

THE VANISHING CULTURE OF ADAT PERPATIH

by *Norhalim Hj. Ibrahim*

1) INTRODUCTION

Culture, according to Tylor, is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871:1). In other words, it is the basis of a society's civilization for it includes all systems which give the society its identity and differentiate it from other societies.

Owing to its unique socio-political organisation, the Malaysian state of Negeri Sembilan and its inhabitants have long fascinated and baffled outside observers. It was remarked that, owing to "its spectacular character" (de Jong, 1960:376), Negeri Sembilan had been better studied than the other Malay States of Malaysia. The spectacular feature of this state is that the traditional basis of the social organization of its Malay inhabitants is matrilineal custom and descent group organisation, which they refer to as **Adat Perpatih**. This contrasts sharply with the bilateral pattern pervasive in the social organisation of the other Peninsular Malays.

Adat perpatih was built around a communal kin-based socio-politico-economic system. At the structural level, the adat involves an array of relationships and social and economic processes. This includes membership in named matrilineal descent groups, matrilocal residence and thus daily social life in matrilineally extended families and households; kin group ownership of land, with rights to land ownership being passed from mothers to daughters; obligatory economic and social cooperation within the extended family and beyond into the larger kin group, involving the sharing of work, resources, responsibility for children, etc., and dispersed political power based on an accepted hierachial ranking of social authority.

Thus, **adat perpatih**, if one accepts Tylor's definition of culture as stated above, is a discreet cultural entity and may even be considered to be a civilisation in itself. This is because, besides the above stated characteristics and values, **adat perpatih** is also a complete and consciously articulated conceptual and ideological system, a worldview that guides people's perceptions and choices. As a conceptual system, it includes both specific rules that reflects and generates the behavioural forms outlined above and also a cosmology explaining the natural and supernatural world and man's place in it.

2) THE PASSING OF TIME

The people of Negeri Sembilan claim that **adat perpatih** originated from West Sumatra, and was subsequently brought to Negeri Sembilan by Sumatran immigrants. The question of who these migrants were has still to be answered. Although

the popular assumption, both by scholars and the public, is that they were Minangkabaus, existing dates indicate otherwise. Among other factors, Negeri Sembilan dialect differs significantly from that of Minangkabau. It is very difficult for a Negeri Sembilan Malay to understand the Minangkabau dialect. Even if time and environment had influenced the Negeri Sembilan dialect and it had deviated from the original language, some linguistic similarity should still exist.

On the other hand, if a Negeri Sembilan Malay is to go to Siak, in east Sumatra he will not encounter any language problems. The Siak dialect, is similar in almost every way to that of Negeri Sembilan. If one is to argue that time, environment and distance have changed the language, how is it that Siak, situated on the same island, but located in the east whilst Minangkabau is on the west side, and possessing almost the same environment (politically, economically and socially), developed a similar language to that of Negeri Sembilan? Siak was also a *rantau* (colony) of Minangkabau and was supposed to be peopled by Minangkabaus who migrated there.

Besides that, the symbol of Minangkabau adat which still exists in Minangkabau today, the **rumah gadang** (the grand-house), has never existed in Negeri Sembilan. If Minangkabaus had migrated into Negeri Sembilan, it is possible to hypothesise that of their identity, the **rumah gadang** would be established and maintained in Negeri Sembilan, their new locality, as well. But in written historical documents and oral traditions, nothing is mentioned of its existence in Negeri Sembilan. Even if the migrants were to do away with the use of **rumah gadang**, the structure of their dwellings would very probably have been modelled upon them. However, that was and is not so. On the other hand, the traditional Negeri Sembilan house structure is similar in style to that of Siak and its immediate locality in East Sumatra.

Last but not least, amongst the many Negeri Sembilan Adat sayings (**perbilangan adat**) which scholars avoid interpreting, there is one saying:

**Beraja ke Johor
Bertali ke Siak
Bertuan ke Minangkabau**

(The King is in Johore
Relatives in Siak
Overlord in Minangkabau).

The first and the last sentences of the above verse are quite clear in their meanings to any student of Negeri Sembilan's history. But the second sentence: **bertali ke Siak** is very vague and confusing. **Bertali** can mean, amongst others, having (blood) ties or connections or relationships (Tenku Iskandar, 1986 : 1173). Politically, as far as Negeri Sembilan's history is concerned, nothing has been mentioned about Negeri Sembilan's ties with Siak, except for the incident of Raja Kecil invading Johore in the 17th century. But, socially, it appears that the people of Negeri Sembilan had family ties with

those of Siak. However, this is still a disputed area and some intensive research will be necessary in order to see the sequence of development of Negeri Sembilan culture.

