible or the hymn-book. It is used to stop serious fights within the village as it is thought to be as extremely powerful as the shrine or 'tabut' in which the plates with the ten commandments used to be kept. Once the minister spoke his binding oath and prayer in the church in the presence of the parish, the entire congregation as well as all those people who originate from Ahiolo and now live in different places are committed to the oath on threat of death.

readers. In front of the men's section sits the flute orchestra (see plate 20) with the conductor closest to the pulpit, which itself is placed in the centre of the rear wall. On plate 20 one can see the elevated benches of the village leadership, facing the parish. The village head sits in the top row, the secretary, below; unless the teacher plays in the flute orchestra, he sits there, too. Normally the village officials' wives and children sit among the parish but occasionally they join the secretary or village headman. On the other side of the pulpit are similar benches for the deacons. The head deacons rest on the top bench, the others below. The most elevated position in the room is the pulpit, the minister's place. A small door in the wall leads to the sacristy, where the Church register is kept. Here the minister changes into his robe and prays with deacons, village government and teacher before taking seats in the church to begin the service.

Having described the hierarchical structure of the parish, I proceed to describe the considerable effort which the parish has to generate in order to maintain its Church. This will further illustrate the strains with which householders and leadership are confronted.

Maintaining the Church

Three levels of the Church hierarchy can make demands on the individual parish: a) the central administration of the GPM in Ambon ('synode'), b) the 'kelasis' located for Ahiolo/Abio in Kairatu and c) the village Church leadership itself. Either at the beginning or end of the service, letters are read to the congregation frequently asking for support for this or that end.

In Ahiolo the maintenance of the GPM assumes the form of a) organisational time and labour investment, b) the donation of artifacts, c) donation of foods, d) donation of village land, e) donation of cash crop trees f) donation of cash, g) performance of labour services in lieu of cash payments. The



late 20



late 21

reward for the parish is a minister and the services he performs as well as the knowledge and security of being part of a community of Christians and therefore being "spiritually" on an equal footing with the world at large.

I shall now discuss these points in turn:

a) Time and effort is needed to run the Church organisation itself and Indonesian institutions are, by any standards, famous for lengthy procedures and much paper work. Regularly the 'kelasis' or 'synode' request statistical data and censuses (which are usually not filled in properly). Collecting data, writing letters and reports, photocopying and attending meetings and therefore walking long distances, takes up considerable time and effort by the 'majelis' and other Church personnel. Courses and conferences are held and the villagers generally or those categories of villagers who belong to the organisations listed above are asked to come and participate. To my knowledge, the regional Church does not call on labour services of the villagers. Only the village Church does that (see chapter 8). In the absence of the minister's wife, it is for instance common that the household of the minister not only receives the normal practical help like fetching water but also that wives of deacons cook for the minister at his home.

The two parish divisions or "units" (see footnote 12) were rapidly becoming also economic units. For the Christmas activities they collected money, bought and carried food and cooked it; one section cultivated a maize garden. The maize was destined to be sold and the profits supposed to be a general cash provision for the unit.

b) On rare occasions the regional Church asks the village women to produce baskets and containers of bamboo (in the instance I heard about, baskets were sent to Kairatu to store Church property).

c) For regional meetings the villages are often asked to make contributions. Usually Ahiolo sends coconut oil and/or

sago because of the distances involved. As a rule root crops are not donated although that would be easier and less labour intensive. Oil and sago both imply labour investment and oil has a comparatively high market value.

d) On behalf of the village the village government of Ahiolo gave about two hectare of cleared forest land to the Church to be planted with coconuts which will provide an income for the parish. As we saw the parish units also cultivate gardens for the Church organisation; it may well be that this land will in the long run become Church property. Additional gardens are felled by the parish from the forest for the resident minister. The 'pendeta' becomes the private owner of this land and can either sell or transmit it to his/her children. These land rights have to be considered in relation to the salary the minister is paid. Because the parish can pay the minister's salary only to a limited extent, ministers are compensated with land. Every household head should either give a sum from his/her harvest (see e) or donate a tree from each cash crop garden. The deacons record these trees and subsequent harvests of it are then owned by the Church¹⁸.

e) Cash crop and general harvest donations are made at every major harvest of a cash crop plantation. I never witnessed any such donations but table 3 of appendix A, lists a few donations of this kind. Informants told me that the crops can be taken to church where they are sold; some of the cash obtained from selling the crops would be given to the Church.

f) Cash donations take various forms:

1. I already mentioned the minister's salary ('gaji pendeta') which is fixed and nominally paid by the 'kelasis' which collects monthly money from its parishes. The theory is that money from the rich villages, balance those of the poor and make up the difference. However the 'pendeta' constantly

¹⁸See chapter 3, footnote 22.

put pressure on the parish to generate his salary from the parish itself. Clearly the salary set at Rp 84,000 per month in 1989 (for Ambon city this would be a modest salary; a shop assistant was said to earn Rp 40,000 which is insufficient to support a family) could hardly be afforded by the parish. Each household contribution, called 'juran', is currently Rp 1,500 per month (or Rp 18,000 per annum)¹⁹. This would amount to Rp 63,000 but only few households pay the monthly amount regularly in cash and households of deacons are exempt. Some households provide coconut oil instead of money and some do not pay at all (they are said to provide household services for the minister's household instead). Another source of income to the minister derives from the second parish under his control, namely Watui (consisting only of eight households). At present the leaders of each parish section collect these mandatory payments and if they are given oil, they have to sell it on the coast. Thus although the minister receives his salary from the 'kelasis', there is a lingering feeling in the congregation that the parish is unable to finance the minister's salary and that therefore the minister is entitled to various benefits (see chapter 2 where I mention that the minister was supplied with rice).

2. Each month every adult man and woman was expected to pay Rp 1,000 and Rp 500 respectively as cash contributions for the new church building in Ahiolo. Some villagers were hopelessly behind in their instalments (6 to 12 months and more in overdue payments). These instalments began with an initial donation of Rp 40,000 by each adult man and, of course, not all had paid that either.

3. A whole series of cash donations could be made directly relating to services provided by the Church:

a) A collection during the service. For ordinary services gifts were minimal which provoked the minister to tell the parish that it was indecent to put 25 rupia pieces into the

¹⁹Cooley (1966:452) states that the 'juran' is collected by the deacons (session) from each person rather than household.

collection plate. For Easter, Christmas and other main services the donations rise up to Rp 15,000 and are delivered in an envelope ('amplop'). On an ordinary service on June 6th 1988, Rp 350 were collected, on June 12 of the same year it was Rp 1,500.

b) Church door donations ('nazar') which are pooled with the collect. This is an explicit gift for a particular request ('minta') like help and guidance from God, e.g. curing of a sickness, safe journey, birthday, for harvests etc). The first payment is given in conjunction with a prayer at home. Once the wish has been fulfilled another payment into the same box is made ('bayar sukur', i.e. to "to pay with thanks to God"). It represents the thanks or gratitude towards God.

c) For birthdays when the deacons are asked to pray for the household and the child. Religious services performed in households, mostly concern with life cycle rituals and personal, household or clan arrangements, are always performed with a cloth covered plate in front of the minister. The plate is an invitation to give 'nazar'. Very often it is an obligation to give and the minister might say so.

d) Registration for the holy communion service (when deacons come to ask every eligible household member whether they intend to participate).

e) Saturday prayer meetings.

f) Baptism.

g) Imposition and removal (about Rp 5,000 each) of the 'sasi' taboo restrictions which prohibit an area or tree from all human exploitation.

h) Any irregular calling upon the minister's and deacons' services for praying, e.g. for sick persons or moving into a new house.

4. Every few months an auction is held in the church. Everybody is invited to provide gifts which are then auctioned off. The profit usually seemed to go for purposes of the regional Church rather than the village organisations. For the purpose of the auction the spatial orientation of the church is pointedly reversed so that all people present face the main entrance where foods and objects are exhibited.

g) All organisations and potentially the whole parish offer labour services for cash payments, e.g. in Abio the children's organisation was paid Rp 10,000 to carry sand to a new building site and in Ahiolo the women's organisation was employed to clean the garden of a man who was willing to pay Rp 10,000. The transaction is not a donation but provides cash income for the Church and its organisations. The price is a matter of agreeing on conditions and money.

This impressive list reveals a correlation between praying and donating. The Wemale attitude towards donations appears more Catholic than Protestant. Lutheran Protestant doctrine states that good deeds, gifts and donations are given in gratitude but will not dissolve sin, whereas the Catholics acknowledge that gifts to the Church are credited by the Almighty. The issue (having been a battle field for Church doctrine in Europe) is not phrased in terms of religious doctrine among householders. Generally there is a shared feeling that the more somebody owns, the more s/he ought to give. Thus as villagers consider themselves categorically as poor, they find no fault in giving little or no money (some only make the gesture of putting money into the black sash for the collect). The donation is provided in gratitude as well as a means to secure or at least increase the chances of securing future wellbeing and prosperity²⁰.

The astonishing multitude of strategies which the GPM pursues

²⁰Like in Gregory's (1980) example from Poreporena the Church has obviously been able to "restructure" sacrifices to ancestors among the Wemale and competitive gift exchange in Poreporena into sacrifices to God. Although Wemale show not much interest in theology it seems to me that the religious aspect of their sacrifices is essential (e.g. van Ufford 1987:71) and understated by Gregory. In both cases the alienation of cash from the community (Gregory 1980:630,647) is crucial as this enables the accumulation of cash in the first place. I have pointed out that this process is not without great ambiguities among the Wemale but it should also be noted that the attempt to set up a trade store cooperative in Ahiolo failed equally as a village development cooperation in Poreporena and adjacent villages. Important is also the reappearance of the "traditional" big-man as deacon (1980:630-634).

in maintaining itself was probably caused by the end of the government subsidies in 1950. It led the GPM to explore a great many ways to incite and persuade villagers to donate cash and generally to accumulate capital. Similar developments have been described elsewhere in Indonesia (van Ufford 1987:67,76-81).

So far I have argued that the Church organisation, along with the village government, carries hierarchical relationships into the village and that these relationships are accepted as part of the general political and social order under which Ahiolo exists. The time, effort and money villagers spent on the Church highlights this point even more and it poses the question of why the villagers want a new church since the formality of meetings and procedures prevents a lively and committed social life. Similar effects of Protestant Churches have been described for Tahiti (Levy 1972) and the Marquesan people (Kirkpatrick 1983). For instance Levy (1972:17) describes how the Church is the major concern of village life and how villagers at the same time seclude themselves in their households (1972:25,202) to the extent that they hardly visit one another, keep the house door shut for most of the day and withdraw from social participation (1972:176,494). Following imposed Protestant practices is the outcome of a colonial regime which dominates public life. Granted that the overall conditions have been imposed (and had the described effects on communal life), the given social format provides householders also with a public space to renegotiate personal power relationships in terms of new standards. I have repeatedly mentioned that young literate men assume offices which vest them with authority vis-à-vis the elders and how women tend to spend more time in the village and are occasionally given leading roles in the Church apparatus. These aspects are inadequately dealt with by both authors mentioned above. The following section is an attempt at an interpretation of the religious aspects of Wemale Protestantism which neatly links obedience to God and leadership to future prosperity.

Wemale Protestantism

The great majority of villagers are not much interested in theological issues. Elders who are ascribed with knowledge of the old Wemale cosmology, or those few householders who are concerned about the Church and the faith in God, merge the history of the Bible or add God into Wemale narratives which are now seldom told. Outside the church, people rarely refer to God, except when they exclaim "Tuhan Allah" (something like "Oh my God") when somebody says something which astonishes them. During conflicts nobody tried to soften tempers by reference to Jesus or a morality of forgivingness, humility or "love". The parishes had no Bible reading groups and the exegesis of Bible passages is largely based on supplementary literature sent from the 'synode'. It is often repetitive and stereotyped.

The climax of the service is a long prayer spoken by the minister or deacon who conducts the service. It seems more important than the sermon since Ahilolo and sections of it are directly addressed. God's help is requested sometimes for specific problems and gratitude for recent events like births or birthdays of children and no loss of life is expressed. The praying person also mentions certain social and moral shortcomings and utters hopes for improvement in the future. For instance, it is said that the parish prays for those who failed to attend the service. Concluding, a long category of persons follow for whom God's protection is asked (e.g. pregnant women, nursing mothers, households, migrants, the village, regional and national government).

Praying is not entirely monopolised by the Church officials. Each household is supposed to pray before and after the main daily meal (the household head speaks the prayer). Nevertheless the village leadership, the 'majelis' and the 'pendeta' are treated as if their prayers had more weight than those of the ordinary villagers. During an intense storm in Abio in which many houses were ripped to pieces, an 'adat' ceremony was performed to reaffirm the 'pela' relationship

which was thought to have been violated²¹ causing the storm. (I was told that some villagers claimed that the ancestors sent the storm right down from the sacred mountain top of Tipa Hopi, while the teacher, annoyed, rejected such pagan beliefs, saying it could only come from God's displeasure about the village.) At night the village leadership went to sit in an absolutely dark church while the wind was gusting through the wooden framework. After the leading deacon finished praying, the longest prayer I ever heard was spoken by the teacher. Here action was taken on behalf of the entire community. On a more regular basis the village leadership prays separately before and after the service in the church²².

Consistent with the spirit of the preceding pages, God appears often as the somewhat obscure but ultimate source of power, judgement and authority. God maintains public morality and he is all powerful ('mahakuasa'). To cite an instance, one Sunday the minister spoke with indignation about an unknown person who had allegedly killed a domestic pig in another village saying: "This person is no longer afraid of God!"²³. Fear and respect of divine authority are postulated as equivalent to moral behaviour²⁴. I have already discussed how the rhetoric

²¹The junior teacher from an Alune village had hit a child in school and therefore broken a taboo against violence.

²²The senior representative of the Church assigns who will speak the prayer before the village leadership returns home.

²³"Dia tidak takut Tuhan Allah lagi". In the following pages I footnote the Indonesian and Wemale of quotations.

²⁴There is an element of what Anderson (1972:6) calls the moral ambiguity of power. In the long term, all villagers believe in the goodness of God. This does not prevent them from believing that a minister may use his proximity to God to bring harm to a person who angered him or her. A more vivid example is an alleged fratricide. One brother had made a small coffin with an effigy of a person in it. At night he had gone into the church and buried the coffin under a seat his brother normally occupies. Then he prayed to God to kill his brother. During the next service the brother died of a heart attack. Later the first brother was afflicted and before dying he admitted murdering his brother. As the murder was never compensated, it was believed to cause the premature deaths of the guilty brother's offspring. The case shows that God's power can potentially be manipulated against moral norms but

of the minister is often ineffective in persuading householders to work for the communal welfare, or to perform the Christian rituals. The leader, be it village government, minister, deacon or the head of a village organisation, threatens either with the authoritarian power of God or central government and sometimes both. Confronted by a passive reaction or whenever a leader seems unable (or unwilling) to compel another person, he will inevitably say that the person or the group carries its responsibility alone²⁵. This is tantamount to a warning that the matter is now between God or the higher government and the defiant side, but no longer the responsibility of the speaker²⁶.

The village leadership also likes to reiterate that they have long warned that this or that should or should not be done and that now the regrettable consequences have materialised. Another isolated comment by the minister was that he would not force a person²⁷. Although continuous and hard pressure is directed towards villagers to conform to rules, the higher administrative levels occasionally pretend a certain generosity. They claim that patient waiting and education will cause villagers to follow state norms in the long term. The attitude shows that the political leadership in the Moluccas is relaxed and sees its programmes progressing. In the village the remark indicates that the minister believes that in the long run certain villagers will adhere to Church norms.

The attitude to God and his power is similar to the relationship that the living maintain to their ancestors. It is important to note that ancestors and 'adat' itself are rarely invoked during Christian rituals and that in religious discourse ancestral customs only serve as a contrast to

ultimately such manipulation rebounds upon the causal agent.

²⁵'Dia punya tanggung jawab sendiri'.

²⁶For example: 'Risiko siapa ulang punya tanggun jawab sendiri', "The risk to repeat (the wrong doing) rests with those who do it".

²⁷'Saya tidak paksa'.

Christianity in the abstract. The specific is dealt with under the categories of human weakness and failure ('kekurangan'). This stands in contrast to mundane rhetoric which at times clearly develops an elaborate opposition (cf. chapter 2). One reason why this should be is that the Wemale are Christians and Protestantism²⁸ has become their religion. Some ancestral healing rituals remain in use but even those incorporate invocations²⁹ to God probably because he overshadows ancestral powers. Another reason for elaborating on similarity rather than difference is that God and ancestors are treated in much the same way. Like God, ancestors watch their offsprings' behaviour and if they take offence they send affliction and misfortune. On the other hand ancestors can help and protect their descendants (cf. Stresemann 1923:350). To live well and healthily, the living depend on the ancestors or God. The resemblance between God and ancestors is underlined by villagers who say that prayers to God are similar to those directed towards the ancestors. Christian prayers never include the ancestors as a category of worship but the language of kinship is equally chosen e.g. when the village is said to be one large family. This corresponds to appeals to collective solidarity in Wemale. Another parallel is that both God and ancestors are equally told what is happening or what incident has already occurred, so that the divine is well informed. When the deacons pray on behalf of and for the community, they recount the event in their own words and can - to a certain extent - stress what seems important to them as they take turns in praying.

Cooley (1966:) maintains that the belief in ancestor spirits is predominantly linked to 'adat' customs. This is not necessarily true. Wemale ancestors were also Christians and the leadership will on occasion state that what an observer

²⁸The Credo is part of almost every service. To witness ('saksikan') God is equally important than to have God witness religious ceremonies, oaths, and reaffirmation of friendship.

²⁹Some of the better known beliefs of ancestors are questioned and not believed any more, especially by the younger and educated men.

would consider Christian Ambonese custom or state norms are those of the villagers' ancestors. For instance one deacon claimed that the ancestors said that everybody has to go to church on Saturday and Sunday³⁰. On the other hand Christian prayers always incorporate village and national government, including the President ('Presiden') and officials ('menteri').

God's authority is vested in public office and that grants far-reaching powers. Officials are expected to order ('suruh') and to organise and to educate or explain to villagers what their respective duties are. In this role they "make issues clear" ('jelaskan', a verb deriving from to clear, or 'terangkan sedikit', a verb deriving from to (en)lighten somebody "a little bit"). At one point the minister asked his deacons whether they understood the problem and he received the answer that the father had already made himself sufficiently clear³¹. At the same time there is a clear conception that there are public roles and personal failings. Office holders occasionally distance themselves from their role and say that they speak not as so and so but 'privadi' in order to appear more persuasive (cf. chapter 6). In the same vein, villagers initiate gossip or vent personal feelings privately. They may say that a person, or what a person said is not good ('seng baik' or ho mo). More elegantly they claim that an office holder has failed his prescribed duty³². One

³⁰He said, "Kaitia sikina seh 'harus masuk gereja pada hari Saptu, hari Minggu'".

³¹'Bapa sudah cukup jelaskan kami'.

³²This perception may apply to the entire Church. Over the last years the near monopoly position of the GPM's Protestantism in the province of central 'Maluku' was lost since a number of smaller sects and Churches, including the Jehovah's Witnesses, began competing for membership. Tension exists between sects, Churches and the GPM which lost members due to conversions. In Ahiolo villagers were aware of the situation because new parishes formed in the larger villages and some people thought this was going to happen in Ahiolo, too. In their view ideological differences between the Churches, say the Catholic and the GPM were minor, especially in opposition to Islam. What basically mattered was that they all were Christians. The different policies maintained by

villager commented during the tense Christmas preparations that the minister showed too quickly his emotions and that this was a mistake³³. The emphasis on and the concern with office reflects its contentious but generally accepted nature. Where it marks the boundary between private and public, it also defines what is regarded as legitimate authority. Participation in this struggle is a mode of reproducing social positions, a point most clearly expressed by Bourdieu (cf. Thompson 1984:50). Ritualised references to responsibility and office are also uniform and often do not resolve specific problems. Furthermore legitimate authority encompasses contradictory perspectives through the recourse to sin.