Our knowledge of when the Sumatrans migrated to Negeri Sembilan is also vague. Recently however, on the 27th August 1990, in an official speech at the Opening of **Minggu Seminar dan Minggu Budaya Rembau**, the Dato Undang of Rembau officially declared that the Sumatrans migrated to Rembau some 600 years ago. If this is true, **adat perpatih** in Negeri Sembilan has gone through several different stages of social, political and economic development. First, in the 1400s, came Islamic civilisation; in the next century came Western civilisation - the Portuguese, the Dutch and lastly, the British. Thus Adat Perpatih had encountered and been modified by other cultural systems and values. These new cultural values were and are internalised through formal and informal education systems and through being practised in the people's daily lives. Since the introduction of secular education in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Recently the mass media has served this function.

The Adat system which has always been transmitted orally from one generation to the next has no defence, against these new cultural elements. No formal adat education was given to the younger generation to ensure that the adat system would not deviate from its course. The transmission was done informally and only when necessary. Even this was not done in a thorough manner, in the sense that only the very basic principles were 'revealed'. Thus, as time passed, knowledge of the Adat as a unified working system became less and less put into practice. Thus, today, the majority of the Negeri Sembilan Malays and to some extent the Adat leaders themselves, are not completely knowledgeable of the Adat Perpatih culture.

3. THE VANISHING CULTURE

As stated earlier, adat perpatih embodies all the elements that make up a culture in accordance with Tylor's definition. Traditionally, the main systems within the Adat were, political and economic. In other words, the Adat embodied a comprehensive set of values, beliefs, morals, ethics and etiquette and a legal system which had its own way of expression in the form of **adat istiadat** (customary celebrations). These cultural forms differ, and in some aspects do not even exist, in the other Malay communities in Malaysia. However, today, Negeri Sembilan Malay society is little different from the other Malay societies in Peninsular Malaysia.

To illustrate this phenomenon of "vanishing culture", I will briefly describe the main system of the Adat and ceremonies related to it.

Social System

a) The Descent Group

The Adat concept of society is that of a state composed of its own territory, with lineages of varying depths, each with its own territory and with a hierarchy of descent group leaders. The descent

groups are matrilineal which in descending hierarchical order are named: **suku** (clan; lit: quarter), **perut** (sub-clan; lit: stomach), **ruang** (lineage; lit: room or space), and **rumpun** (sub-lineage; lit: clump or cluster). Every kin-descent group is headed by an elected chief - **lembaga**, **buapak**, **besar**, and **kadim** respectively. Each and every leader has his own specific title, usually with the prefix **Datuk**, except for a **kadim**.

b) Clan Membership: A Decline

The core group of this society is a mother and her children. As such, a mother is a significant person in society. It is through the mother that a child's **suku** membership is decided; if the mother is an outsider, a non-Negeri Sembilan woman, her children will be without **suku** membership.

Today, since there has been a mass migration to the urban areas, especially by Negeri Sembilan women, there is a tendency for women to marry men from outside Negeri Sembilan. As a result, the number of **suku** members is declining. If this trend continues there is a possibility that clan membership will decrease considerably.

In a recent survey done amongst students in the upper primary and secondary schools of Rembau (aged between 12 and 17), it was found that only 10 percent out of a thousand students knew the name of their **suku**. This, in a way, reflects the fact that the younger generation of Rembau, the supposed-to-be stronghold of **adat** in Negeri Sembilan (de Jong: 1967:59) and of Negeri Sembilan in general, have lost interest in the **adat**. To strengthen this assumption, the same survey also points out that only 2 percent knew the title of their descent-group chiefs.

c) Adoption

The Adat rules that outsiders can become members of any clan by the process of adoption. There are three major reasons for the institution of adoption in Negeri Sembilan. Firstly, a permanent resident in Negeri Sembilan had to come under the protection of a clan head (**lembaga**), in order that his life and property might be safe. It followed that in order to obtain this protection, he had to enter into theoretical blood-relationship with the members of the **suku** and this could only be attained through adoption. One of the adat sayings is: **dagang bertempat, perahu bertambatan**. This means a foreigner who becomes complete by affiliation to a **suku** is like a boat which has its mooring'.