Almost every prayer contains the phrase "in our duty or responsibility"³⁴. The responsibility applies to everybody in their role as family member; the public aspect of the function is of particular importance. When for example a household head and father³⁵ was absent when the minister, deacon and village government visited every household at the end of the year, village head and minister declined to talk to the wife about the situation of their household, commenting that the husband (and by implication the wife) was not strong enough ('mampu') to represent the family. Instead they immediately proceeded to a prayer in which one deacon appealed to God that the next time the household head would be present and take up his duty. Deacons and village government like to stress that humans fail to fulfil their duties and that God forgives wrong doing and mistakes. According to one younger deacon this point constitutes the essential difference between the ancestral beliefs and Christianity. The imagery of the kakehan today is that it severely punished all mistakes and failings without

other Churches promised a financial alternative which some educated villagers seemed to be looking forward to. Rumours over corruption and personal gain from Church funds of the GPM were circulating in the area.

³³He said "'.. pendeta ada cepat emosi, itu salah ..'".

³⁴'Di dalam tugas kami'.

³⁵The couple had no official marriage status.

mercy. In contrast 'Tuhan Yesus' forgives sins. Despite the sombre atmosphere nobody ever weeps in Church as is reported by Cooley (cf. 1966:432,444,448).

Part of every service in Church is a section labelled: 'Pengakuan dan Pengampunan Dosa' which is the equivalent to the confession and subsequent forgiving of sins. This has a parallel in public life when for instance somebody committed a grave mistake (see chapter 6 on the adultery). Perhaps more importantly, the village head makes the confession of failings part of his rhetoric. Phrases like "as part of mankind which makes mistakes/sins"³⁶ are commonly used to introduce past shortcomings. They are an opening to promises for better planning and co-ordination of village activities and official responsibilities in the future. Forgiving does not, as one might assume, render the relationship with God free of concern and even fear. Thus the village head said towards a household head who did not consent to the marriage plans of a fostered daughter that if he did not give in, he would ruin the bondage with the Almighty³⁷. Complementing the theme of authority and failing duty, there is a rewarding promise in Protestantism.

Hoping and praying for a better future (cf. Cooley 1966:393ff.) and the discharging of the bad past is where Protestantism and the secular ideas of "development" meet and converge with one another. Christmas is the prime time when disputes should be settled to enable a new beginning³⁸ but any

³⁶'Sebagai orang yang bersalah' or 'manusia yang bersalah'.

³⁷'Kalau dia ingin kawin, tidak boleh tahan. Tidak boleh! Orang tua memrugikan dengan Tuhan' which translates "If she wants to marry, you are not allowed to prevent her. It is not allowed. The parents (you two) harm your relationship with the Lord".

³⁸The village leadership of Ahiolo and Abio also emphasised a spiritual renewal for the New Year when they said that all past problems should be settled so that when one attends the New Year service one can begin the year with a "clean heart" ('hati bersi'). Cooley (1966:239-241) describes various village cleaning rituals performed for Christmas. However, disqualifying his informant's statement that the cleaning is accomplished "for the birth of Christ", he

normal Sunday service contains, after the section in which the forgiving of sins is celebrated, a short part which emphasises the "New Life"³⁹. If a person holds grudges against another, he is said to still have a dirty heart⁴⁰. To set aside past quarrels and to unite, or follow the leadership along one road⁴¹ and work together⁴² is being simultaneously a good Christian and a good citizen. The potential rewards of God's generosity and goodness are immense: wellbeing, health, wealth, education, and happiness are the promised rewards. Thus in praying the hope is expressed that God may guide and be with individuals and groups⁴³.

In as much as wellbeing remains a promise reserved for the future, mankind fails and is dependent on God's initiative: "The human character is passive, only passive, all initiative derives from the Lord"⁴⁴. The idea of submission (or inferiority) and unity converge to create unity. "God accompanies us but people cannot act out of their own

classifies them like other examples already mentioned as 'adat'. He writes "Upon close questioning it is often admitted that this is a ceremony which has been handed down by the ancestors for the welfare of the village...". The ancestral tradition is by no means as clearly established as Cooley would have it and the 'adat' clothes mentioned by him on the same pages include long black trousers, red or spotted neckerchief for men of high status and village office, black blouses and checked sarongs for women. These 'adat' clothes seem to me rather European.

³⁹'Hidup Baru'.

⁴⁰'Hati masih kotor'.

⁴¹'Satu jalan di pimpinan'. A similar phrase is "the way of the Lord" or 'jalan Tuhan'.

⁴²'Bekerja sama-sama'.

⁴³'Tuhan menyertai kita/engkau'.

⁴⁴'Sifat pasif manusia, hanya pasif, semua inisiatip itu dari Allah'. These were the words towards the congregation of a young married villager at the beginning of a Christmas celebration in church.

strength"⁴⁵ is often invoked in public contexts. The point is even more stressed when the speaker says that all villagers are still children⁴⁶. This rhetoric negates social and personal creativity⁴⁷ but its main aim is not so much to devalue the fruits of human labour but to form a parish as a social group which obeys its leadership and thereby God.

Conclusion

Even though the Dutch colonial government subjected the autonomous Wemale villages, it was the Protestant Church which sent permanent representatives to the villages and which took an aggressive stance towards eradicating unfamiliar (i.e. non Ambonese 'adat') indigenous traditions. 'Gurus' introduced a patronising and harsh regime in the villages as they regarded it their duty to bring Christianity and schooling to the heathens. Through its organisations the Church created new hierarchical structures of office holders which were not based on kinship relationships. These positions favoured educated and progressive persons, and generally younger rather than older men because the youth acquired increasingly better knowledge about the state, Church and Christianity. Nevertheless in important ways the command situations were confined to structured village meetings and ritualised ceremonies. Much of the authoritarian Protestantism seems to have evolved in a continuous effort to change villagers' behaviour and values. With the onset of national independence, the GPM had to adjust to financial self-sufficiency which aggravated the problems of exerting control and mobilising the parish. It also burdened households with regular economic contributions for the organisation.

⁴⁵'Tuhan menyertai kami, bukan orang punya kemampuan sendiri'.

⁴⁶'Kita masih anak'.

⁴⁷Repeatedly, it is prayed: "the actions or that what people do/make does not come from us alone but from God" ('buatan yang ada bukan dari kita sendiri tapi dari Tuhan'). The leadership also say that the Lord gives the strength for work but that people then forget God: 'Tuhan beri kekuatan untuk bekerja, tapi kami lupa Tuhan'.

Making donations to the Church is generally accepted and contrasts with reservations against taxation, a reaction similar to areas of Protestant Minahasa (Schouten 1987:95f.). The state levies at present a minimal annual amount of Rp 1,500 per household head in a generalised tax, and despite the fact that the administration provides houses, occasionally clothes, medicine and annual subsidies of about one million rupia (for Ahiolo and Abio together in 1988) the villagers immediately recalled the unpleasant experience associated with colonial taxation. In the next chapter I return to the problems which the village leadership faces in mobilising support for their plans and regulations.

The repetitive, austere and bureaucratic structure of religious events is an effect of disciplinarian hierarchies, originating from a colonial regime and perpetuated by the present administrative apparatus. The format of these events support and legitimise inequality within the community. Wemale Protestantism is then not primarily concerned with internalised belief but with social authority in the social environment. Thus before anything else, God's power to judge behaviour is stressed. His power can provide but can also take away and punish. It threatens those who are unwilling to follow his law and promises great rewards for those who fulfil their duty ('tugas') towards him. As office holders humans are susceptible to personal failure and even seduction by the devil⁴⁸. Imperfection and nonfulfillment of their responsibilities always places a person in an inferior position to the divine. The grace of God allows the forgiveness of sins and promises a better life for the future, for coming years and generations. The hope as well as the manifestation of this prosperous future consists in obtaining a new church building. These attitudes amount to a worldly millenarianism⁴⁹ which overlaps with and parallels the

⁴⁸'Setan' or 'iblis'.

⁴⁹In her recent book on Wana shamanism on Sulawesi, Atkinson mentions millenarian movements (ngna). Compared to the Wemale the Wana situation differs in important respects. Firstly the Wana and their shamans have generally much more

government "development" rhetoric. That all past disunity and mistakes are supposedly left behind to enable a new start, or "New Life" builds on the contrast between ancestral customs and modern forms of consumption and the potential to acquire modern goods, described in the first chapter. Ancestors and 'adat' are not explicitly invoked but serve as a general context to a Protestantism which draws much of its identity from an opposition to the past. Future-orientation is thus inherent in Protestantism and it is based upon the concepts of social disunity and sin ('dosa').

successfully retained and modified their traditional culture and identity with recourse to their ancestral past (1989:314-319). Secondly Wana millenarian movements are clearly other worldly in that they desire to end the present order and bring about a new, perfect and ideal state of well being.

Chapter 8

Communal Labour and Alienation

Wemale song about the origin of the world¹:

Patasiwa - Patalima

The Tribe of the Nine and Five

<u>Yami, yama meina pakai Nunusaku,</u>	You, we who' once came
<u>Nunusaku sama ite wila telu,</u>	from the
<u>ite waila telu,</u>	Nunusaku, who gives those
<u>Tala, Eti, Sapalewa,</u>	three rivers,
<u>Hetu wauwe ite sepu liko nusa,</u>	Tala, Eti, Sapalewa,
<u>'pulau Ambon Lease' peiye Nunusaku,</u>
<u>Nunusaku sama ite waila telu,</u>	and the island Ambon
	Lease,
	comes from the Nunusaku,
	who gives the three
	rivers,
<u>hanalue, yami hanalue,</u>	remember, we remember,
<u>yami 'pusat' meina pakai Nunusaku,</u>	we were the old navel
from 'ingat', <u>yo, yami 'ingat' yo,</u>	the Nunusaku,
	remember, we remember,
<u>yami pusat meina pakai Nunusaku,</u>	we are the old navel from
<u>Patasiwa, Patalima,</u>	the Nunusaku,
	Patasiwa, Patalima
'kami anak nusa' <u>ina,</u>	we are the children of
	the mother island,
'anak satu gandong bersaudara',	one child, united as
	relatives
'tidak lain yang kami minta',	we do not ask for
	anything else
'kemajuan nusa' <u>ina,</u>	(than) the advancement of
	our island.
'Hari Raya semua pria, wanita'	On the festive day, all
	men and women,
'sukseskan pembangunan'.	make the development
	successful.

The villagers of Abio and Ahiolo absorbed the rhetoric of development by encompassing it into a general historic-geographic framework, widely found in eastern Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. It is founded upon the idea that human history consists in a gradual movement from the top of the mountain, where mankind originated, downwards to the shores of the sea. The popular Wemale song quoted outlines such a passage through time and space. The lyrics begin in Wemale language and then shift to a mixed Wemale/Indonesian section and finally finish in Indonesian with phrases borrowed

¹Apparently related versions of this song can be found in Stresemann (1923:343) and Seran (1922:136).

from the recent rhetoric of development. At the outset the song explains that all people, including the tribe of the five (Patalima) and nine (Patasiwa) (see introduction²), originate from the Nunusaku. The three main rivers of western Seram are named and then the song continues with a melancholic passage which invokes the remembrance of the unity of origin from the mountains, before the dispersal of people. Here the smaller islands of the Ambon Lease are mentioned. At this point the whole island Seram is referred to as "mother" island (some Ambonese hold that they originate from Seram which they call Nusa Ina, cf. de Vries 1927:9). The final Indonesian part of the song which is associated with the present and future contains three central terms of the rhetoric of state and national development, though the Indonesian nation is never explicitly mentioned. 'Kemajuan' (advancement), 'sukseskan' (to make something a success) and 'pembangunan' ("development") are all key terms and express a desire for a community of men and women who collectively will bring about the anticipated future development (with its, here not mentioned but surely desired, rewards).

I would suggest that the song reveals a certain framework for the general context in which the rhetoric of development is received by the villagers. Several aspects are worth highlighting: a) there is a movement from the origins of the Nunusaku and the past, towards the coast and modernity which allows for a progressive vision of life and time, b) the loss of the Wemale language and a closely associated integration into Ambonese society and the Indonesian state during this progression, c) a broadening of locality: despite the communal origin on the Nunusaku, contemporary development is not a local village affair. The village is no longer the central social space. It is just one unit in a unifying process which is generated from outside and from the sea (not the mountain), and finally d) the community is conceptualised in terms of collective development. The song demonstrates how established ideas about development have become and how "modernity" has

²Persons who originate from the coast and are not native to the mountains are called siwa-lima, among the Wemale.

found a place in what I would call the conceptual framework of the villagers. Placing "development" into their world view or meta narratives does not mean that the state or the Church view of development function as was anticipated. A discussion of the representation of the community in terms of labour draws most clearly the line between how the administration projects the village as a "community formed through communal labour" and how this is received by householders.

The Ideology of Development and Communal Village Labour

The Indonesian 'New Order' government initiated a programme for national development and generated a persuasive development rhetoric which is, as in Ahiolo, not confined to the economy or health matters. It is reminiscent of a social renewal of the entire nation. Although private businesses enterprise or the construction of modern houses ('pembangunan fisik', which is a major share of the budget) are part of "development", education, the Indonesian language, literacy, knowledge of national history and the Pancasila principles³ are also stressed. Among these principles communal obligations and responsibilities are alluded to and, consequently, the Javanese concept of "mutual cooperation", 'gotong royong', is employed in the national curriculum as a means to achieve such socio-economic development (see chapter 6).

The Protestant Church, is instrumental in propagating the ideology of development and is, with its strong social representation in the villages, often a more powerful agent of this modernisation ideology than the state itself. As was described in the last chapter, the message from the pulpit combines therefore the authoritarian Ambonese Protestantism with renewal of the community and a demand to take up one's adult responsibilities. An important side of the concrete obligation ascribed to individuals consists in contributing to

³The doctrine of Pancasila principles was put forward by Sukarno, the first Indonesian president, in 1945 when Indonesia was still occupied by the Japanese. The principles are: belief in God, nationalism, humanitarianism, social justice and democracy (cf. Ricklefs 1987:197).

the maintenance of the social and physical building of the church. In many parts of the Moluccas communal efforts, invariably phrased in terms of development, have thus produced impressive new churches, mosques and subsequently schools and village meeting houses. A new church building (or mosque) has become the prime symbol of modernity and success. Such buildings, sometimes with towers, large entrances and proper glass windows, are not merely a massive sign of faith in God but also a sign of his power and his benevolence⁴ towards the community; it gives evidence that the village has changed, is developing, becoming rich and is being part of the wider Moluccan, Indonesian and even world wide Christian community.

As we have seen, the apparent success of development in the sphere of the household cash cropping is not simply replicated in the public domain of Ahiolo. I stress throughout the thesis that situated at the margins of the state's focus, village life remains to a large extent governed by ideas concerning personal and household autonomy. The minister of Ahiolo made the point when he exclaimed: "My office is too heavy, the people here only sit in their gardens" ('Saya tugas terlaluh berat, orang di sini duduk di kebun'). Village meetings, Church organisations and rituals depend on a voluntary commitment from villagers which many persons are slow and reluctant to invest. In the last chapter I outlined how the parish is marked by a hierarchical and formal order which also asks for considerable material support. The Sunday service is frequently preoccupied with mobilising the parish and special emphasis is placed on the collective productivity and unity in action. Wemale villages built collective houses like the suane in the past and the ritualised construction of such collective houses was a representation of the community. However villagers were never instructed to collaborate for years towards such a costly project. The "communal" seen in terms of generating resources in labour and cash has become and probably always was suspect to householders. Despite considerable attempts of persuasion and various forms of

⁴Without God's blessings no building could be erected. His assumed help is also thought to help finance the project.

pressure, householders are reluctant to commit themselves to communal enterprise. Instead there is talk of persons who escaped with public funds to enjoy them elsewhere or of the supposed corruption of Church officials.

My contention is then that the secular ideology of development propagated initially by the state administration is largely transformed into a tremendous social and religious project: the communal construction of a village house for God. This is to the advantage of the state (which regards the Church as a "tool" of civilisation), the GPM and for the status of the village. From the villagers' view, a new church building would appear to continue a tradition of ritual village houses (suane) which represent the community. Simultaneously it also expresses progress and modernity as well as a location for the village within the transforming Indonesian nation. Such a positive or optimistic view is however not warranted as it fails to recognise profound alienating effects: a seemingly unreserved adoption of the ideology of progress is matched by unenthusiastic and uncommitted services towards the Church and a retreat from public obligations to household autonomy.

The Concept of Work

The Wemale language term kalia can be translated as work or labour⁵. Kalia is synonymous with the Indonesian concept of 'bekerja⁶' or 'kerja', a verb which is however more often employed in official and public contexts, especially in the Church⁷. The concept carries all the connotations of the

⁵The word was probably taken over from Ambonese Malay 'karja'.

⁶The noun labour or work is 'pekerjaan' in Indonesian proper. The Wemale however use 'bekerja' equally as verb and as noun.

⁷On Bali the term 'karya' means work for the purpose of rituals (Geertz 1980:39) and Geertz translates 'karya ratu' as "king work", a religious corvée implying a simultaneous service and worship (1980:117). Schwimmer argues that Melanesians had no explicit concept of "labour" prior to the arrival of capitalism and Christianity. He quotes an Orokaiva informant as saying "The people of olden times did not take up

development ideology, of production and especially the Javanese concept of collective labour 'gotong royong'. Koentjaraningrat (1967a:261, 1967b:394-396) has firstly described different forms of labour cooperation subsumed under 'gotong royong' and secondly related meanings of the concept, varying between "mutual aid", "reciprocal help", "common benefit" and even "community spirit" in the Javanese context. One young man once suggested to me that the term kalia originally applied to communal village work ('bekerja umum') only. This may well have been the case since small scale tribal societies rarely have a generalised concept of work (the Nuauulu on south central Seram, e.g. have no such concept; personal communication with R.F. Ellen) and usually the indigenous vocabulary only includes terms for specific tasks. Although many activities like sowing, carrying, washing clothes and gardening can be labelled kalia⁸, this is hardly ever done in everyday conversation. Hunting and walking are excluded from the concept. When I asked an educated middle aged female household head, what activities kalia could refer to, I received the meaning of 'bekerja', which only proves however that some villagers know the correct Indonesian application of the term (which is also not often used in a generalised sense). The latter is more or less identical with the western concept - with the difference that the Wemale had probably no mechanical or industrial imagery of labour.

Historically the concept of work and principally communal and coordinated labour were probably introduced by the colonial state. There seem to have been few communal activities in the

work (pure) for it was only Jesus Christ who gave them work (pure) to take up" (1979:287). It is not clear whether the speaker referred to parish labour or a general ideology of production.

⁸The only other generalised concept for a productive activity is hono, which means to make or to do. It is used whenever no particular term covers a particular activity, e.g. hono luma. It also means to divide. Otherwise there are a great number of particular terms for productive and reproductive activities, especially for the processing of the sago palm, cutting wood and for carrying techniques.