Secondly, outsiders who wished to marry a Negeri Sembilan resident had to be adopted into a **suku** other than that of their prospective spouses. This was to safeguard the spouse's family interests in case of divorce or death. If the outsider were affiliated to the same **suku** that **suku** would be responsible for all his debts, upon divorce or death. At the same time, without adoption the person would not be subject to the control and protection of **lembaga** and therefore be in an anomalous position not only upon divorce but also during marriage, in conjugal disputes, or in any case of distress or crime.

Thirdly, when a woman had no daughter to continue her line, to look after her and her husband in their old age, and inherit her property, it was always possible for her to adopt a girl for all or any of these purposes. The adopted girl would be preferably and usually from the same **rumpun** or **ruang**, or failing that, from the same **perut** or **suku**. In rare cases, a girl may even be taken from another **suku** or other ethnic group.

There are two classes of adoption: **kadim adat dan pusaka** (full adoption) and **kadim adat** (partial adoption). The first type of adoption is complex and elaborate. A buffalo is slaughtered, and it is necessary to secure the presence and approval of the **Undang** (ruler of the state), and to invite all **adat** chiefs of **luak** (state). The height of the ritual is the ceremonial **cecah darah** (lit: dipping of fingers in blood) and the marking of the forehead of the adopted by the adopter, using her blood-smeared fingers. Whilst doing so, the two parties declare that they are henceforth of 'one after-birth and one placenta' (**seuri, setemuni**). This is followed by an oath forbidding marriage between them. Thus, this ceremony symbolises the fact that they are henceforth blood relations.

The other type of adoption is much simpler; only the presence and approval of the **lembaga** of the adopting family and of the adoptee (if any) and the presence of the other **lembaga** or their representatives, is needed. Instead of a buffalo, only a goat is slaughtered. The **cecah darah** ceremony is performed and a public feast is given by the adopting family. This type of adoption only creates a relationship; the rights of inheritance, if conferred at all, are restricted. The **kadim adat** is necessary before the marriage of any foreigner to a Negeri Sembilan man or woman. This is also the type of adoption used to integrate outsiders into the **Adat** society.

Today, however, both types of adoption, especially of the first category, are no longer practised in Negeri Sembilan, and in Rembau both types were abolished in 1940 by the then **Undang**. **Kadim** rites are a survival of pagan practice. They are anathema to Islam. The practice of dipping one's fingers into a bowl containing blood as a means of forging a blood relationship is most objectionable from an Islamic point of view.

d) Marriage

Marriage according to the **adat** of Negeri Sembilan was an institution in which rules and rituals not only brought together a man and a woman into a lawful union, but also established and maintained links between lineal groups. These affinal ties were important in binding the **suku** organisation into a cohesive whole.

The **Adat** regulating marriage has both prescriptive and preferential norms. The fundamental

prescriptive norm is that marriage within the **perut** (formerly within the **suku**) is forbidden. Polygamy is permitted but the wives should not be from the same **suku** or **perut**.

Today, however, these rules, especially relating to **suku** endogamy, are not strictly followed. Recently, there occurred a few endogamous marriages and a few sanctions were imposed on the couples. Another custom that has disappeared is the adoption of outsiders before marriage to a Negeri Sembilan man or woman. Even if practised, it is not highlighted to the same degree as three or four decades ago.

There are two types of marriage rituals in Negeri Sembilan: the regular or normal marriage and the irregular marriage.

The normal form of marriage must include the following stages:

- (1) **Pandang memandang** (Look and See)
- (2) **Jarum menjarum** (Ask and Negotiate)
- (3) **Pinang meminang** (Engagement)
- (4) **Hari beralat** (Wedding Day)
- (5) **Menyalang** (Ritualised Visits).

There are three types of marriage ceremony in Negeri Sembilan:

- (1) **Kerja Buapak or Waris** (marriage with the consent of **buapak**) This is a one or two-day ceremony, normally for a poor or average family, without socio-political status.
- (2) **Kerja Lembaga** (marriage with the consent of **lembaga**) This is a three-day ceremony. The **lembaga** is invited and his insignia has to be displayed.
- (3) **Kerja Undang** (marriage with the consent of the **Undang**) This is a five-day ceremony, the most lavish type of wedding. The **Undang**'s insignia, including flags known as **tunggal, merual, ular-ular** and **pajar menyinsing** must be displayed.

Formal wedding ceremonies revolve around the 'marriage contract' (**akad nikah**) and focus on a series of ritual transactions - **mengisi adat** (fulfilling **adat**), **mas kahwin** (marriage gold), and **wang adat** (adat money). Additionally, at this stage in the ceremonies, if not before, the property (**harta bawaan**) and debts, if any, that the groom brings to the marriage are formally declared, followed by a similar declaration concerning property (**harta dapatkan**) that the bride brings to the union.

This was followed by other **adat** rituals and

ceremonies such as the **berhina** ceremony (applying henna), **bersanding** (bride and groom sitting in state on the dais), **makan suap-suapan** (ritual feeding), **berarak** (carrying couples on chairs) and other rituals.¹ For entertainment, a variety of ritual dances such as **tarian lilin**, and **tarian piring** are performed. Besides these, there are also the making of adat artifacts such as **nasi panca** (glutinous rice coloured with tumeric in a specially made container and decorated with flower eggs (**bunga tulur**)). The last ritual of the wedding ceremonies is known as 'the day of introduction' (**hari menyalang**).

After the wedding ceremonies, the couple visits various households of the bride's kin, known as **menyalang kecil** (small menyalang). This is followed by the **menyalang jejak** (retracing footsteps) rituals, where the bridal couple now call on various households inhabited by the groom's kin. Both rituals are known as **menyembah** (paying homage) rituals. In these events, betel, glutinous rice and **dodol** cakes are important ritual commodities.

This overview of the principal events, commodities, artifacts and transactions associated with marriage proceedings is by no means exhaustive, but it should suffice for our present purpose.

Besides the normal and regular marriage as described above there are other types of marriage which are equally as binding as any normal marriage, but which employ different procedures. In fact, they are speedier means of concluding a marriage. There are four types: **menyerah** (marriage by surrender), **merumah** (taking the house), **kahwin lari** (runaway marriage or elopement) and **terkurung** (caught in the house). None of these have been widely practised, but of the four, **menyerah** and **merumah** are the most common. Nevertheless, each of the above types of irregular marriage has its ceremonies and procedures and to some extent is distinct from the other.

During these rituals, especially at the beginning of the ceremonies for both engagement and marriage, the **perbilangan adat** (adat saying; maxim) plays an important part. Both sides try to out-do the other using adat sayings. This is also true in the case of irregular marriages. Thus, marriages in this society are very complex, full of rituals and procedures. However, after money became the main form of economic exchange and new values (both Islamic and western) came into this society, most of these rituals, except for those specifically Islamic elements of the marriage ceremony were either abandoned or modified to a simpler form. Today marriage ceremonies in Negeri Sembilan are no different from those practised by Malays in the other states.

Berbesan

Another ritual that was observed by this soci-

ety is the **berbesan** ceremony, where the parents-in-law formally met one other. It is usually held two or three days after the **menyalang**. **Berbesan** is also observed during the **bercukur** ritual (cutting off infant hair). The latter ritual is usually performed along with other ceremonies such as **berjejak tanah** (stepping on the sand) of the infant.

Political System

An overview of the principal relations of power and authority in Negeri Sembilan's precolonial period can be gleaned from part of a customary saying:

Alam beraja
Luak berpenghulu
Suku berlembaga
Anak buah berbuapak
Orang semenda bertempat semenda

(The state has a ruler
The district has a territorial chief
The clan has a clan chief
The sub-clan has an elder
The affined has affinal relative(s)]

Before the coming of the British, the **penghulu** or the **Undang** sat at the apex of the political hierarchy and was regarded by his subjects as sacrosanct. He was head of his region (**luak**) and he was elected by the heads of the **suku**, the **lembaga**. These were in turn elected by the heads of the **perut**, the **buapak**; who were themselves elected by heads of the **ruang**, the **besar**. Finally, the **besar** was elected by members of his **rumpun**.

This structure still exists until today in all the **luak** of Negeri Sembilan, but the title-holders have very little power.

The imposition of British colonial rule in Negeri Sembilan in 1874 critically changed the political organisation of this society. Firstly, it fundamentally eroded and overrode the kin-based forms of political representation that characterised traditional political life.

The direct authority of the **Undang** and the **lembaga** and other minor adat chiefs was eclipsed, and replaced by the administrative machinery of a British Resident, assisted by a number of District Officers. The District Officer, however, worked through the local authority of the **penghulu** (an office created by the British administration; responsible for a sub-district or **mukim**, also a new administrative unit). The **mukim** was divided into a number of administrative **kampung** (village), with a **ketua kampung** (village headman), responsible for each.