Wemale villages before military control was established. Obviously feasting, warfare and headhunting (which is connected to ritual dancing) were essentially communal activities. Occasionally communal fishing, and more significantly the construction of the ritual village house, suane, must have been of paramount importance. However, compulsive and coordinated action on any scale and length of time by adults on behalf of the village is alien to Wemale social organisation. Only after colonisation by the Dutch and in particular during the Japanese invasion pressure was exerted to prepare wide paths from the coast to mountain villages; men were obliged to carry food and other materials and accomplish various services. In all likelihood the term 'bekerja' was established in this context into the Wemale vocabulary as villagers still recollect vividly how the Dutch and Japanese coerced hard work from them.

The logical opposition to collective labour is household work and villagers draw a distinction between labour for the community 'umum' and for personal or household purposes 'privadi' (private). Both terms are Indonesian: 'Umum' does not literally mean community, rather it means generality but it implies that all people who had been called upon have to work. In essence it represents the equivalent of the Javanese concept of 'gotong royong' which sometimes substitutes the term 'bekerja umum'. Communal labour serves not the immediate gain of the labourer but either all villagers, state or foremost God and Church. Private work promotes, in contra distinction, personal and household benefit. 'Privadi' demarcates the opposition to the collective.

The next section of the chapter elaborates on the 'umum/privadi' distinction. In the chapter on household gardening I described the norm and the ideal of household autarky. This principle is much emphasised by villagers and covers over forms of cooperation and help. Here I return to such interaction in order to show that the organisation of these inter household exchanges rests on contrasting premises other than 'bekerja umum'.

Inter Household Help and Labour Exchange

Individual or "private" labour contrasts with obligatory and collective work. When an activity is labelled as 'privadi', it is in comparison or competition with collective rights. Thus when Ahiolo men who are skilled in building rafts (haeta kuane) and drifting them to the estuary of the Tala river (see plate 26) undergo the exhausting task of constructing rafts with timber logs, somebody may say that so and so went to make a raft 'privadi', i.e. not for the community (usually the minister or the deacons send half the village men to prepare rafts and the other half drift the rafts with the wood to the coast on a subsequent day). The distinction is meaningful since normally the Church and other village organisations hold the prerogative to carry out the task and earn money before individuals.

Routine tasks in the household are not usually differentiated from collective claims and labour but are obviously taken for granted. Here individual and household work are intimately fused, as hunting, gathering forest products and gardening as well as many minor tasks are contributions to the household reproduction or the satisfaction of personal desires. The relatively small and nuclear household composition contributes to the identity of producers and consumers. There is little predictable daily routine in the working day of a man, while that of girls and women, although more structured because of the preparation of meals, is still open to personal variation. Significantly husband and wife, who form the basis of the household, are the only adult persons who engage in intimate and reliable long term cooperation of any sort (see chapter 3,4 and 5). Within given limits men and women prefer to pursue their tasks alone and according to their own rhythm and inclinations. This striving towards independence allows the freedom to follow personal dispositions, even when the overall social framework for any specific activity is given. This implies a high evaluation of autonomy concerning practical tasks without proclaiming individualism as a desirable norm or making it the focus of an expressed ideology. Nevertheless the

practice has a critical bearing upon the organisational forms of inter household labour.

Among varying forms of labour help two types have Ambonese Malay terms: 1. 'maano' or 'maanu' and 2. 'masohi' (which informants translate into Indonesian as 'gotong royong').

1. 'Maano' is a rare phenomenon and only used for harvesting cloves. When clove trees have grown fruit and need harvesting within a short period of time an owner, who has too many trees to harvest by him or herself (and suitable household members), requests help from selected friends and relatives. Every willing person then systematically harvests trees. The cloves are divided equally after the fruits have been cleaned of small twigs. One half goes to the owner of the tree and the other to the labourer. Every helper is thus rewarded in kind, not money. In Wemale this sharing of work is called mahono lua, "we divide it by two".

To give an example, Frans Haikutty harvested cloves ('cengkih') with 5 helpers for four to five days in May 1988. One of these men, Johan Mesinai, collected in one day 3-4 kg cloves which he cleaned with his wife in the evening, sitting on the floor of his front room while chatting. At the time, Johan did not know the exact price of the cloves but thought it was about Rp 4,000 for 1kg, the real price was lower (at its lowest the price fell to less than Rp 3,000 for 1kg¹⁰).

⁹One villager explained to me that there was also a division by three: one for the owner of the cloves, one for the helper and one part for the garden itself ('dusun punya uang sendiri') or if there was a machine involved, then the machine would receive one third from the profit. The share for the garden or the machine is supposed to maintain the garden or the machine. This arrangement was not practised in Ahiolo where people would not work for such an unfavourable division.

¹⁰There is little knowledge of what actually happens to certain cash crops. The use copra is put to is unclear; one villager suggested it was made into soap. Some persons know that cloves are bought by the cigarette factories which produce the popular clove cigarettes ('kretek') in Indonesia. The high demand for the clove fruits turned Indonesia into an importer of cloves from Africa (Godoy and Benett 1990:64). By

Even so, to earn about Rp 10,000 in one day was very lucrative and covered household expenses for 1-3 weeks. The owner of the cloves was said to store the harvest in order to wait for a rise in prices; contrary to villager's hopes and expectations the price fell further and only recovered some ground after several months¹¹. The helper divided the cloves after cleaning them (in the absence of the owner) and soon after sold his share to a merchant on the coast.

An organisational combination of 'maano' and labour accomplished by Church organisations, compensated in cash, represents the very rare instances when certain tasks are paid in cash among members of different households. I recorded only two cases involving the same persons, an elder and two bachelors who cleaned a clove garden from undergrowth (halaeki) against a negotiated payment of Rp 5,000 per day. I was told that the youths, rather than the elder, asked for the amount of money. Apart from this unique case, households do not engage in paid labour service within the villages¹².

2. 'Masohi'¹³ cooperation consists of a working party who assists a villager and his or her household to accomplish a major task¹⁴, like felling of garden plots, cooking for guests

now many rural areas have planted clove trees and therefore the price is likely to fall further in the future. Some people in the village assumed correctly that the cloves were sent to Europe.

¹¹Similar strategies are followed by small scale merchants who are intermediate traders to the large cigarette factories.

¹²That is with the above mentioned exception of collective work by the parish, its organisations and the sports club. Every now and then the members of these organisations work on behalf of a household which pays in cash for the service (see below).

¹³The term was translated into Wemale as masiliya lumei or hatahali lumei (both mean "we help each other/together"); these terms are very rare in comparison to the normal meaning discussed below.

¹⁴Thus work parties are sometimes called by sick or unhealthy men who find it difficult to accomplish heavy work.

and constructing or repairing houses. It can also refer to collective village work. Clearing garden land or building or repairing a house (see plate 22 with a house in Abio where a working party replaces the 'atap' roof) happens infrequently, at most once a year but normally with much longer intervals. Each arrangement lasts a day, although building a kitchen extension may require two consecutive days. Any number from 1-30 persons may participate; parties for clearing forest tend to be between 3 to 15 persons. Normally the household head asks age mates, friends and relatives to help and it is important to note that the request can be refused. If a house is repaired in the village it often happens that other villagers come to visit and begin participating in the construction process. As a rule, for clearing a plot of primary forest, no elder person's help is requested but only that of younger and strong men. Felling trees with axes while standing on simple platforms, several meters above the ground, is dangerous and only experienced youths do the final blows on a large tree before it crashes loudly to the earth. Constructing houses calls for specialised knowledge and I have seen experienced elders participating in the building process, though young men usually outnumber elders here, too. Young men carry out the bulk of the heavy work and more skilled workers give careful advice. Otherwise elders and juniors contribute equally and freely to the ongoing discussion of what should be done and everybody enjoys the gathering with its joking and chatting. One can sense an atmosphere of camaraderie even when the felling of giant trees becomes a show of strength and endurance.

The party character of 'masohi' is underlined by the role of the organiser as host. When the group comprises more than 5 or 6 persons the host does not participate in the work but solely concerns him or herself with preparing food. Ample food and drink is always offered to helpers. 'Masohi' was usually (see footnote 13) translated into Wemale as maha'anesi which means 'we give food'. This includes sago, rice, meat, root crops (manioc, yams and other) some vegetable dish, tobacco and ideally a little liquor. Two or three thousand rupia is

normally necessary to buy rice and tobacco or even cigarettes¹⁵.

Participation in 'masohi' is voluntary and not formally reciprocal. Nevertheless there is an tacit understanding among kela (friends) of roughly the same generation, that the host would support the helper, if the latter asks for help. The moral obligation is not made explicit and may indeed not be "returned" at all, as many if not most men prefer to fell their own garden plots, including those made of primary forest. Apart from these forms of cooperation, 'masohi' and 'maano' blur into other forms of help which fall not within a particular classification although in fact they are more frequent and thus more important.

Other arranged labour cooperation can be categorised as "help" ('tolong'). The secretary of Ahiolo once asked two youths to help him clear a garden plot. A third youth he had approached had refused the service despite the attempt of the elder to label the work as kinship help. The youths were only rewarded by a good meal and could not expect that the secretary would help them in turn; the secretary however worked together with the youths. Another time when the secretary's position in the village government was of similar strategic importance, he asked a distant relative and single father, to help him repair his house roof. The service under such circumstances is not returned and can be refused. In Abio, where the village head enjoys more support from the households, the 'raja' received help for the maintenance of his house and other minor tasks by groups of villagers, without being forced to press people very hard. The workmen receive a meal as with 'masohi' arrangements.

When villagers hali ('ronda-ronda') or walk around the village they may join the work of friends and neighbours for a period

¹⁵The economic efficiency of work groups compared to individual labour is open to question. Depending on the task, the main benefit seems to be the short time-period to complete a major task.

of their own liking, while chatting with one another. At the most the person who benefits may provide tobacco or cigarettes. There is no reckoning of who, how much and how long a person helps and there is no (direct) expectation of being repaid at any time. Such help is voluntary and not regarded as a major sacrifice and in case somebody (which is unlikely) would want to stress that so and so has helped, s/he may simply state that the person is good ('baik' or hoi).

The most frequent labour assistance is for mutual benefit. One day a householder went to help another household head to fence a food garden and only four days later the householder in return helped the other man in the laborious process of making copra. No side gained greatly, but it had been helpful to have several men installing the fence together. Another cooperation is rather like 'maano' in that men, who work together to produce sago ('pikul sagu' or tutu liki), always share the product evenly among themselves, irrespective of what kind of labour they contribute (the younger men often grate or cut the sago marrow into flour as can be seen on plate 16, which is more strenuous than the more time consuming task of washing sago, shown on plate 17, to extract the white starch). This rule applies irrespective of whether the sago palm is owned by one of the working party, or not.

Only two men, one a bachelor with his own household, the other a family father, in Ahiolo made their food garden together from primary forest. They felled the forest together and then separated the territory, each planting his crops separately but apparently sharing the manioc. The advantage of this exceptional case of cooperation is that the two can either alternate in sleeping in the garden or keep each other company while protecting it against marauding pigs. In a similar arrangement an owner of a large established garden invited a younger man to extend the garden with him. The younger labourer can then plant root crops on the land together with the owner and quite possibly receive some of the already mature food crops. The territory remains reserved for the original owner and his son who can, in due course, plant cash

crop plants on it.

Cooperative labour arrangements thus far described are oscillating between forms of sharing and voluntary help. Real and supposed kinship links may be used to request and to accept invitations for cooperation but the choice is, in the end, not dependent on genealogical kinship connections but on the personal bond between members of different households. Under the arrangement of ('maano') the cooperation and help is turned into the helper's own labour and benefit. In this case giving support results in a substantial return for the effort invoked. Alternatively balancing a voluntary element in assistance (be that participation in unrequested help, asking for as opposed to ordering help, or the possibility to decline assistance) against general kinship (or friendship) obligations between households, prevents anybody making automatic claims on other villagers. To reiterate this important fact: cooperation exists always between particular individuals and is not given in the name of a household or a kinship group. Coordination of larger groups like 'masohi' is rare and to display the nature of personalised assistance, the host serves an opulent meal. The recipient of help is furthermore always a distinct person with or without his/her household. Even though there may not be arrangements for reciprocating and balancing of support given, the effort involved has to be seen as a contribution to the maintenance of social relations, be they between individuals, households, kinsmen or friends. Here lies the essential difference to the generalised labour done for the parish.

Against the background of cooperation organised by households and individuals, I suggest that parish labour is experienced as alienating. This explains the tendency to divide and separate communal activity and to allocate tasks either to individuals or households. Relocating collective responsibility reduces the obligation to comply to ordered cooperation under hierarchical and involuntary relationships. The villagers behaviour transfers, to a certain degree, the abstract and general purpose of collective labour into the

realm of the household and ordinary life, where persons can work according to their own inclination. The result is firstly that persons need not coordinate their activities and secondly that they can avoid or, at least, postpone this duty.

"Ora et Labora"¹⁶, the Work of the Parish

Communal work is usually organised by the parish leadership. Infrequently other organisations like the football association, or the Church's women, children or youth group carry out work in order to earn cash. Only parish or village labour involves the entire adult population while specific organisations obviously only comprise a sub-section. A further qualification of "village labour" is its frequent division by gender. The argument about the alienating quality of communal labour applies in my view equally to men and women. In principle there is no difference between village labour ordered ('suruh') by the government and the parish leadership, although villagers may distinguish between the two. The divergence rests in the sheer frequency of the demands posed. In Ahiolo the villagers cleaned the public paths three or four times during 14 months. The Church, in comparison, demands the labour of the parish almost weekly.

Under these circumstances it is common for the parish leadership to seek support for its activities from the village leadership, especially when it concerns the maintenance of the old and the construction of the new church. The practice has a long history in the Protestant Church, as under the Dutch government the church buildings were legally owned by the village government. The latter was therefore obliged to maintain the building. Today the parish owns the building and arranges necessary repairs. Upon such a request the village government commands the villagers to come and work. As was seen in the last chapter, the Church asks for many services,

¹⁶These words were written across an entrance arch to the church yard in Tala. It is also the name of a Moluccan missionary society which was active from the first half of the 19th century onwards (Cooley 1966:416).

resources and money and turning, as a last resort, towards the secular government, ensures that a particular project will be finished or at least advanced. For unaccounted reasons certain public responsibilities rest in the hands of the parish. For instance the village units voluntarily repair the steep paths leading to the two cracked concrete water basins. The same applies to the care of two canoes, made of single large trees, which are kept for emergency transportation to the coast and crossing the river during floods¹⁷. To my knowledge there was no request from the village leadership to "help" the government, as the government is asked to "help" ('tolong') the Church. Questioned about the particular procedures villagers reacted hesitantly, as if they were not aware of this inversion of normal practice.

Only pressing necessity initiates action. Villagers as well as leadership take their time to organise the maintenance of roads or the graveyard. Once a decision is reached, the 'marinyo' announces after sunset that all adult villagers are to assemble the following morning. Within the Church organisation, minister and deacons decide about the parish's labour activities. The primary areas covered are: maintenance work on the old church building, cleaning the church paths, cutting grass, replacing decayed walls and leaking roofs. Apart from these specific tasks there are irregular activities to earn money for the planned brick church. Finally cultivating cash crop plantations for the parish and preparing the minister's garden are regular items on the work agenda. This list comprises only collective work projects of the entire village (see chapter 7 for other parish obligations). Parish labour is announced during the Sunday service. On the appointed day, the church bell calls people to congregate. In Ahiolo Monday mornings are usually reserved for Church work. Some people come late while others have already begun with the task at hand. Before the parish division into two sections,

¹⁷The canoes belong to the community and individuals borrow them for various purposes: once one was used to collect sago starch, then it was used as a container to mix concrete for making a house floor; yet another time it was used to transport sacks with concrete from the coast to the village.

lengthy discussions preluded action. The equal and fair distribution of irregular work, like the transportation of timber to the coast, was at issue. Since the parish sections came into operation, they sometimes function as smaller organisations for which such tasks can be more easily allocated by deacons or the coordinator of each section. A communal prayer may precede the labour although there seemed no set rules¹⁸ about that.

Every adult villager is expected to come¹⁹. When certain persons were absent on an appointed day for parish labour - which is always quickly noticed - it provoked a remark in a later meeting of the deacons that these householders had been absent. Without hesitation the meeting agreed in the absence of the accused that alternative work had to be carried out by the culprits²⁰. As the deacons are only capable of exerting moral pressure in mobilising villagers for any type of communal work, the deacons decided that the absentees should not be too severely "punished" so that they would not be offended and stop participating in Church projects.

For the village head, minister and secretary participation in the labour is optional (their wives are expected to join), but more often than not, they refrain. By virtue of their office, they are excused from active participation. On the other hand the position of the village government is not without

¹⁸Prayers may be spoken before long journeys, a potentially dangerous task (e.g. when a wounded elder was returned from his garden to the village, those men who helped, all prayed together before embarking on what was thought to be a dangerous undertaking) and when persons prepare something for the Church, e.g. rehearse a Christmas drama, or songs. During the prayer God is sometimes asked to unite and harmonise the group so that the action proceeds safely.

¹⁹The village is thought to be identical with the parish.

²⁰Something which would and could not happen in any of the larger towns as there is less control over the congregation. A major reason worth mentioning is that sects and other Churches compete for membership and cannot afford to alienate their membership by excessive demands.

ambiguity. As leadership they are entitled and even expected to command labour but as members of the community they should participate²¹ like everybody else and often there was no question about the village head and the secretary taking part in the effort. Only the minister is definitively exempt.

The question about equal participation in the burden of labour rose during a LKMD meeting in Abio, when a householder asked whether the deacons were exempt from helping to carry materials for the new brick church. In answering the head deacon announced that the 'majelis' (deacons) were busy with Church obligations. He then conceded that deacons would help as much as possible. In Ahiolo all deacons have to participate in collective work like everybody else. Presence and visibility enhances communal pressure on individuals to do their share. Everybody works and rests in front of everybody else and is expected to fulfil his or her obligation. However there are no positive sanctions except teasing which are brought on anybody who is not working hard. It is accepted that persons work according to their character or their ability, some more, some less. Thus not everybody can achieve the same. No commands are uttered, partly due to generosity, partly to avoid personal confrontation. Only young people may occasionally and jokingly say that another youth does not contribute hard enough. The accused can reply with an excuse, or more likely, point out how much indeed s/he has already accomplished. It is fairly obvious who is a particularly efficient worker and who is not and a verbal reminder to work

²¹On one occasion, a youth had arranged a working party for clearing a plot and, on short notice, communal labour was announced which prevented him from working on his own project. There would not have been much of a problem, had the family not already prepared rice and other food for the working party. The youth's step-father is the brother of the village secretary and the youth felt very bitter that he could not go ahead with his garden (he had come to the secretary's house and formally requested permission to be excused for the occasion. The secretary in turn pointed out that he could not dissolve them from the obligation as the youth was a relative and people in the village would remark that he was favouring his relatives).

properly by a senior would be met by silence and subsequent gossip. On the other hand youths sometimes fall into a competitive spirit and then enthruse each other to shoulder the heaviest stones from the river bed and carry them to the location for the new church²². I only witnessed such exertions when the activity gave an opportunity to demonstrate physical strength, e.g. carrying wood, or felling huge forest trees. Otherwise people may work quickly and non competitively. Even without a meal, working parties can turn into cheerful events. Elders take the opportunity to chat with the 'raja' while smoking tobacco and chewing betel nuts. Only after or before the gathering at home or on the path will a householder privately complain. Most state that they want to 'rest' or 'istriaht' and some exaggerate that they are over burdened and find no space to accomplish their own household labour.

Many Protestant villages allocated land to their parish. The ground is planted with cash crops from which the parish derives an income²³. Ahiolo's congregation had already planted a cash crop garden but the location proved unfavourable and most of the coconut palms died because of the poor soil quality. The rest had been destroyed by wild pigs, which like to feed on immature palms. Upon request by the minister, the village government allotted a new area of equal size (approximately 2 ha), for the parish from communal village land. This land had been collectively cleared from primary forest when Ahiolo was founded. Since then it has been available for everybody to make short term food gardens.

The new ground presented to the Church had not been under cultivation for several years. On the appointed Monday the parish cleared the area. The minister attended but did not participate. He intended to plant so called green peanuts ('kacang hijau'), or maize together with coconut seedlings so

²²The stones are needed for the foundations of the planned brick church.

²³In the Kairatu regional GPM office, all types of cash crop trees in the various villages are registered on a large board.

that the parish would have an immediate gain from the sale of peanuts or maize and a long term profit from the palms. In the course of the next few weeks no further action was taken since the minister was absent on a visit to Kairatu and the deacons failed to arrange another working party. One day a villager decided to burn a part of the clearing and subsequently planted it with manioc for his domestic consumption. The man did not plant a large garden but apparently only as much as he felt he was entitled to, by the work he had contributed to the parish enterprise. Swiftly many other villagers followed suit, planting manioc privately and even peanuts which were grown for sale and home consumption. Thus the cleared field was rapidly divided into modest parcels demarcated by a few crooked sticks stuck into the soil.

In a Saturday meeting of the session, the returned minister asked (probably already aware of what had occurred) whether the garden had been burnt during his absence. He then learned that most of the garden had not only been burnt, but also planted 'privadi' (privately). Annoyed the minister responded by saying: "I don't like to work like this" ('Beta seng suka bekerja begitu'). He had to content himself with planting the remainder of the garden with peanuts, after complaining bitterly about the lack of organisation. In addition he noted that the manioc would attract pigs into the plantation which would "eat" the work of the parish ('.. undang binatang dengan kasbih untuk makan jamaat punya bekerja') and render it useless. Villagers who reclaimed a share of communal "work" were well aware that they were likely to be confronted by the minister in church because they were disregarding the communal parish interests. Some villagers I talked to refused to reappropriate plots for their own purposes but did not interfere with those who did.

Another striking example illustrates the aversion to taking coordinated and communal action. It concerns the cleaning of the village path surrounding the church building by women. Village roads are cleaned and maintained by households. As not all paths can be attributed to individual households, notably

the parts before the church, the minister's house, the volleyball field and the 'balai desa', the women used to clean these sections collectively as can be seen on plate 23. This had been customary for numerous years when in September 1988 the following events happened: firstly, the area around the church was divided according to the two already mentioned parish sections; secondly yielding to popular pressure, each section leader then subdivided the path in rectangular squares of equal size and allocated every female household head one such stripe. Each parcel was designated by a small label with the women's name written on it²⁴. Although the women keenly favoured such plots, there was also opposition to them. The secretary was alarmed that from now on parts of the village path would be clean while other fractions would be overgrown with weeds. This exemplified a state of sloppiness and disunity in the community. What would people from other villages think of this? Another objection articulated by the minister (after the service) was that the women ought to work together so that when one is ill, the others can compensate for her. Despite resistance from the leadership the new policy was implemented and, fulfilling the secretaries worst fears, the central village road looked in no time like patchwork.

Comparing inter household assistance with generalised village work demonstrates the abstracting nature of 'gotong royong' envisaged by the state administration or the Church and enforced in the name of the parish and the "village". As we saw 'masohi' groups are a version of the generalised village work but with crucial differences: communal labour carries a compulsory character. It is directed towards village and parish, not a household or a person. Arrangements like 'maano' and 'masohi' either benefit the labourer or rely on the consent and commitment of helpers. Village work, in contrast, appears as an interminable effort and it is a process of depersonalised appropriation. As there is no host, no food is offered. On the contrary, the restricting and bureaucratic impositions are legitimised with reference to civil obligation

²⁴Married women were designated by double names; first their husband's followed by their birth name.



Plate 22



Plate 23

and responsibility: "these are still static, not Pancasila people"²⁵ a member of the leadership addressed the householders in a meeting. This alienation of help and support is the reason why villagers reclaimed the land they cleared and consequently undermined the public purpose. Yet, householders cannot escape the power of the communal obligations however abstract they may be. And they are loyal and faithful supporters of their God. Dividing the village path is not an outright negation of God or communal solidarity. Rather it recontextualises abstract and imposed demands into the domain of the household. Cleaning the path remains an exercise but it falls no longer under the immediate discipline of collective and organised surveillance.

Instead of pursuing village development in terms of "freeing" the economy of moral or religious constraints, the entire project of village development consists largely in a holistic attempt of transforming the village into a "new" community. Among many social changes this includes redefining the concept of community itself. Whereas in the past there was an orientation of the communal primarily with respect to consumption but also to warfare and ritual, the present ideas strive to constitute the village or parish as a community of producers. Certainly other aspects play also a role but development, as understood by the administration, is one of a harmonious group of individuals producing for the common good. This concept of a communal work ethic runs up against the way householders strive to preserve their autonomy.

Unquestionably villagers wish to build a new brick church to demonstrate pride, equality with other villages, gratitude and the benevolence of a universal God. Thus an endless struggle ensues to organise the community for the project. Substantial labour coordination is needed while the costs of the church exceed the parish's financial potential. Therefore success depends upon outside help. Richer villages like Tala, Sumeit-

²⁵ 'Itu masih orang statis, tidak Panca'.

Passinaro²⁶ and Honitetu already own big new brick churches. Abio's new church was only half way finished while Ahiolo had only initiated the process of accumulating the money for future development. The completion of Abio's new church hinges on the raw materials and transportation made available by a timber firm which ruthlessly exploits the forests which the villagers and certain families consider to be their territory. Without the "help" of the company, Abio would not find itself in a position to complete its semi-finished church for decades to come. Although the parish has to attain all sorts of sources of assistance for such massive expenses, communal labour (and village development generally) is at present closely associated with building new churches because it is considered one basic means to raise cash.

The Mountain and Becoming Modern

As I explained in chapter 2, ancestral origins, on the one hand, and development and modernisation on the other, form dichotomies which are geographically mapped onto the landscape. This overall framework is broader than the recently introduced ideas of "self-production", discussed above. The opposition of past and modernity/progress depends on a set of constantly used directional Wemale terms which I cannot introduce here (Wemale also has separate terms for categorising time). I repeatedly mentioned how the past is associated with the mountains and the "modern" with the shores. The dichotomies are representations, they locate communities in a wider social field. As much as the social

²⁶This village has just over a hundred souls and it is therefore rather surprising that the village already owns a new brick church and that the villagers are in the process of erecting a new 'balai desa'. From several persons I received different explanations but it is certain that the village sold large quantities of timber from its territory to merchants and received money for it, which they spent on their "development". An Ahiolo villager surmised that Sumeit-Passinaro obtained a large cash donation (as did Honitetu) from some native emigrants to the Netherlands while a pensioned minister, who lives in Sumeit-Passinaro, affirmed that it was only the villager's own labour resources which enabled the buildings. He alluded to "laziness" of Ahiolo/Abio as the cause of having failed to achieve the same.

construction of the past explains and defines the present, it is open for manipulation. Few people are capable of telling the origin myth of mankind but everybody knows that the first people descended from the top of the now invisible mountain Nunusaku. In the process various segmentations of the original group took place and certain villagers stated that the Wemale were part of the Semitic tribe which descended from Noah. According to this narrative, Noah was lying drunk on his bed and his clothes exposed his erect penis. Two of his sons observed this and shamelessly laughed while the third son went silently to cover him. When the father woke up he blessed the latter son who became the ancestor of the Europeans while one of the unblest sons became the ancestor of the unfortunate Indonesians (cf. Wouden 1968:54, footnote 120 for a similar myth). Part of the history tunqlani, which is differentiated from tuni haetu (separate myths believed to be true) and hanekule (children' folk tales) features personified nations like the British (kilisi), the Dutch and the neighbouring tribe of the Alune²⁷. Succeeding the segmentation, the remaining Wemale held the feast of the nine pigs (tanaile babu siwa). As we saw (cf. chapter 4) the Wemale dispersed into various named villages. Japiobatai, the original ancestral village of Ahiolo and Abio, assumed a role of remaining close to the base of origin while the other villages moved away. Today Abio takes on this symbolic role and most elders with knowledge and competence reside there and not in Ahiolo. The "traditional" knowledge is at least partly fictional in the sense that it is of low importance in village life. The symbolic significance of being guardians of origins (cf. Traube 1986:45) is dwindling. Its sole attraction is a kind of "authoritative secrecy" because the ancestral origins can rarely be celebrated in public.

²⁷There are different versions of the origin myth. A popular version in Ahiolo attributed the British and Dutch a negative role. The original knowledge which the Wemale had received was stolen by the British in the form of a book and a pen. Another version, given by a highly respected elder near Abio, incorporated God in the myth of origin from the Nunusaku. He attributed the British with having established a harmonious social order before their departure from Seram.

What might be called a local "geography of development" implants the "old" and the "new" into the landscape. The idealised structural oppositions have been incorporated into the native model of time and cosmic formation. When certain household heads remark that Ahiolo lags behind with cash cropping, compared to coastal villages, they suggest that progress is unevenly distributed and that the village has not advanced as much as it could have. An admission is tacit that in this respect the villages rank below coastal standards, though in very concrete ways certain features of coastal life are rejected. Some individuals consider coastal settlements too crowded and busy, others experienced wage labour as financially unrewarding and unpleasant. The ideal model provides only the backbone for the overall orientation of a discourse about "development". Although villagers claim unanimously to side with "modernity", there are, inherent to the language of progress, accusations of an unwillingness to advance the cause of village development. Thus ambiguity about the status of where the villages are located in terms of traditional habits and modern standards of living becomes apparent in rivalry between Abio and Ahiolo and the manipulation over the status of 'adat'. By virtue of being closer to the ancestral villages and territories, Abio commands authority as far as ancestral matters and original 'adat' are concerned. On the other hand Ahiolo is the village of origin and its household heads demanded that the village head should reside in Ahiolo. His absence was regarded as a failure to execute his obligation. In the gossip of elders, time had been wasted to implement activities for progress (although few would be keen to submit to further public projects). As far as knowledge about the state, schooling and other areas of Ambonese life is concerned, Ahiolo is vested with leadership through its proximity to the coast. Antagonism among the communities (a symptom of their egalitarianism) is articulated in such stereotypes but the overwhelming stress of the discourse rests on change rather than conserving and encapsulating the past. After all Abio is further advanced with its new church than Ahiolo.

The negative connotations of a state without "civilised" knowledge or religion ('agama') can be illustrated by villagers ideas of the Nuaulu. Drawing a comparison between Wemale ancestors' or the Nuaulu's moral standards (a people reputedly living outside the bounds of "normal" society) and their present situation, men would not point to the State as the prime turning point of change but rather to religion 'agama' (cf. Atkinson 1988:51f.). Old men take much pride in their fighting resistance to the Dutch and methods of tricking and killing Dutch soldiers were several times detailed to me. The relationship to the Indonesian state is not formulated like this. Even though some men fought the Indonesian troops, nobody boasts about similar achievements during the RMS period. The pre-colonial epoch is called 'waktu belum ada agama', "before we had religion" which suggests a complete lack of social standards. I was told with great concern that some villagers observed Nuaulu in the market in Masohi. These people have no religion; they are neither Christians, nor Muslims. They are dirty, do not wash their faces but wear red head bands (as they are worn for the war dance) and went with short trousers and filthy T-shirts to the market. Those people would not speak Indonesian, or only such a version of it which nobody could understand. The final comment on the Nuaulu was that western tourists drive to them to take photos (which contrasts the "fraternity" with which the village leadership receives the odd white American passing once in a while through the villages). The Nuaulu have escaped the normalising process which were acquired by taking on Christianity and becoming a village in the Indonesian nation.

The general term for the image of people like the Nuaulu is that they are 'primitif' (primitive). My friend in Ambon would apply the same term to Ahiolo although he never saw the place. For him it was sufficient to know that I lived in a small, isolated mountain village. Any villager would be deeply offended by such a suggestion. Thus they reject the pejorative term 'Alifuru', used by coastal people and anthropologists to designate all types of "traditional" inland people. What distinguishes the Nuaulu is that they have no Allah, no church

and that they show utter ignorance of the base line of what is considered decent standards of living and behaviour. This is evident in dress and supposed lack of cleanliness. Market consumption and 'agama' are the reverse of what the Nuaulu represent. To exist or to fall below such a standard would mean ridicule, ignorance and loss of dignity (cf. chapter 2).

Wemale ancestors have few rituals and little public visibility left, except for restricted concerns like 'adat' meetings and peacemaking among households. Formerly, men and women sacrificed food and prayed to the ancestors for good harvests. Rumours had it that there were people who continued to offer food but I never witnessed anything like it. Generalised accusations like these have to be considered part of the discourse. If ancestral prayers and sacrifices persist, then they do not take place in public. Healing rituals and the capture and return of spiritual aspects of the person are still common. Unlike those matters pertaining to economic processes where ancestors are accused of having satisfied only immediate desires with no consideration for the benefit of their children, the health of offspring may still fall under ancestral authority. Prayers to ancestors ('sembajang' or sopajane) can be and often are combined with invocations to God. As well as inviting a relative or knowledgeable elder for a curing rite, the minister and the deacons can be called to hold a prayer meeting on behalf of the family and the sick person. In the household domain there are signs of a more syncretistic integration of past practices with public norms and depending on the household and its members some ancestral belief and practices might be retained. This contrasts sharply with the exceptional case of the Huaulu²⁸ who have managed to maintain pride in their ancestral customs (cf. Valeri 1990:57f.).

The general geographic and progressive framework of the Wemale may have been a contributing factor in the revaluation and rejection of traditional ritual and knowledge but, as Jensen

²⁸The Huaulu live on north central Seram.

(1948:8,39f.) states, 'gurus' in the 1930s were profoundly repressing traditional rites and customs (see chapter 7). However today the minister collaborates with traditional rituals as long as he feels they are in accordance with religious doctrines and the villagers could revive certain traditions, if they wanted to. Significantly they do not. On the contrary, they teach their children first of all Ambonese Malay (it is universal practice even in Abio that mothers talk Ambonese Malay to their babies and toddlers) and restrict Wemale to adults. The past serves largely as a moral contrast to the present and opens aspirations for the future.

Wemale "Modernism"

I think that it is insufficient to view the present situation of Ahiolo/Abio as a permanent adaptation or modification of past practices. Social change can be seen as the reapplication of principles, or a "system of structured, structuring dispositions" (Bourdieu 1990:52)²⁹. Thus certain social forms are more open to change than others in the process of social reproduction. A number of such historical continuities have been described throughout the thesis. However village life among the Wemale has reached a qualitatively different stage through its entanglement with the "wider world". In certain respects one might be able to compare conditions of life by breaking them down into concepts like mortality rates, precepts of hygiene, literacy, material wealth and recently even psychological factors (Appell, 1988:277), but there are incompatibilities between Wemale life now, and a hundred years ago. A difference in the quality of the people's existence has occurred and that includes all kinds of local and regional power struggles.

As among the peoples of Minahasa, the public emphasis among the Wemale rests on change. Lundström-Burghoorn subtitles her study of Minahasa, "A tradition of change" because there is a long standing willingness and even eagerness of these people

²⁹See also Moore (1986:76-84) for an elaboration and sophistication of this theoretical approach.

to emulate Dutch life-styles and new consumption habits. The people went to school and many became part of the Dutch colonial administration. Local leaders (chiefs) were at the forefront of adopting Dutch standards as they could distinguish themselves from ordinary people and took on functions as middle-man administrators. The people also adopted the Dutch Protestant Church but, in contrast to Ahiolo and Abio, their many organisations, including their necessary meetings, are combined with communal consumption and an ongoing process of exchange, creating debts between individuals and their households and the organisation they hold membership in. This continuous disposition to embrace modern forms of consumption, leads Lundström-Burghoorn to write (1981:46): "There is thus comparatively little opposition to the introduction of new elements, and their integration merely provides new ways for doing old things."

The reason why Lundström-Burghoorn can gloss over the existential changes brought about by the (organisational) administrations of state and Church is that the people of Minahasa, despite their loose cognatic kinship structure, modified and expanded forms of communal labour, mutual help, exchanges and participation by means of associations which are also connected to feasting and the roles of host and guest. Against the flexible nature of the formation of social relationships, the value placed on sharing and an indebtedness towards the association are the focus of lively integrated communities. These values are phrased in terms of tradition: "To avoid participation in associations is considered a mark of egotism, a rejection of old customs and values, and breaking relationships with co-villagers." (1981:180). At the same time it is retired officials elected into the elders' village councils who articulate their version of what village 'adat' means. In contrast the lack of public spirit and collective alienation in Ahiolo and Abio demonstrates a disruption with past customs which rarely attempts to interpret innovations in terms of the past.

Taken from this point, Christianity and nationalism are as

much a matter of self respect as a hope for a beneficial integration into the wealth and knowledge of external power centres. Yet the formal village structures acquire a theatrical quality, without the constraints of a "developed" infrastructure, little social differentiation and a distant state administration. Communal life is a performance of an administration with the background of a state administration which can resort to violence. The Wemale remember well their defeat by the Dutch. A few decades later the Japanese occupied the area during the second world war. Soon after, the RMS operated among and with villagers. This period only came violently to an end in 1962, when residents of Abio and Ahioolo had to move to the coast, forced by the Indonesian army. This aggressive potential of the military is not forgotten and the secretary reminds his audience of the alleged brutal violence³⁰ which is exercised by the police in the regional prison. The administration may be in certain respects distant, unpleasant or unimportant for everyday concerns but it can not be ignored or rebelled against. The occasional policemen and soldiers who pass through the area serve as reminders of this fact.

Repeatedly we saw how the extraneous nature of obligations and impositions provokes a retreat from the public. This affects the very nature of the administrative and organisational structures which, for some householders, become a point of contention. Rule bound and ritualised administration harbours values of communality, as is the case with collective labour, but it also results in joyless and uninspired formalism.

Conclusion

The constitution of the community in terms of collective production results in marked reluctance and opposition from the householders. This is a crucial point. Villagers do not

³⁰The military and police are recurrently said to be 'jahat' (dangerous, bad natured, vicious); by Ambonese they are represented as a kind of slightly uncontrolled retaliatory force of the state.

wish to submit to the collective constraints but communal production is an intricate part of the prevailing "development" rhetoric and programmes (see final chapter). The contradiction is further aggravated because notions of "communal" and "collective" are negotiated with respect to a process and discourse of modernisation, that is in norms and practices which are abstract and opposed to those prevailing in the household. There is a very real sense that following administrative procedures means to become "modern". Neither public life, nor public discourse have reformulated or modified the past into a positive social identity which mediates ideas of sharing, pride, friendship and generosity. At present the social is defined in relation to and in terms of ideas and concepts generated in urban centres.



Plate 24



Plate 25



Plate 26

Conclusion

The Ideology of "Pembangunan" (Development) in the Indonesian State

Much of this study has been concerned with the relationship between the local villages and regional and national institutions. In this final section I wish to provide further context to the conditions encountered in Ahiolo by providing a view which goes beyond the limits of my own research. My objective is to supply the reader with important regional and national circumstances far as they have bearing on key issues of this description and therefore to give a different perspective on the previous chapters. This enables me to show how the rhetoric of "development" is subject to interpretation by the state administration, the Church and the villagers. It will also be shown that "development" has deluding ideological qualities and unacknowledged social implications. The argument suggests that "development" has to be regarded as a form of ideology.

In Indonesian ethnography social change and the role played by the government administration is a much addressed issue. A recent collection of essays (Dove 1988) represents an attempt by anthropologists to focus on the local perspective of "development". Particular ethnic and cultural practices (e.g. feasting combined with land redistribution, or hunting and gathering of forest products for trade) are shown to have their own valid logic which is seen by government agencies as adverse or inimical to governmental strategies and national norms. The essays reiterate the existing preconceptions of governmental policies and government officials. Echoing Geertz (1968:155f.) much earlier call for a flexible and pluralistic approach, the authors argue for a less biased, more practical and open administration which implements change after consultation with the cooperation of villagers. Still none of the contributions addresses the phenomenon of the

rhetoric of development or 'pembangunan' itself¹. The persuasiveness of this ideology is part of the daily life of most Indonesian people, even though the meaning attributed to it varies widely. One of the most obvious characteristics of the ideology is its secular political dimension. With strict limitations on political opposition, even parliamentary and state department politics have become a matter of arguing within limitations how, for whom, and in which way, development is to be implemented (Robinson 1986:159-162)².

Adopting a rhetoric of development is common among third world national governments indebted to industrialised countries. In Indonesia the ideology received unique force when the "New Order" regime under the presidency of Soeharto was established, after politically turbulent years following independence and the national turmoil of 1965. This period had been marked by rising corruption, politicisation and fragmentation of the administration and legal state structures (Lev 1972:259-267). At this point discussions about Indonesian ideology usually tend to focus on the 'Pancasila' doctrines, i.e. those principles on which the state rests its authority. The interpretation of these principles has caused problems in the past (van Dijk 1989:6, Morfit 1986a, Watson 1987). I would hold that these principles rest on a more abstract and intellectual level than the daily references to development. The government-sponsored courses on the meaning of the 'Pancasila' reiterates this point. In contrast, the mundane rhetoric of development affects everyday life much more while retaining at the same time other more abstract and political social dimensions. Commonly the president and the cabinet are known as 'Bapak Pembangunan' ("Mister Development") and

¹In his review of Dove's volume Fox (1990:160-162) suggests that the role of culture in development is not discussed in general terms and that national interests are misrepresented. Considering the massive amount of literature which takes the view of the central administration as opposed to localised interests, I find Fox's view misguided. More to the point, Fox makes no mention of "pembangunan" as a form of ideology.

²Demaine describes parallel discussions in Thailand (1986:99,101).

'Kabinet Pembangunan' ("Cabinet of Development") respectively. A concerted effort by the state and development agencies intends to develop industries, improve education, infrastructure and health care through the five year development plans, called Repelita (Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun).

The "New Order" also expects to overcome past political instabilities and in particular everyone whom it considers to be communist and, more recently, Islamic fundamentalist. Thus moral and political "cleansing" was and continues to be an important factor in this diffuse ideology which, as I described, does not remain confined to industrial and physical development. Since 1965 Indonesian party politics are only to a limited extent able to voice criticism and, if anything, are more organised along divisions of religion than class. For example the name of the Islamic party is 'Partai Persatuan Pembangunan' or "Party of Unity and Development". Robinson (1986:108) summarises this crucial aspect of the "New Order" period: "The establishment of an ideological basis for legitimation which presents the state as the executor of a scientifically conceived strategy for the development of Indonesian society and economy. Authoritarian rule in this context is presented as a necessary component of development, thereby lifting the state above the realm of politics and denying legitimacy to political activity, political opposition and critics of the regime."

Supposedly the guide-lines to success derive from rational and universal economic criteria but it is clear that even within the government, bureaucrats employ different policies. For instance the Bappenas (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, or the National Development Planning Boards) technocrats adhered, at least during the early years of the "New Order", to a free market ideology, being much influenced by American neo-classicist economics (Robinson 1986:108-111). As the state

began to rely less on foreign aid³, it reverted to more nationalist protectionist strategies. This was made possible by enormous revenues from the oil and gas industries⁴ which largely financed the tremendous growth of the government administration and the accompanying development programmes but also Indonesia's huge public enterprise sector. A factor in the shift of policy came from sections in the military, nationalist capitalist technocrats, the little developed entrepreneurial middle class, and other social groupings; all of which wanted protection from international capital by the nascent power of the state.

The establishment of local government in remote and rural parts of the vast Indonesian archipelago, together with the multifarious reforms and transformations initiated, are also carried under the banner of "development". Throughout the colonial period but also since independence in 1945 regional rebellions against the central government, located on Java, were numerous. The Javanese dominated government and military have been busy in broadening their regional authority, especially in the outer islands (i.e. all islands apart from Java and Bali) by various means. The aim has been to "unify" the considerable ethnic diversity of the country.

Most Indonesian regions depend heavily upon the central state revenue as their local tax revenues remains insufficient (Booth 1986:83, Steigerwald 1987:74). During Repelita 3 (1979-84), only 1.7% of the total development expenditure was directly financed by regional sources (taxes, retribution, profit shares of enterprises, receipts from rendered services) as provincial and sub-district government are restricted in

³Robinson (1986:156) writes: "Indeed, it is no exaggeration to regard IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia), IMF (International Monetary Fund) and IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development - the World Bank) as the major financiers of Indonesia's economic rehabilitation after 1966."

⁴Between 1969/70 and 1982/3 foreign aid declines from 27,2% to 11,9% of state revenue (Robinson 1986:171, table 5.4) while state income from oil and gas increased from Rp 66.5 to Rp 957.2 billion or 19,7% to 48,4% (Robinson 1986:152).

their taxation (Steigerwald 1987:84). On the other hand the five year development plans⁵ allocated more money to the outer islands (cf. Steigerwald 1987:39), after the first objective of self-sufficiency in rice production (largely concentrated on Java) was met in 1973. Indonesia was divided into four "major development regions" ('Wilayah Pembangunan Utama'), made up of 10 "development regions" ('Wilayah Pembangunan'). These in turn were served by 88 development centres ('Pusat Pembangunan'; cf. Steigerwald 1987:54f.). In other words a whole separate administration with its own extensive development budget was created under Bappenas, the central planning board, to promote and coordinate programmes⁶. These institutions increasingly penetrated rural areas and since 1979, which saw the institutionalisation of the LMD and the LKMD, promoted the village as the decisive development unit (Steigerwald 1987:59). Other parts of the state administration also implement their reforms and programmes while different forms of subsidies, are allocated by Presidential Instruction (INPRES or 'Instruksi Presiden') and target particular projects or problems.

Certain efforts were made to generate regional and local involvement in development activities. The village government reform and the subsidies are intended to generate village self-help through reinvigorating concepts like 'gotong royong'. Yet since all government levels are bureaucratically and extremely hierarchically structured, central decision-making remains the norm and despite the fact that villages generate resources to maintain schools and other projects, Steigerwald (1987:86) concludes: "This tendency [of centralised subsidies, B.G.] created a "receiver mentality" and eroded the local communities' attitude towards development and self-help." With its deliberate distancing from religion

⁵Steigerwald (1987) provides an account of the growing government institutions dealing with development, their organisation, planning, objectives and problems.

⁶It is the poor quality of research analysis as well as financial accountability by officials which is much criticised by authors of the volume edited by Dove (1988).

and in particular from Islam, the state has promoted social change, policies and politics under the umbrella ideology of development. This subsumes a broad spectrum of administrative objectives while asserting firm political control by expanding its administration⁷.

The Position of Ahiolo and Abio in Indonesia

A sharp decline in natural oil and gas resources⁸ reinforced policies to strengthen other export products and to develop national manufacturing. In 1988 the estimated share of oil and gas as export earners dropped to 42,5% (it used to be above 80%), agricultural products were 9,5% and industrial products 46,2% (Simandjuntak, 1989:13, table 6). There is a rise in importance of tree cash crops⁹ (Steigerwald 1987:18, Simandjuntak 1989:11) but Dove (1988:11) claims that the importance of the mixed agriculture, i.e. part swidden subsistence production, part cash crop cultivation, of the farming smallholder has so far not been recognised by the government.

Many villages on Seram and indeed the Moluccas (cf. Meyer and Hardjodimedjo 1989:561, Godoy and Bennett 1990:62) fall exactly into this category of part cash cropping part subsistence farming. In this way they contribute to the market economy

⁷The military has had strong links at all government levels and its organisation also reaches down to village level (one civil defence unit ABRI was mentioned in chapter 6). According to van Dijk (1989:3) the core political principles of the New Order area were: "a strong military presence in the state, bureaucracy, and economy; a preference for functional groups representing professional bodies and various other categories, such as women and youths, in the representative bodies rather than political parties; the view that ideologies and religions constitute potential disruptive forces in society; and the rather Calvinistic view that man has been put on earth to work, rather than engage in political debate."

⁸From US\$ 18,000 million in 1982 to US\$ 8,277 in 1986 (van Dijk 1989:1).

⁹Meyer and Hardjodimedjo (1989:555) state that between 1976-1982 there was a slow growth in agriculture and even a decline in cash-cropping in the Moluccas (although this is still above the national average).

while maintaining a certain amount of independence. With growing incomes they can afford to buy more market goods and thereby restructure their social environment, i.e. participate in becoming "modern"¹⁰ as described in chapter 2. The relatively stable political conditions and the expansion of government over the last decades has also contributed to a gradual (albeit modest) accumulation of material wealth in western Seram and elsewhere. Schooling up to various levels has become available and public health care accessible, if villagers want to make use of it. However Ahiolo and Abio have not been the recipients of major development programmes. They are at the margins of a predominantly agricultural and fishing province. If villagers were disobedient, the police or the army could be sent there at any time but otherwise the implementation of central government regulation is slow and rule-bound. Potential problems like the commercial exploitation of timber are mitigated, on the one hand, by the threat the state poses, on the other by the benefits which villagers perceive they have received. After personal negotiations by the village government with officials in various administrative bodies, the timber companies signal good will and understanding and "help" the village with local construction projects, in this case the church. Whether and to what degree villages are entitled to compensation remains an open question. In short, agricultural villages like Ahiolo with many smallholders are of limited concern to the administration, even though their contribution to the production of cash crops is growing.

The Ideologies of Development in Ahiolo and Abio

As the ideology and rhetoric of development covers diverse areas of national politics and discourse, the ideology is also adapted to local conditions and circumstances. Equally important what is now considered indigenous Wemale tradition

¹⁰Nutritional, health and environmental side effects of the participation in the market economy of local communities are often negative for the population. The consumption of sugar and the uncontrolled use of antibiotics and chloroquine have already been mentioned.

or religion, including 'adat', can no longer be understood in its own right but only in relation to the discourse of development and to Christianity. I will initially concentrate on the perception of the central state administration and then review the villager's perception of change. Incorporating thousands of rural villages into the nation is tantamount to a mission in "civilising" peasants and educating them so as to transform them into enlightened and obedient subjects of the state. To accomplish this task, schooling and a good command of the national language is regarded as essential¹¹. The Indonesian language carries the message of development and progress and it is a major governmental pursuit to marginalise local languages. From the villagers' point of view the adoption of the national language, or rather Ambonese Malay, has symbolic and practical implications. Elders take pride in their language. Still, the protective attitude towards the ancestral tongue is outweighed by other factors. Among these are the importance of communication and knowledge of Indonesian in school, in dealings with the administration, and with coastal people. I suggested that the church in Ahilolo and Abio is in many respects a far more effective tool than the state administration itself and importantly both Christianity and the rhetoric of development are phrased in Indonesian. Knowledge of Indonesian anticipates the knowledge of the rhetoric of development and Christianity because it sets itself naturally up against Wemale and what has come to be considered as 'adat'. Fluency in the old language is becoming increasingly esoteric. It may, on occasion, prove powerful knowledge but is otherwise at best a hinderance in communicating with non-villagers.

The colonial Dutch state seems, under certain circumstances,

¹¹In his famous book on development Geertz (1968) is not much concerned with the role of the state. The incorrect premise of his comparison is that "rational" (see footnote 11) economic development is possible and presumably (in a utilitarian sense) beneficial to the entire nation. Not only is it impossible to divorce economic change from other social relations (1968:145) but the very idea of "progress" and "development" is ideologically and politically charged and requires analysis (see also footnote 16).

to have considered the Christian Church more effective as a "civilising" influence than the presence of the military (King 1988:236). The Indonesian state follows this policy with its negative view of pagan religion and by allowing a surprising number of foreign missionaries to convert those who do not follow one of the world religions (i.e. Islam, Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism) to which every citizen of Indonesia is compelled to adhere. Subscribing to an international world religion is thus considered to be a tool for development, even though Buddhism or Hinduism have no doctrines which could be regarded as "pro-development". On the other hand, it is denied that indigenous people have "religion" at all (cf. Atkinson 1988:49).

The general strategy of the state administration towards local customs has been firstly to depoliticise and to empty them of potential elements of ethnic nationalism. This is achieved by reducing them to folklore which can be witnessed daily on television. Secondly and following the construction of 'adat' in terms of folkloristic and aesthetic traditions, there is a growing and deliberate attempt to utilise local customs and exploit them for an expanding tourism industry (cf. Hughes-Freeland 1989:3). Clearly this leads to further integration of the settlement into the state structure. Just before my departure the village head had received instructions to prepare for the possible visit of a tourist mountain trekking team, who would like to watch traditional dances and other customs while paying for food and accommodation.

Substantial social change among the Wemale has long preceded the government rhetoric of development. The loss of autonomy to the Dutch colonial regime and the introduction of the Church were the most decisive events initiating a process which furthered a progressive temporal perspective. The experience of radical transformations in all aspects of social life presents an important condition and context to this more recent ideology. All chapters deal with these effects on Wemale existence. The importance of the gradual replacement of the Wemale language has already been discussed but the

following points are of similar significance.

The most material expression of distancing the present from the ancestral past are alterations in forms of consumption. These have proved a persuasive and visible manifestation of change and clearly precede the introduction of cash cropping. Whereas general wellbeing and afflictions of various kind could (and still can) be attributed to ancestors, modern housing, market foods and clothes are linked with Protestantism and the state administration in the villagers' eyes. The new churches constructed with market materials are the clearest expression of this. There is some rivalry between Ahiolo and Abio concerning their relative advancement. Abio's more successful encompassment of the past Wemale life is used by Ahiolo to place Abio in a negative light. However both villages subscribe to modernism. Consumption of market goods is an expression of Christian ways and more generally decency and whenever necessary, a derogatory opposition between 'adat' and 'agama' (religion) can be formulated. Rather than returning to past methods of producing basic necessities, villagers are looking forward to an increase in commodity consumption, as they regard themselves as materially poor and lagging behind coastal communities who visibly benefit from their cash crop plantations.

Wemale traded market products prior to their submission to Dutch colonialism. However then as now they have not emphasised exchange symbolically. What tends to be stressed is the quality of the products which are available and acquired. The volume of commodity consumption which is seen as necessary is slowly but steadily growing, even if it continues to be on a modest scale compared to Ambon. The demand for selected items like radios, cassette recorders, watches and furniture represents a desire for symbols of modernity and power. The attraction of these items is clearly linked to their origin outside the community.

The significance of consumption, educating children, and contributing to the maintenance of the Church, caused a

deliberate reorientation in production after the relocation of the villages into the interior of Seram. Cash cropping originated within the framework of individual and household autonomy and was not the result of government indoctrination (cf. Loizos 1975:28). The change conforms to government policies but did not initially derive from them. According to the elders cash cropping represents a momentous deviation from the ancestors, who are believed to have lived for immediate consumption only while neglecting the prospects of their children. The actual discontinuity is less strong than is made out. Cash crop plantations are not systematically planted but are a mixture of subsistence and cash crop plants which reveal their origin from a subsistence-based agriculture. Another crucial factor lies in the assimilation of tree cash cropping into the labour organisation. Tree cash cropping is an extension of subsistence food production and can be organised along similar principles. Among the Wemale this means that men and women are free to wander to their gardens on an individual basis or as a part of a working party to accomplish the necessary labour. The rhythm of the work is also dictated by the cultivator and is devoid of interference from elders or institutions. Tree cash cropping has an additional advantage from the householder's point of view. Taking care of the trees and harvesting are not labour or time intensive, so that individuals still find leisure to hunt or pursue other activities. This echoes the importance given to the allocation of time by swidden cultivators (e.g. Ellen 1978:77-80, Dove 1988:8-10) in contrast to the government's rationale of maximising quantities of yield in relation to cultivated land and explains the readiness to introduce tree cash cropping¹².

¹²This point serves as a convenient occasion to explain why I do not venture into a discussion of Weberian concepts. The first point is that the ideal-type opposition of a "traditional economy" or "traditionalism" and a "capitalist spirit" does not hold for the described conditions. Although Wemale attitudes towards agriculture are guided by consumption, householders have actively embraced cash cropping and this contradicts the definition of "economic traditionalism" (cf. Giddens 1971:125f., Bendix 1962:51f.). Secondly, Weber linked the idea of a "calling" and the devotion to labour in the "calling", at least in origin, to "Calvinism". This specific version of ascetic Protestantism is

As I have said villagers have taken up cash cropping independently from central government directives. This constitutes, like schooling, an important foundation to the householders' perception and ideas about development and differentiation from the past. To phrase it differently, it is an accentuated part of their version of "development".

Garden inheritance is a recent by-product of the cultivation of cash crop trees. Devolution of the trees tends to disperse the initially individual and household centred rights within a larger kinship group. Conforming to Ambonese concepts, inheritance in the male line has become a prerogative but the rights of daughters and wives are acknowledged in their secondary "use rights". The formal control over gardens is a core aspect to the general changes in the kinship structure and the concept of the household or luma and its perpetuation. In contrast to the changes in horticulture, the transformations of the concept luma and its anticipated congruence with the Ambonese 'rumah tangga' is played down or ignored by villagers. I suggest there are two primary reasons which can explain this overt denial of change. The first is an extraneous factor also emphasised by Pannell (1990:30ff.): nominal female ownership or control over the household is unthinkable in the ideas of "Indonesian" society. It would be particularly disdained by outsiders and authorities. The same applies to the pre-colonial female inheritance of the luma and name succession in the female line. Men have been attributed

not relevant for the Wemale and neither is Weber's idea of a "rational pursuit of economic gain". In a broader sense however it is obvious that Lutheranism, Catholicism and arguably even the Indonesian state administration, equally subscribe to a religious ethic of development. Lastly I would say that the concept of "disenchantment" is relevant but unconnected to what Weber subsumed under the category of occidental rationalism (Weber 1981:20f., Giddens 1971:241, Bendix 1962:279, footnote 33). The collective disenchantment of the village community is not a matter of an individual's "loneliness" in relation to the Calvinist God (cf. Giddens 1971:128), nor is it caused by a calculating economic rationality (Giddens 1971:214). Rather, disenchantment is the result of the hierarchical administrations. The power struggle of and within such conditions has been critically analysed by Foucault (1979).

with the responsibility and representation of the household. The emphatic stress on this duty prescribed by Church and state regulations allowed them to take up the idea that the "house" is perpetuated by sons and not daughters. As such it serves as a categorical discrimination against wives, sisters and daughters. Continuity serves the legitimation of male priority better than elaborating on the difference between past and present. If the ancestors, as opposed to God, have preserved any authority, then it falls into the realm of kinship. Here lies the second reason. Appeals to kinship and village solidarity in the name of the ancestors connote not their particular injunctions but their general ideological authority (i.e. their punitive as well as their benevolent attitude towards their descendants) even if their public acknowledgement has been effectively reduced.

As a rule, changes in the household structure are ignored with one notable exception. Couples with bride service or with 'adat' marriage status have been recently excluded from being able to give a child the father's surname (or mataluma name). This prevents such couples from conforming to what they have come to accept as the general norms or stereotypes of Ambonese and "Indonesian" society. On the contrary they are practically classified as followers of inferior 'adat'¹³ practices. This policy is intended to reinforce public marriage rituals and places higher value on the Church and state marriage status. The entire issue of succession is primarily represented by the acquisition of names but it implies possible consequences for male garden inheritance. The contrast between male and female succession is otherwise mitigated by effective cognatic kinship bonds because all children of a couple are bound to their parents in the daily routine of practical kinship relationships. Cognatic kinship bonds are recognised even if they do not follow the same mataluma or clan name. The concept of the house, be it an individual household formed around a

¹³In this case villagers could have distinguished between 'adat' habitus, i.e. naming children predominantly after the mother, and 'adat' as neo-traditional wedding ceremonies. However the qualification is not drawn.

couple, an ideological construct of perpetuating remembered lineal ancestors, an extended kinship group, or the village church and less prominently the village council house, proves adaptable to differing circumstances. Like the concept of the "ancestors" it assimilates change while maintaining continuity in a broad sense.

The "Communal" and "Development"

While productive activities outside the village are largely free from the impositions of public sanctions, the household is located at a critical juncture between the official face of communal life on one side and an evasive and independent domain on the other. These two sides in village life oppose and structure each other and in the household they inevitably overlap. Public norms and regulations are not openly challenged or rejected but householders often try not to obey all demands made on them. The reverse strategy by the government and the Church consists in constituting individuals as members of households, the community and the state. Both attribute householders with centrally defined duties. The sponsorship of a uniform model village with symmetrically allocated houses is a physical expression of this process. Each house is built on its respective plot with the prescribed straight village paths and a dominating, centrally located church. Such administrative practices exhibit all the signs of the multiple strategies of the state apparatus discussed by Foucault (1979)¹⁴.

Maintaining political independence vis-a-vis other households must be seen as a fundamental step in attempting to protect the household from public interference. Every household is supposed to produce what it requires and, generally, to order its own affairs, apart from ritualised occasions when "social

¹⁴Conversely one can say that cross cutting paths and "kitchen to kitchen" paths are the analogue to gossip and (practical) subversion of rectangular prescriptions.

and spiritual dependency" is celebrated¹⁵. Essentially inter-household autonomy is then equally an obligation to maintain self-sufficiency and a proclamation of non-intervention in the affairs of other households. Certain prominent elders may try to exercise influence over junior relatives but even they often chose to endow related juniors with the "responsibility" to manage their own concerns. Economically households are more dependent on labour exchange and other help than they may admit. Dependency is obscured by changing and voluntary arrangements. In addition there seems an almost deliberate refusal to reprove individuals if they fail to live up to the set norm. In sum, only elders have a moral right to interfere in their descendants' affairs but even they make scant use of their authority to act as intermediaries between households. Proud egalitarianism between elders was observed during the elders' council where men treat each other in a circumspect manner or risk a quick flaring of violence. This contrasts with their docile role in village meetings.

Finally one can detect a public and a private side to the household. When at night the family withdraws to eat in the kitchen, children and adults eat together at the same time, without praying before and after the meal. As soon as the household receives guests, the women and children consume their meal separately, after the guests have finished. Only the mature and male members join the guests and one senior person speaks the Grace. This is characteristic of many Christian rituals. Villagers respect God's power and believe in his divinity but it does not necessarily follow that they fulfil all Church prescriptions. Delaying rituals like baptism, confirmation and marriage does not mean an absolute renunciation of the rites but merely a temporal delay. The time perspective is important. Perfectly in line with the millenarian expectation for a better future, villagers also expect that they will be able to meet their ritual obligations

¹⁵There exists a difference between the 'adat' council of the elders and other public occasions because the elders explicitly state that conflicts within the "house" should be confined by the couple and not amplified by drawing other people into it.

in the future. On the other hand the village leadership presses for the punctilious carrying out of all public duties. Such ascription of responsibility echoes in a different vein the elders' insistence on self-sufficiency which in turn encapsulates values of independence. However in this context it is given a different emphasis. The accent lies on the idea that ultimately an individual's responsibility rests before God and/or the state administration. A person, for instance a household head, is thought to be held accountable to these moral orders. And this appears to be the acknowledgement that duties can never be enforced by threat, violence or promise alone. "Responsibility" is thus an integrated part of the demand-ridden public rhetoric and the appeal to a person's duty towards God reflects the resignation of the public authority in the face of a tacit opposition which undermines cooperation.

The similarities between Church and state administration have become apparent and I have shown how both village institutions (despite certain rivalries) mutually support each other. A discussion of the principles of village administration leads therefore naturally from the role of the state to the Church with its weekly rituals and material obligations. These are more intrusive compared to the demands made by the state. The parish and the political village organisation form a hierarchical structure and this is enacted in ritualised meetings and in an "administrative" Protestant religion. Both gatherings elevate the speaker and provide him or her with the legitimate authority to plan, direct and order parishioners or citizens. In fact the villagers expect the constituted leader to take the initiative and tell them what is required, although such commands are generally disliked. In turn the orator aspires to mould domestic and public life in long-winded and repetitive speeches which are marked by an authoritarian tone. For the passive audience the meeting tends to be in itself a test in accepting bureaucracy and extraneous power. In many respects the authority of the leadership remains confined to administrative and ritual occasions and is

undermined by gossip. This shows that this entire "format"¹⁶ of relationships cannot be simply narrowed to a problem of the cultural construction of legitimate leadership as van Ufford (1987:9) has done.

The concern of government meetings is the mediation of new norms and procedures. For instance, in gatherings of parents in school, the profane leadership warns about falling below expected or prescribed standards and neglectful behaviour. Traditional beliefs and practices are pointedly attacked, taunted and devalued in relation to what ought to be established. Obedience for regulations are legitimised with reference to a broader and more generalised national morality. Supporting central government policies, the government draws on contrasts with Dutch exploitation or the "Old Order" with its reputed shortcomings. This government is benevolent and altruistic. Consequently it is, in the long run, in the householders' best self-interest to follow regulations. Villagers see proof in this reasoning because they regard financial subsidies, new housing and schooling as fundamental improvements.

Where the village government openly criticises negligent behaviour of past and present, the protestant Church language subsumes what it considers as "personal failure" under the category of sin. Sinning and the "New Life" are related concepts which allow those who conduct rituals to oscillate between reiterating endlessly the deficiency of "human nature" and the "hope" of change and improvement in the future. The sermons and prayers lay emphasis on divine power and authority and include pleading for protection and wellbeing. More significant in this context are the constant references to 'pembangunan' or labour. On this point Church and state not only benefit organisationally from one another but also share common ideological concern.

¹⁶The similarities to what Bourdieu (1981:307) calls "field" are obvious and I will apply this notion to the material elsewhere.

The contradiction between the ideology of communal development and householders' commitment to it is revealed in the concept of communal labour or 'gotong royong'. This concept derives originally from a Javanese form of communal self-help. It has received a high profile in the ideology of "development" because it implies communal unity, collaboration and working for the general benefit of the village (and therefore the nation). With few exceptions, the concept of communal labour is alien to the political economy of the Wemale and it confronts serious obstacles in Ahiolo and Abio. "Communal labour" and "development" have become almost synonymous. Both concepts serve the parish leadership as a moral legitimation to mobilise householders and to generate the necessary resources for the new brick church. On one level it should be said that members of the parish are already burdened with other maintenance costs for the Church. This makes it understandable that they are reluctant to divert further energies and household resources to the parish. The reappropriation of collective work described in chapter 8 demonstrates furthermore that the construction of the collectivity or parish in terms of shared labour runs against the householders' desire for independence. Past religious activities were focused on conflicts and commensal feasting as recently described by Valeri (1990:68) for the Huaulu but not bound to collaboration in production. In comparison with donations from individual households, generalised and coordinated "work" appears suspect to the villagers because of its compulsory character.

On another level the desire and ambition to build a new church stems from the parish membership. The congregation strives to obtain the resources from outside the community while reducing household contributions to a bare minimum. Thus government subsidies, the sale of communal forest areas to timber companies and sponsorship from other sources takes priority to 'gotong royong' in the village. Yet a certain amount of local contribution to the project is vital and lies at the centre of the weekly contention between leadership and villagers.

This thesis covers aspects of economy, kinship, social organisation and religion. It sets out with a description of practical everyday activities and progresses to increasingly abstract concepts of community, authority and morality. Among these the "village" and its main building are central. Clearly the parish and church represent the village community and this is a strong incentive to own such a new brick building in the midst of the tropical rain forest. Simultaneously the idea of a self-centred community is eroded and the forms under which public life is presently organised shows signs of a "spiritual" rather than an economic alienation¹⁷. Especially the abstraction of a parish of producers implied in 'gotong royong' creates problems and is certainly no substitution for the pre-colonial danger and prestige connected to headhunting and warfare or the imagination capturing kakehan.

The deculturation introduced after the loss of village autonomy to the central state has been dramatic. It has only affected a few generations but the reformulation and replacement of pre-colonial values does not animate communal life. Many "symptoms" were cited and the withdrawal of persons into the household and gardening domain has been described. The imagery of Protestantism or the state as instruments of transforming and "developing" the community like gigantic machines is a forceful cultural metaphor of the process of labour (cf. Baudrillard 1975:4,19). Invariably it is deluding the government as well as "western observers" since the reception¹⁸ or, one might even call it with de Certeau

¹⁷This holds e.g. for the Marxist analysis of Kahn (e.g. 1978:112-114) who is committed to explain social formations in terms of modes of production.

¹⁸The view that "development" is not simply a rational process for which "culture", "religions" or 'adat' constitute an obstacle has now been widely realised (cf. Dove 1988:1). This is of course a form of ethnocentrism because it assumes a linear development and a common end-state by which is usually meant a capitalist, industrialised liberal-democratic system (cf. Long 1977:68,70). What is less well understood is that the concept of "development" serves nation states as a legitimate (and from the administration's point of view self-legitimising) tool to restructure practically all aspects of social life.

(1988:xiii), a consumption, of "development" tries to evade the imposition of power structures. Much of Cooley's writing (1966) comments on the formalism and the bureaucratic character of parish rituals. I have expanded his analysis by showing that the ritual construction of the parish and the village in their respective meetings carry a theatrical quality since much of the force elaborated in ritual contexts collapses outside such congregations. The political and moral alienation which come with Ambonese Protestantism and administrative government is aggravated by their mutually supportive "development" rhetoric. Such development is explicitly creating and remoulding the eccentric local situation, even if there are no professional personnel from "development" agencies.

The reaction to the government policies which seek to construct an economically productive, self-supportive but politically and ideologically dependent administrative unit did not turn out as anticipated. Villagers certainly absorbed the rhetoric of development but transformed its meaning. "Development" ideas are not simply emulated but actively absorbed. This is apparent by analysing the "logic" of consumption. Just as market consumption has been embraced by householders, the village has consumed the material benefits provided by the state. Such consumption supplies an entirely different ground for an understanding of what "development" means than that held by the administration (although the attitude of the administration has also been questioned in this respect, see Franke, 1972).

More generally "development" found its place in the Wemale cosmology with regards to history, perceived as a slow descent from the mountains to the coast. Elders experienced large scale changes in all spheres of life and these intensify the break with the past and its distinction from the present. Any idea of returning to the genuine and pristine (pre-colonial) social values is absent unlike the rhetoric of development in many other places. There is no view that something "ancient" is to be recovered (e.g. Woost 1990:165) by development. The

Wemale tribal past is too much denigrated in the public Ambonese perception, unless it is channelled into entertaining 'adat' folklore. The discrimination of the "old" 'adat' is not merely a matter of abstract values but vividly experienced in distinctions of consumption and the material wealth of market commodities. Thus market products associated with Protestantism are becoming more and more important in daily consumption: a rise in living standards set by the values of Ambonese society. The worldly millenarian expectation has therefore roots in Wemale cosmology, in general social change and social distinctions enabled by market orientated consumption. Furthermore Protestant Christianity lends itself to projecting an improved future. Such an anticipation of progress creates expectations for material benefit to villagers and their descendants. The community wants these benefits, but not political subordination. The millenarian expectation is real in so far as a brand new church is being built in materials laboriously obtained from the markets. A white and shining building will be standing in the middle of a mountainous tropical rain forest, surrounded by modest houses constructed from local plants. The expectation is illusory in that it drains joy from public life and postpones elation with the imaginary charms of a seductive future.

Appendix A

The following tables provide information about tree cash cropping (silviculture) in Ahiolo. The data were collected during 1988 and are presented on a low level of abstraction. Column 1 lists the owners of plantations. Plantations 141-150 are owned by non resident persons. A. indicates that the owner lives in Abio, T. that the owner lives in Tala. Column 2 establishes the household (HH) in which the individual lives. Every household is given an unchanging number which remains constant in all tables throughout the thesis (and the reader is invited to compare landholding of households with data on the kinship composition of the household). The first person listed for each household is usually the household head while subsequent persons are junior household members. Column 3 allocates a fixed number for each garden and the occasional asterisk in front of the garden number signifies what the informant deliberately labelled a communally owned garden ('dusun dati') under the control of this particular person. Column 4 gives the approximate size of the land holding in hectares. Column 5 adds the amount of landholding according to household and column 6 states the percentage of the household land holding in relation to the overall amount of plantation land (151.02 ha). Column 7 lists all former gardens (*wesie*) which are regenerating into secondary forest and which are not part of a cash crop tree plantation. The year indicates when the plot was initially cleared. When the date is put in back slashes, like e.g. /1983/, the present owner bought the land. Column 8 states the age and column 9 the sex of the owner. The last column explains whether and in which way the land or the plantation changed ownership. Only if the donator of the land is still alive, the kinship referent letter is set in brackets, e.g. (F). Persons separated by a "/" held equal and/or successive rights in the land. Whenever land was bought the year and the price in 'rupia' (Rp) is stated.

Table 1

Ownership of Gardens According to Household and Individual Owner

1 per son	2 No HH	3 No garden	4 ha	5 sum HH	6 %	7 wesie/ date	8 age	9 sex	10 inheri- tance
1.	1	(1)	1.50				50	m	-
		(2)	0.56	2.06	1.36	(1) 1976			-
2.	2	(3)	0.90				37	m	-
		(4)	0.45	1.35	0.89	(2) 1980			-
3.	3	(5)	0.25	0.25	0.17		55	m	-
4.	4	(6)	1.90				23	m	F
		(7)	1.98						F
		(8)	1.01						F
		(9)	0.72	5.61	3.71	(3) 1986			-
5.	5	(10)	0.66				29	f	H

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		(11)	?						H
6.		(12)	0.16	0.82	0.54		32	f	H
7.	8	(13)	1.00				48	m	-
		(14)	0.72						-
		*(15)	0.25						F
		*(16)	0.99	2.96	1.96				F
8.	9	(17)	0.75				42	m	-
9.		(18)	0.64				16	m	F
		(19)	1.80	3.19	2.11				F
10.	10	(20)	0.68	0.68	0.45		42	f	H
11.	11	(21)	0.40				38	m	eB
		(22)	0.60						-
		(23)	0.40						-
		(24)	0.60						-
12.		(25)	2.25	4.25	2.81		15	f	F
13.	15	(26)	1.21				45	m	-
		(27)	0.90						-
		(28)	1.50	3.61	2.39				-
						(4) 1976			-
						(5) 1978			-
14.	16	(29)	0.40				24	m	-
		(30)	0.90	1.30	0.86				-
						(6) 1976			-
						(7) 1976			-
15.	17	(31)	0.81				27	f	H
		(32)	1.00	1.81	1.20				HB/H
						(8) 1971			H
						(9) 1982			H
16.	20	(33)	2.89				44	m	-
		(34)	2.34						(F)
		(35)	0.80						(F)
		(36)	1.06	7.09	4.70				(F)
						(10) 1977			-
						(11) 1979			-
17.	21	(37)	0.36				37	m	-
		(38)	0.72						-
18.		(39)	0.90				16	f	F
		(40)	0.88	2.86	1.89				F
19.	22	(41)	0.50				30	m	given
		(42)	1.08						F
		(43)	0.50						eB
		(44)	1.20	3.28	2.17				eB
						(12) 1977			-
						(13) 1978			-
20.	23	(45)	1.10				43	m	-
		(46)	0.72						-
21.		(47)	1.00	2.82	1.87		35	m	-
22.	24	(48)	0.85				45	m	-
		(49)	0.95						-
23.		(50)	0.14	1.94	1.29		35	m	-
						(14) 1971			-
24.	25	(51)	2.55				25	m	MB
		(52)	1.82	4.37	2.89				-
						(15) 1971			MB
25.	28	(53)	1.00				49	m	-
		(54)	0.30						-

bought for
Rp 35,000

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
									from person
		(55)	1.20	2.50	1.66				23, 1976
									bought: Rp ?
									from person
									19, 1979
						(16)/1980/			bought: Rp ?
26.	31	(56)	0.25				30	m	foster-F
		(57)	2.85						made with
									foster-F
		(58)	1.36						-
		(59)	0.90	5.36	3.55				made with
									foster-F
						(17) 1981			-
						(18) ?			foster-F
27.	32	(60)	1.00				31	m	given from
									MB
		(61)	0.64						FF
		(62)	2.80	4.44	2.94				given from
									friend/
									relative
28.	33	(63)	0.81				30	m	(FB)=
									person 33
		(64)	0.56	1.37	0.90				from
									relative
29.	34	(65)	2.00				50	m	-
		(66)	0.50						made with
									F,ZH
		(67)	0.68						made with
									F,ZH
		(68)	1.65						-
						(19) 1968			-
						(20) 1978			-
30.		(69)	0.90	5.73	3.79		34	m	(FB) in
									Abio
31.	35	(70)	2.73				34	m	eB/eB
		(71)	1.44						eB/eB
		(72)	2.55	6.72	4.45				-
						(21) 1986			-
32.	36	*(73)	0.17				22	f	F
		(74)	0.08	0.25	0.17				F
						(22) 1974			F
33.	38	(75)	0.45				60	m	-
34.		(76)	0.50				24	m	F
		(77)	0.40						F
		(78)	0.30						given from
									(FB)
		(79)	2.00						F
						(23) 1975			-
						(24) 1986			-
35+		(80)	0.90	4.55	3.01		37	m	ZH
						(25) 1983			-
36.	39	(81)	1.17				32	m	F
		(82)	0.40	1.57	1.04				F
						(26) 1973			-
37.	40	(83)	0.68				36	m	-
		(84)	0.06						MB
		(85)	0.15	0.89	0.59				-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
						(27) 1970			-
						(28) 1977			-
38.	41	(86)	0.90				31	m	F
		(87)	1.12						-
		(88)	0.63	2.65	1.76				-
						(29) 1971			F
39.	42	(89)	2.13				36	m	-
		(90)	3.06						land given by friend, but 39 planted trees
		(91)	0.84						-
		(92)	2.08			(30) 1974			-
40.		(93)	0.54	8.65	5.73		28	m	-
						(31) 1971			FF
						(32) ?			-
41.	43	(94)	0.32				37	m	41 and (eB) Abio
		(95)	2.02						41 and (eB) Abio
		(96)	1.16						-
		(97)	0.68						-
		*(98)	1.12						-
42.		(99)	0.50				30	m	eB
		(100)	0.88						-
		(101)	0.97	7.65	5.07				-
						(33) 1980			-
43.	44	(102)	0.56	0.56	0.37		45	m	-
						(34) /1975/			bought from HH36 for Rp 12,500;1986
						(35) 1976			-
						(36) 1978			-
44.	45	(103)	0.77	0.77	0.51		51	m	-
45.	46*	(104)	1.55				24	m	(MB)
		(105)	0.78						F
		(106)	1.06	3.39	2.25				(MB)
						(37) 1978			-
46.	47	(107)	1.10				48	m	-
47.		(108)	0.81				23	m	FF
		(109)	0.32						given: person 25 foster-(F)
		(110)	0.60	2.83	1.89				H
48.	48	(111)	0.81	0.81	0.54		28	f	H
						(38) 1972			-
49.	49	(112)	2.38				50	m	-
		(113)	0.69						-
		(114)	0.85						B
						(39) ?			?
50+		(115)	2.00				35	m	B
		(116)	1.20	7.12	4.71				-
						(40) /1973/			bought: Rp 3000, 1973
51.	50*	(117)	5.50				26	m	F
52.		(118)	0.36				20	m	F
53.		(119)	0.81	6.67	4.42		20	m	F
54.	51	(120)	0.77				55	m	-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		(121)	0.64						(B)
		(122)	0.77	2.18	1.44				-
						(41)	?		-
55.	52	(123)	0.50				56	m	-
		(124)	0.63						-
		(125)	0.82						-
		(126)	0.10						-
		(127)	0.33						-
						(42)	1984		-
56.		(128)	0.32				26	m	step-(F)
		(129)	1.25						step-(F)
		(130)	0.64						FZH
		(131)	0.25						-
		(132)	1.00						-
		(133)	0.60						exchanged
									for 50 clove
									seedlings
		(134)	0.21						?
						(43)	1971		step-(F)
						(44)	1974		exchanged
									for clove
									seedlings
57.		(135)	1.49				19	m	-
58.		(136)	0.48				32	m	-
		(137)	1.57	10.19	6.74				-
						(45)	1976		-
parish		(138)	1.03						
school		(139)	2.08						
village		(140)	3.80	6.91	4.57				
non resident persons:									
59.		(141)	1.02						
60. A.		(142)	0.32						
61.		(143)	0.24						
62.		(144)	0.72						
		(145)	0.50						
63. T.		(146)	0.40						
64. A.		(147)	1.09						
65. A.		(148)	1.20						
66.		(149)	0.10						
67. A.		(150)	1.42	7.01	4.64				
						11 unaccounted			
						wesie			
67	40	150		151.02	100.00	56		59 male	
								8 female	

Approximate land used for cash crop plantations in Ahiolo:
151.02 hectares

Mean of landholding per household: 3.43 ha

Mean of landholding per owner (excluding school, village and parish): 2.15 ha

Mean size of garden: 1.00 ha

26 households have a single owner of garden land.

11 households have 2 owners, gardens: 5,9,11,21,23,24,34,42,
43,47,49
2 households have 3 owners, gardens: 38,50
1 household has 4 owners, gardens: 52

For 11 regenerating garden plots (wesie) no ownership could be established.

The symbol "+" after individuals 35 and 50 indicates that the persons listed are not part of the household census because they returned to Ahiolo after the census was compiled; they had not set up an independent household.

Household 30 is occupied by the teacher who owns no garden while for household 14 I was unable to obtain data on gardens.

Table number 2 gives a break down of the amount of useful and cash crop trees or palms in relation to households and individual owner. Columns 1 to 4 are similar to table 1 and the same qualifications apply as specified above. Column 5 is identical with table 1 column 8. Column 6 gives the date when the first cash crop trees were planted. Substantial replanting in subsequent years is also indicated. In column 7 the major tree and palms are listed (coco stands for coconut palm; cacao for cacao-tree). Clove trees are only considered when they are older than 3 years; sago palms are only specified if there are older than 5 years. Column 8 lists the approximate number of failed crops and column 9 details whether one or more trees or palms are productive by a plus ("+"). Only if nothing had been harvested, I placed a minus ("-"). For sago groves a plus means that one can profitably fell and process the palms, even when they may be still relatively small in size and not at the maximum of their starch reserves (cf. Ellen 1978:74). A plus for coconut palms signifies that the trees yield nuts. For cloves a plus indicates that some amount of clove has been harvested, even though a large plantation may have yielded only a few kg over several years. In the past even a few kg could earn the owner good money, as can be seen in table 3 below.

Table 2

Ownership of Gardens, Useful and Cash Crop Plants According to Household and Individual Owner

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
per- son	No HH	No gar- den	ha	age	date	type of crop	no of failed crop	yielding
1.	1	(1)	1.50	50	1971	100 sago		+
						200 clove	50	+
		(2)	0.56		1986	2 coco	50	-
2.	2	(3)	0.90	37	69/75	89 clove		+
						10 coco		+
		(4)	0.45		73/78/82	40 coco		+
3.	3	(5)	0.25	55	1985	4 coco	40	-
4.	4	(6)	1.90	23	1972	200 clove		+
						20 coco		+
		(7)	1.98		74/81	40 sago		+
						30 coco	100	-
		(8)	1.01		1984	80 sago		-
		(9)	0.72		1985	30 clove	20	-
5.	5	(10)	0.66	29	1973	30 coco		+
		(11)	?		1974	30 clove		-
6.		(12)	0.16	32	?	14 clove	20	+
7.	8	(13)	1.00		1970	95 coco	20	+
						60 sago		+
		(14)	0.72	48	1971	20 clove	10	+
		* (15)	0.25		1972	30 clove	5	-
		* (16)	0.99		1970	100 coco	20	+
8.	9	(17)	0.75	42	1971	95 clove	10	+
						30 coco		-
						13 sago		+
9.		(18)	0.64	16	1976	112 clove	6	+
		(19)	1.80		1974	61 clove		-
10.	10	(20)	0.68	42	1977	53 clove	20	-
11.	11	(21)	0.40	38	1970	100 clove		+
		(22)	0.60		1971	100 coco	25	+
						50 sago		-
		(23)	0.40		1975	50 clove	25	-
		(24)	0.60		1986	20 coco	60	-
						30 cacao		-
12.		(25)	2.25	15	1970	50 clove		+
13.	15	(26)	1.21	45	72/74	30 clove	120	+
						10 coco	50	-
		(27)	0.90		1975	90 coco	20	+
		(28)	1.50		1978	7 coco	30	-
14.	16	(29)	0.40	24	1976	42 clove		-
						2 coco	88	-
						20 cacao		-
		(30)	0.90		1975	20 cacao	50	-
						2 coco	67	-
						0 sago	30	-
15.	17	(31)	0.81	27	1972	30 clove	3	+
		(32)	1.00		1974	65 coco	17	+
16.	20	(33)	2.89	44	1971	30 clove	40	-
		(34)	2.34		69/73	40 clove		+
		(35)	0.80		1970	5 cacao		+

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		(36)	1.06		1974	80 clove		+
						20 sago		+
17.	21	(37)	0.36	37	72/75	80 clove	4	-
		(38)	0.72		1978	100 clove	10	-
						40 coco		+
						20 sago		-
18.		(39)	0.90	16	1970	24 clove	24	+
		(40)	0.88		1970	50 coco		+
						10 sago		+
19.	22	(41)	0.50	30	1970	10 clove		-
		(42)	1.08		1974	20 sago		+
						10 coco		+
		(43)	0.50		1976	30 clove		-
		(44)	1.20		1978	200 clove		-
20.	23	(45)	1.10	43	1973	40 clove	3	+
						20 coco		+
		(46)	0.72		1975	155 coco		+
21.		(47)	1.00	35	1974	130 clove		-
22.	24	(48)	0.85	45	1973	100 coco		+
						12 sago		+
		(49)	0.95		1974	70 clove	110	-
23.		(50)	0.14	35	1972	16 clove	5	+
24.	25	(51)	2.55	25	72/76	94 clove		+
		(52)	1.82		1976	40 coco		-
25.	28	(53)	1.00	49	1975	100 coco		+
		(54)	0.30		1976	12 clove		-
		(55)	1.20		1978	10 coco	100	-
26.	31	(56)	0.25	30	1972	30 clove		-
		(57)	2.85		1973	59 coco		+
		(58)	1.36		1978	200 clove		-
		(59)	0.90		1981	25 clove		-
27.	32	(60)	1.00	31	71/87	5 clove		-
		(61)	0.64		1975	30 clove		+
		(62)	2.80		1977	110 clove		+
28.	33	(63)	0.81	30	1971	80 clove	20	+
		(64)	0.56		1973	20 coco	40	-
29.	34	(65)	2.00	50	1969	180 coco	120	+
						30 sago		+
		(66)	0.50		1971	100 clove	20	+
		(67)	0.68		1974	10 coco	90	+
		(68)	1.65		76/87	89 cacao		-
						50 coco		-
						10 clove	30	-
30.		(69)	0.90	34	74/79	80 clove	50	+
						12 coco		+
31.	35	(70)	2.73	34	1969	250 coco		+
						10 sago		+
		(71)	1.44		1971	100 clove		+
		(72)	2.55		1979	3 coco	50	+
						10 sago		+
32.	36	*(73)	0.17	22	1970	30 coco	2	+
						30 sago		+
		(74)	0.08		1973	40 clove	4	+
33.	38	(75)	0.45	60	1986	100 coco	20	-
						20 cacao		-
34.		(76)	0.50	24	1972	250 clove		+
						30 coco		+

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		(77)	0.40		71/81	?		?
		(78)	0.30		1972	60 clove		-
		(79)	2.00		1975	80 coco		+
35+		(80)	0.90	37	72/74	30 cacao		-
36. 39		(81)	1.17	32	1971	20 sago		-
		(82)	0.40		1971	80 clove	30	+
						35 clove		+
37. 40		(83)	0.68	36	70/71	40 coco		+
		(84)	0.06		74/86	30 clove		+
		(85)	0.15		74/87	75 clove	2	-
						11 clove	4	-
						12 coco	18	-
38. 41		(86)	0.90	31	1972	50 cacao		-
		(87)	1.12		1975	26 clove	50	+
		(88)	0.63		1981	23 coco	80	-
39. 42		(89)	2.13	36	1972	6 clove	8	-
						94 coco		+
		(90)	3.06		1973	30 sago		+
						300 clove		+
						30 sago		+
						10 coco		-
		(91)	0.84		1975	30 clove		-
40.		(92)	2.08	28	1976	10 clove		-
41. 43		(93)	0.54	37	1987	10 clove		-
		(94)	0.32		1968	50 sago		+
		(95)	2.02		69/73/80	72 clove	19	+
						25 coco		+
		(96)	1.16		1970	53 clove	36	+
						12 coco		+
		(97)	0.68		1982	50 coco		+
42.		*(98)	1.12	37	1982	25 clove	75	-
		(99)	0.50	30	72/73	30 clove	22	+
		(100)	0.88		1982	48 coco	32	-
		(101)	0.97		82/83	100 clove	17	-
43. 44		(102)	0.56	51	1971	300 clove	75	+
44. 45		(103)	0.77	24	1987	50 clove	23	-
45. 46*		(104)	1.55		1971	89 coco		+
						20 sago		+
		(105)	0.78		1972	80 clove		+
		(106)	1.06		1976	200 clove		-
46. 47		(107)	1.10	48	1980	15 clove		-
47.		(108)	0.81		71/87	46 coco		-
		(109)	0.32		76/85	50 coffee		-
						20 clove		-
						80 clove		-
48. 48		(110)	0.60	23	?	53 clove	37	+
49. 49		(111)	0.81	50	1971	150 coco		+
		(112)	2.38		1969	40 sago		+
		(113)	0.69		1971	49 clove	41	-
						16 coco		+
50+		(114)	0.85	35	1971	52 clove	6	-
		(115)	2.00		70/73	57 clove	4	+
		(116)	1.20		77/79/83	280 clove		+
51. 50*		(117)	5.50	26	1971	400 coco		+
						100 sago		+
						300 clove		-
						100 cacao		-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
52.		(118)	0.36	20	1973	3 coco	30	+
53.		(119)	0.81	20	81/85	52 clove		-
54.	51	(120)	0.77	55	1970	45 clove	56	+
						6 coco		-
		(121)	0.64		1973	35 coco	48	+
		(122)	0.77		1986	150 coco	10	-
55.	52	(123)	0.50	56	1970	106 clove	2	-
						30 sago		+
		(124)	0.63		1973	103 clove		-
						60 sago		+
		(125)	0.82		1974	150 clove		-
		(126)	0.10		1984	30 clove		-
		(127)	0.33		1985	60 coco		-
56.		(128)	0.32	26	1971	25 clove	10	-
		(129)	1.25		1973	45 coco	53	+
		(130)	0.64		77/87	74 coco		-
		(131)	0.25		1983	35 cempedak		-
						20 clove	15	-
		(132)	1.00		1983	100 cacao		-
						30 coco		-
		(133)	0.60		1986	65 clove	30	-
		(134)	0.21		1987	38 clove	12	-
57.		(135)	1.49	19	1984	200 clove	13	-
58.		(136)	0.48	32	1972	20 clove	13	-
						10 cacao		-
		(137)	1.57		1978	20 clove	42	-
						10 coco		-
parish		(138)	1.03		?	0 coco	80	-
school		(139)	2.08		1971	72 coco	128	+
						0 pala	100	-
village		(140)	3.80		1972	50 coco	200	+
non resident persons:								
59.		(141)	1.02	17	1977	80 clove		-
60.	A.	(142)	0.32	35	1978	40 clove		-
61.		(143)	0.24	38	1969	25 clove		-
62.		(144)	0.72	24	1975	150 clove		-
		(145)	0.50		71/74	100 coco	20	+
						20 sago		+
63.	T.	(146)	0.40	21	?	50 coco	25	+
						10 sago		+
64.	A.	(147)	1.09	44	1980	79 coco	54	-
65.	A.	(148)	1.20	40	1971	20 sago		+
						15 coco		+
66.		(149)	0.10	32	1968	25 clove		-
67.	A.	(150)	1-42	?	1973	23 clove	53	-
67	40	150	151.02			1035 sago palms	79 gardens	
						3800 coconut	are yielding;	
						palms	70 gardens	
						454 cacao-tree	are	
						6858 clove trees	unpro-	
						35 'cempedak'	ductive	

The table shows that as much as 47% of the plantations did not yield in 1988. It also indicates that even when one treats the

informant statements about cash crop tree failure with caution, the damage caused by wild marauding animals, especially wild pigs, and other factors, is considerable.

Not listed are other and less frequent types of fruit tree, which will however become productive over the next decade and may make a substantial contribution to the cash income of the household if they are sold to merchants.

The area 138, formerly the parish garden, does not properly qualify as a "garden" but only as wesie or secondary forest, because there are no remaining cash crop plants. I included it in order to show that the parish already had a garden for a number of years before a new garden was cleared in 1988 (see chapter 8).

The nuts of the palms of the village government plantation 140 are not used by the village government but individual persons take them for personal needs or consumption (see chapter 8).

Table 3 provides an idea about the income from cash crops and major items of spending. For most of the information I relied on informant statements and these may be somewhat idiosyncratic in nature. Although individual ownership of plantations and useful trees is listed, the information on spending does not show whether and how the differentiation of rights to garden is reflected in differential spending. The specification of individual rights to plantations serves in all tables to highlight the potential of economic differentiation and, to a limited degree, modes changes in rights to access of plantations (table 1, column 10). The tables does not reflect the varying rights to access to gardens as discussed in chapter 3. Columns 1 to 3 are similar to the previous tables. Yielding gardens which have until 1988 been used for direct domestic consumption only, are excluded from table 3. Column 4 lists the crop trees or palms. Column 5 details whether the particular grove is productive and a source of minor income. This means that the crop may also be used for home consumption but, especially in the case of coconuts, households have employed the harvest for (processing and) sale. The low but continuous and important cash income from selling sago, coconuts and coconut oil is a very important source of income to the household and its requirements. Coconuts may either be sold to persons who process them into copra, or, more commonly, coconut oil is made and then sold. Column 6 indicates the time of major harvests (sometimes several years). Column 7 gives the weight of clove and copra harvests. The latter are specified by an asterisk after the weight. Sale of coconuts is counted in numbers and labelled by an "n". The following column 8, states the money earned in 'rupia'. Prices fluctuate over the course of a year and vary according to the place and person who the owner sold his or her products. Where three dots ("...") replace the cash sum, the owner retained the cloves in order to sell it at a later point in time, when s/he hopes to achieve a higher market price. Column 9 is an indicator of how the money was spent. I encouraged informants to say what they

spend the cash on, without making suggestions to them. The listing therefore also reflects what householders considered important and legitimate items and domains of spending. "Schooling" refers to children who live for secondary and tertiary school education in coastal settlements and require money for school fees, clothes and food. "Household" refers to all household expenses in the most general sense, which include food, clothing, schooling, tax, church donations, equipment, furniture, medicine, etc. Whenever possible more detailed categories were provided.

Table 3

Indication of Cash Earnings from Gardening and Cash Spending

1	2	3	4	Remembered cash earnings				9
per-	No	No	type of	5	6	7	8	cash spent
son	HH	gar-	crop		year	wt.in	value	on:
		den				kg, or	in Rp	
						no of		
						nuts (n)		
1.	1	(1)	100 sago	+	1988	-	10,000	medicine, soap
			200 clove	+	1985	47	282,000	
					1987	15	60,000	household
					1988	10	25,000	food from store
2.	2	(3)	89 clove		1985-88	27	?	
			10 coco	+				
		(4)	40 coco	+				
4.	4	(6)	200 clove		1984	7	?	given to yB at school
			20 coco	+	1987	100n	5,000	household
					1988	20n	1,000	household
		(7)	40 sago	+				
5.	5	(10)	30 coco	+				
6.		(12)	14 clove		1982	10	>27,000	household
					1983	7	16,000	household
					1984,85,88	19,5	?	household
7.	8	(13)	95 coco	+	1987,88	made copra		(see garden 16)
			60 sago	+				
			lansat fruit	?		?	60,000	living in Kairatu with child at school
		(14)	20 clove		1987	10	45,000	"
		(16)	100 coco	+	1987	400*	120,000	expenses for
					1988	400*	140,000	schooling
8.	9	(17)	95 clove		1985	30	150,000	front room clock (Rp 35,000) and schooling
					1987	27	128,250	goods for kiosk
9.		(18)	112 clove		1986,87	57	228,250	household
11.	11	(21)	100 clove		1977	5	37,500	household
					1988	15	30,000	household

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		(22)	100 coco	+				
12.		(25)	50 clove		1988	20	...	
13.	15	(26)	30 clove	+		<10	?	
		(27)	90 coco	+				food, household
15.	17	(31)	30 clove		1985 1988	11 10	55,000 10,000'	clothing household
		(32)	65 coco	+				
16.	20	(34)	40 clove		1985,86,87	3,5	12,000	church, household
		(35)	lansat fruit		1987	?	45,000	household
		(36)	80 clove		1987 1988	3 25	9,000 ...	
17.	21	(38)	cempedak		1987	20	fruit 6,330	household
18.		(39)	24 clove	+				
		(40)	50 coco	+				household
20.	23	(45)	40 clove	+	1978	19	95,000	school, clothing
			20 coco	+				
			cempedak		1988	60	fruit 20,000	schooling
		(46)	155 coco	+				"
22.	24	(48)	100 coco	+	1988	200n	10,000	household
23.		(50)	16 clove		1986	6	35,000	food
					1987	5	?	household
24.	25	(51)	94 clove		1986	10		5kg for church 5kg for medical injections
					1988	12	54,000	household
27.	32	(61)	30 clove		1983,84	21	47,000	household school
		(62)	110 clove		1984,85 1986,87	18	?	relative harvested household
28.	33	(63)	80 clove	+	1982	4	16,000	food for rel. ceremony
29.	34	(65)	180 coco	+	1987	400*	120,000	household
		(66)	100 clove	+				"
30.		(69)	80 clove	+	1982	20	80,000	tobacco, alcohol
			12 coco	+				household
31.	35	(70)	250 coco	+	1986	?	75,000	cow
					1988	512	150,000	household
		(71)	100 clove	+	1982-88	?	490,000	household
32.	36	(73)	30 coco	+	1987	200n	10,000	household schooling
		(74)	40 clove	+				"
34.	38	(76)	250 clove	+	1987	50	...	
			30 coco	+				
		(79)	80 coco	+	1988	200n	10,000	
35		(80)	80 clove	+				church, ?
36.	39	(81)	35 clove	+				household
		(82)	40 coco	+				household
			30 clove	+				"
37.	40	(83)	75 clove		1984,1987	11	?	rel. ceremony, clothes, schooling

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
38.	41	(86)	26 clove	+	1981-88	32	79,000	church,
39.	42	(89)	94 coco	+	1986	100	20,000	household
			30 sago	+				medicine
		(90)	300 clove		1986	10	70,000	household
					1987	30	165,000	"
					1988	88	...	"
			30 sago					"
41.	43	(94)	50 sago	+				"
		(95)	72 clove	+	1983-87	63	335,000	tools,
								schooling,
								gift to yB
								(Rp 50,000)
								church
			25 coco	+				household
		(96)	53 clove		1985	3	18,000	"
			12 coco	+				"
42.		(99)	30 clove	+	1980-88	<10	?	household
43.	44	(102)	300 clove		1980,84,86	29	155,000	medicine,
								household
45.	46	(104)	89 coco	+				"
			20 sago	+				"
		(105)	80 clove		1987,88	9	?	given to yB
								at school
48.	48	(111)	53 clove		1987	4	10,000	clothing
49.	49	(112)	150 coco		1987	211*	63,300	schooling
		(113)	16 coco	+				household
50		(115)	57 clove	+	1988	2	5,000	baby
		(116)	280 clove		1988	2	5,000	food (fish,
								salt)
51.	50	(117)	400 coco	+	1985	264*	>40,000	household,
					1987	272	68,000	schooling
					1988	237	94,800	
			100 sago	+				
52.		(118)	3 coco	+				household
54.	51	(120)	45 clove	+	1988	2	4,200	"
		(121)	35 coco	+	1988			"
					April	116*	40,600	"
					Sept.	110*	38,500	30,000 for
								church
56.	52	(129)	45 coco	+				household
school		(139)	72 coco	+	1985,86,87	sold nuts		school
								equipment
								and fees
non resident persons:								
62.		(145)	100 coco	+				household
51								
			20 sago	+				"
63.	T.	(146)	50 coco	+				personal
65.	A.	(148)	20 sago	+				household A.
			15 coco	+				"
45	32	70	listed copra earnings:					
			listed clove earnings:					
			Rp 970,200					
			Rp 2,778,200					

8 households (3,10,16,22,28,31,45,47) have so far had no cash income from their plantations.

10 Household with listed cash earnings of more than Rp 100,000: 1 (Rp 377,000); 8 (Rp 365,000); 9 (Rp 506,250); 23 (Rp 115,000); 34 (Rp 200,000) 35 (Rp 715,000); 42 (Rp 225,000); 43 (Rp 353,000); 44 (Rp 155,000); 50 (Rp 202,000).

The 88kg harvest of household 42 does not account for the share of 7 helpers, who assisted the owner harvesting.

The sign "*" indicates that copra was produced from mature coconuts.

Appendix B

Wemale Kinship Relationship Terms

As is typical for a number of South-East Asian "amorphous" kinship structures, the Wemale kinship terminology is simple (Waterson 1986:87), ego focused and of a Hawaiian or Generational type. I have pointed out that many kinship terms are rarely used and, although I cannot discuss this topic here, it is essential to consider the use of the terms in practice. Very often their non-genealogical use is as important as their genealogical application. As can be seen from the list below, there is also a tendency to extend kinship terms in such a way that more distantly related persons are labelled with a primary kinship term (for instance uncle (haila) can be turned into father (amai). Further a number of kinship terms (wanasi, hailasi, nemasi) can be extended by si which indicates that the person is a father or mother of a child. This leads to the tautological form amaisi or (i)naisi.

<u>kau</u> :	great-great-grandparent; great-great-grandchild
<u>lisi</u> :	great-grandparent; great-grandchild
<u>meme</u> :	grandparent; grandchild
<u>ama</u> :	father; uncle (FB,MB)
<u>haila</u> :	uncle (MB,FB,MZH,FZH, other Wemale of senior generation; nephew (ZS,BS,FZS,MZS and other Wemale of junior generation
<u>nema</u> :	aunt (FZ,MZ,MBW,FBW and other Wemale of senior generation; niece (BD,ZD,FZD,MZD and other Wemale of junior generation
<u>ina</u> :	mother; aunt (MZ,FZ)
<u>wama</u> :	child (S,D,MBD,MBS,MZD,MZS,FZD,FZS,FBD,FBS) and other Wemale of junior generation
<u>leu</u> :	sibling and cousin of opposite sex; husband; wife; villagers of same generation and opposite sex
<u>wali</u> :	younger sibling of same sex; potentially all villagers of the same sex and born after ego but within the same generation
<u>waya</u> :	older sibling of same sex; potentially all villagers of the same sex and born before ego but within the same generation
<u>dapina</u> :	wife
<u>matua</u> :	husband
<u>sau</u> :	all in-laws of same generation (ZH,BW,MBSW,MBDH,FBSW, FZDH)
<u>uku</u> :	all in-laws of senior/junior generation (HF,HM,WF,WM,DH,SW,HFB,HFZ,HMB,HMZ,WFB,WFZ,WMB,WMZ)
<u>moluwa</u> :	the in-law of an in-law of the same generation and sex, HBW,WZH

Notes:

The most polite form for husband and wife is neither the commonly used matua(si) or dapina(si) (the si suffix indicating the birth of children) or leu(si) but leu(si) manawa (man) and leu(si) mapina (woman) respectively.

Men use the terms wali and waya less frequently than

women for villagers of the opposite sex and approximately same generation. Preferred usage is kela translated to me as friend.

The more distant the in-law relationship, the more likely it is that a non affinal kinship term is used rather than sau or uku. The uku term can be substituted for amai or inai when the relationship to the in-laws is good and lasting.

Nema and haila for the junior generation is often disregarded in favour for wama.

Moluwa seems an unusual term. Initially I thought it was only used for two men who marry sisters (i.e. marry into the same house) but, although it was difficult to receive competent answers about its use, the term applies equally to two women who marry brothers. As far as I know the term is not used for members of the opposite sex.

Appendix C

Tables 10 and 11 are more differentiated than tables 8 and 9. Section A. includes all living¹ couples while section B. covers single parents or "incomplete couples" (I added these together in Table 8 and 9). The latter are listed separately because they form a large sub-group to A. Section C. records all remarried persons and D. all those who are married to outsiders. Section A. and B. of tables 10 and 11 groups couples according to approximate age. Where the age of a couple is not the same, the age of the older partner is decisive. The household number of every couple (i.e. the household number represents the couple) is provided in the upper part of each column and the sum or number of each marriage type is printed in bold².

Table 10 Types of Marriage in Ahiolo (in households; the normal numbers designate households, sums are printed in bold), January 1988

<u>Age of older partner: <25 years <45 years >45 years</u>			
A. Couples			
1. Bride service marriage	4,34	17,23,36, 45,51	47
Sum:	=2	=5	=1
	+	+	+
2. 'Adat' ceremony (<u>hassuane adate</u>)		8,20?,21	1,34
Sum:	=0	=3	=2
	+	+	+
3. Church wedding ('bersumpah nikah')		2,8,9,20,21, 32,33,35,39	1,3,14,34,
		40,41,42,43,44	38
Sum:	=0	=14	=5
Total:	2	+	22
		+	8
			=32

¹Apart from the status of one living single parent ("incomplete couples"), marriages of dead people are not included, except for table 8 (the table therefore slightly deviates from the household census). Generally the information I received seems to me too uncertain to make it worthwhile to include non-extant couples in the tables.

²The tables clearly lose some clarity from combining household numbers which represent couples and the sum of the number of couples who fall into a certain category. However because categories overlap and because it enables comparison with other tables in the thesis, I decided to include the household numbers.

B. Single parent

Age:	<25	<45	>45
	sum:	sum:	sum:
Status of relationship:			
1. Single mothers with no partner	9,24=2	=0	=0
2. Bride service marriage (consort dead)	=0	5,5,15=3	=0
3. 'Adat' ceremony	50=1	23,46=2	10,16=2
4. Church wedding	=0	17,22, 23,30* 31,46=6	10, 16,36=3
5. Sum of all single parents with consort dead	50=1	5,5,15,17 22,23,31 46,48+=10	10,16,36=3
6. Divorced/separated	50=1	48+=1	=0

C. Remarried persons: 2,11,17,(24x2),38,(47x2),48,52=10

D. Married to outsider: a) Wemale 3,2,8=3
b) non Wemale 3,32,36,41,45,48=6

Total of all living "complete" and "incomplete" couples (including widowed and remarried but excluding single parent mothers [listed in B1]): 1,2,3,4,(5x2),8,9,10,11,14,15,16,(17x2),20,21,22,(23x2),24,30,31,32,33,(34x2),35,(36x2),38,39,40,41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48,50,51,52=44

Note: * The teacher's wife lives in Kairatu.

+ The remarried widow (48) was left by her second husband who was a village outsider (he had also converted from Islam to Christianity). I am uncertain about the status of her first marriage. For remarried persons in households 11 (a widow) and 52 I have no information concerning their marriage status.

The couple in household 47, table 6A.1., was formed by a young woman who was not 'sidi' and an older husband and ex-deacon, who had already lost two wives before.

Table 11 Types of Marriage in Abio (in households; the normal numbers designate households, sums are printed in bold), January 1989

<u>Age of older partner: <25 years</u>		<u><45 years</u>	<u>>45 years</u>
A. Couples			
1. Bride service ceremony	2,3,15,17 32,33,33,35	2,2,8,9,11, 14,28,28,42,44	4,4,7
Sum:	=8	=10	=3
	+	+	+
2. 'Adat' ceremony		6,7,8,13,15,18 19,22,23,24, 25,27,28,30, 31,35,36,38,	1,3,3, 15,22,26,
Sum:	36 =1	43,44,45,45 =22	28,35,37,41 =10
	+	+	+
3. Church wedding ('bersumpah nikah')		6,7,8,10,11, 13,14,15,16, 18,21,22,22, 23,24,27,28,30, 31,34,35,36,	1,2,3, 3,4,12, 15,22,26,
Sum:	40 =1	37,39,40,44, =26	35,41 =11
Total:	=10	+ =58	+ =24 =92
B. Single parent			
<u>Age:</u>	<u><25</u>	<u><45</u>	<u>>45</u>
	sum:	sum:	sum:
Status of relationship:			
1. Single mothers with no partner	15=1	=0	=0
2. Bride service marriage (consort dead)	18,39=2	4,38=2	=0
3. 'Adat' ceremony	=0	1,1,4,20, 29,29,40=7	=0
4. Church wedding	=0	1,1,1, 4,20,27, 29,29,40=9	=0
5. Sum of all single parents with consort dead	=0	1,1, 1,20,27, 29,29,40=8	=0
6. Divorced/separated	39=1	(18/38)=1	=0
C. Remarried persons:			
	3,3,4,7,12,14,15, (22x2),	24,28,29,35,	40,44=15

D. Married to outsider: a) Wemale ?, to my knowledge none
 b) non Wemale ?, to my knowledge none

Total of all living "complete" and "incomplete" couples
 (including widowed and remarried but excluding single parent
 mothers [listed in B1]): (1x4), (2x4), (3x4), (4x5), 6, (7x2),
 (8x2), 9, 10, (11x2), 12, 13, (14x2), (15x3), 16, 17, (18x2), 19, 20, 21,
 (22x3), 23, 24, 25, 26, (27x2), (28x4), (29x2), 30, 31, 32, (33x2), 34,
 (35x3) (36x2), (37x2), (38x2), (39x2), (40x3), 41, 42, 43, (44x2), (45
 x2)=82

Appendix D

The Elders' Speeches in Wemale

These speeches are the original versions of the translation presented in chapter 6. They were recorded at the Ahiolo 'adat' council meeting on the 17 March 1988.

No 13 "Kaitia ukina daneipui. 'Memang' maania mapina tuka pilihuwa're, 'memang' mapina 'juga' i'jawab' umсах. 'Jadi' maania manawa mina, 'supaya' matitiwa 'data-data' sepuwe mina 'baru' maania pei mapina. 'Bukan' na pilihuwa're maania lei mapina mo 'sedangkan' manawa itutuwe harudui. 'Coba' maania manawa 'supaya' matitiwa seh ewai seina tohia, nakeya lualu entai leisei ni; mase mo manwa tutuwe, harudui pilihuwa reni. 'Jadi entah' mapina ile ikina umсах lee, 'mungkin' ihenene pei manawa mina, sebab' ilei 'berpikir' sah. 'Jadi entah' i'suka're se 'suka' mo're; ania pei manawa mina na lei ukina depere wawe kaitia."

No 10 "Seina a...ania Maku? Maku yalle loke ahatapai umсaha ahatapai ni."

No 19 "Beta mengaku sebagai orang yang sudah bersalah, beta bersedia untuk denda itu, beta bersedia secara terang-terang'."

No 10 "Denda'rende, rende 'musti' ewama, 'musti' kikina."

No 9 "Rende eng 'keputusan' sai umсах. Kina hoho!"

No 1 "Rende epekai muli tuka mulukune re sepuwe erende, erende 'yang' lokai muli; rende peinye yami kaitia, rende pekai muli."

No 10 "Tuka hutuwemi de rende mia rende ni, me kela waliu, yalle seina, yau seina? 'Sebenarnya' yau selua duwe walimsi Leniamai."

No 4 "Persoalan' dere'e epei mapina rese epei manawa meina?"

No 10 "'Kalau' maania mapina yo, hatapai seh manawa duwe mapina luami mi'senang' duwe lumei hatapai? 'Kalau' mapina ihapunie lalei a yami kaitia yo ahatapai pilihuwa reni. Dere 'karena' wai kaitia me wai nele 'hakim' Kupania inye hone iania tuka sapu lia - 'pokoknya' sai henene moni, sai hasomi moni. Mapina ikina weya hereka 'atau' manawa ikina waweya hereka 'atau' mapina ikina seh luami miluware 'atau' luami mihasuwana're, 'supaya' kaitia sie si'simpan' na hekere. 'Tapi kalau' yalle hapuniye pekai muli 'berarti' .. . Yau ukina waweya 'secara terang-terang', yalle! Deruwau waliu le'e ni."

No 20 "Kaitia ukina danei pui le'e. Peiye Maku ase uaniyaya danei pui. 'Jadi' yalle 'sembole' umkinane hekere pilihuwa mo, mo akina wawe kaitia se yau 'denda, tidak adat tidak boleh begitu'."

...

No 10 "Yalle hapa kalaya mo."

No 20 "'Entah mungkin Leniasi cium diakah' - ahunu Leniasi'kah'?... 'Jadi', yalle akina se denda, 'jadi denda bukan' na yalle apuweya a 'denda' mo. 'Coba kalau sebentar denda akan besar pasti katong semua keluarga yang harus menanggung beban. Jadi Maku, harus' yalle 'berfikir, bukan' na yalle atuwena loke akina se oh! uhono...."

No 13 "Maku a'buka' lalemu, aselu 'Ohm tua Méri' de seina? Lese yau yo seina lee? Deruwama wali-wayaya wai luma ni."

No 20 "'Sebab' yami dere 'selaku' tamata kaitia 'bukan' na hepe hone. Yami maluweya na ania Leniasi mo, de luami mi sukaya, luami mi'salah' pami, 'salah' hami dauwese luami mihutuwe yami kaitia."

Glossary

- 'adat': "neo-traditional", customs and practices
 Alifuru: derogative term for mountain people
ama(i): father
 'anak': child
 'anggota': member
 'baileo/baileu': Ambonese for balai or (ritual) village house (see suane)
 Bappenas 'Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional', the National Development Planning Boards
 'buk': concrete water container with an outlet for washing
 'cacalele': victorious war dance of headhunter
 'camat': administrative sub-district head
 'desa': village
 Eti: river
 'fam': extended family
 'gereja': church, building and institution
 'gotong royong': mutual help and communal labour
 GPM: 'Gereja Protestan Maluku', largest Protestant Reformed Church in the Moluccas
 'guru': teacher; formerly village teacher as well as missionary;
 'hak': law, right
hamaleru: to heal by application of a whispered spell
hana: traditional china valueables
hapeli: to sell
 'harta': valuables
hasoite: to offer betel (areca) nuts
hasuwana: marry
hatasile: incest
holine: taboo
 'hukum': law
ina: mother
 Japiobatai: village of origin of Ahiolo and Abio
 'kabupaten': district
 Kairatu: regional administrative centre (of the kecamatan)
kaitia: ancestors, elders (literally the Big Ones)
kakaya: mature forest
akehan: past secret male initiation society
 'kecamatan': sub-district
kela: friend
 'kelas'is': regional centre of the GPM similar to the governmental 'kecamatan', subordinated to the synod
 'keluarga': family
 'kepala': head
 'kepala desa': administrative governmental village head
kia: newly born child
 'kunci': to lock, key
 'kunci usbuh': Saturday prayer meeting
laa: blood
 LMD: 'Lembaga Musawara Desa', a council of influential villagers and representatives of organisations who decide over the village development activities.
 LKMD: 'Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa', a group comprising all villagers who can and have to work for the community.
luma: house, household, family, extended kin group (mataluma or clan)

maru-maru: traditional dance complementing cacalele
mataluma ('mata rumah'): named descent group
maupa ai: ritual for baby
mawa: to plant
mulia: to expiate
 'nama': name
 'negri': village
nyana: child
nuru: clan
 Pancasila: five principles on which the Indonesian State is founded
 'pembangunan': development (literally building)
pelini: price
 'pendeta': minister
 'rumah': house, household, family
 'rumah tanggah': household
 'raja': traditional Maluccan term for village leader
 RMS ('Republik Maluku Selatan'): Maluccan nationalist movement which opposed the central Indonesian government after national independence and who operated as a guerilla movement on Seram until the early 1960s.
sama: to give
 'saniri': a) male village meeting in the past; b) regional meeting of village representatives for each of the three main rivers on western Seram.
 'sas(s)i': taboo sign
 Sapalewa: river
 'sekretaris': village secretary
seli: to (ex-) change, substitute
 'sembunyi': to hide
siliye: to buy, to give valuables, to help
 'soa': administrative subdivision of village along a restricted number of kinship groups
suane: ritual communal village house (also baileu or baileo)
suku nyana (to receive a child): illegitimate child
 'synode': highest administrative level of the GPM
 Tala: river
 'turunan': generation(s), descendants
upu: head
wali: younger sibling of same sex
wapulane: name of secret male initiation society in the Uwin river area on north-western Seram.
waya: older sibling of same sex
wesie: secondary forest

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