The authority of the **penghulu** increased with the burden of colonial administration, and the office, while remaining at approximately the same point in the administrative hierarchy, the lowest rank in the colonial administration, came to depend increasingly upon technical qualifications and clerical

cal and administrative ability. The **penghulu** under British rule was the lynch-pin of the rural administration, mediating both between the secular authority of government and the religious and **adat** authority of the **Undang** and **lembaga** of Negeri Sembilan.

The point I wish to make here is that none of the **adat** officials (**lembaga**, **buapak** or **besar**) were appointed or incorporated into the British administration - not even to the lowest rank of **Ketua Kampung**. In fact, they were not involved in any way at any level of the administration, except in matters dealing with **adat**. But even in the field of **adat**, the British still imposed their authority. Thus, there emerged in Negeri Sembilan a dualistic political system characterised by an eviscerated though formally intact clan policy subject to the hegemony of a highly powerful and increasingly centralised bureaucratic apparatus geared towards the maintenance of law and order, revenue collection and capitalist development generally.

The creation of the office **penghulu mukim** by the British to some extent created confusion with the head of the **adat penghulu luak** - the head of the traditional districts of Negeri Sembilan. To avoid this, the late **Undang** of Rembau, Dato Sedia Raja Abdullah bin Dahan, also a member of the Federal Council, suggested the title **Undang** for the **penghulu luak**. Thus, since the early 1920s, the **penghulu** of the four major luak of Negeri Sembilan has been called **Undang**.

Economic System

Last, but not the least, is the economic system of Negeri Sembilan **adat** society. Negeri Sembilan is indeed often associated with extensive wet-rice cultivation along many of its valleys. Fauve (1849:158), Gray (1852:370) and Newbold (1837), all early European visitors to this state in the first half of the nineteenth century, refer to a plain "in great part occupied by paddy fields", "a high state of (rice) cultivation", and "a very extensive and well cultivated sheet of rice-ground" in the areas they travelled. This is in accord with the **Adat Perpatih**, in which **sawah** (wet padi field) constitutes one of the most important components of **harta pusaka adat** (ancestral property).

Since rice farming was an important element of the **adat** and a major means of livelihood in Negeri Sembilan, there were many rituals associated with it. In this, the **pawang** (magician, who is different from the **dukun** - healer), played a significant role. One of the most famous and complex agricultural rituals in Negeri was **berpuar**. The term "**berpuar**" comes from **puar** [*Adinobotry erianthus*] or wild ginger. Besides **berpuar**, there were other rituals such as **tekachi**, whose literal meaning is not clear (Kato, 1988:120). All agricultural rituals were supposed to protect the rice, the fields and the villages from evil spirits. The ele-

ments of the tube ceremonies, besides rituals, were games, plays and entertainment.

In essence, these rituals shared a similar intent. Causing damage to the plants was the most obvious manifestation of the existence and potency of evil spirits. Through various rituals, **adat** society tried to forestall their attack and at the same time take care of the **semangat padi** (rice soul). In the process, communal solidarity was strengthened.

In addition to rituals, agricultural activities also produced other types of ceremonies or performance. Among these were **tumbuk kalang** (pounding bundles of rice stalks laid under the mortar), **main layang-layang** (playing kites), **tangkap belalang** (catching grass-hoppers) and **maling-maling** (propellor).

Rice cultivation to **adat** people was like water to fish. It was so much part of their lives that it was more than a livelihood; rice cultivation was a way of life, a way of belief, a way of existence. Yet this old world of Negeri Sembilan no longer exists: it has gone irrevocably.

In relation to the economic system, other important changes introduced into Negeri Sembilan by the British were pertained to land ownership. Under the system of customary land tenure, all land was either owned by the ruling **suku**, called **tanah waris** (land of the ruling clan) and was theirs by right of inheritance and not by purchase (**tanah tidak bertebus**) or was land which had been granted to late settlers, **tanah suku** (clan land), and land that had been acquired by purchase (**tanah tebus**). The latter cases occurred when cultivated land was sold due to unforeseen problems. New forest land, **tanah waris** could be opened up by any member of the society, with the sanction of the **lembaga** and **undang**, for cultivation or for planting fruit trees (**dusun**) and for gathering wild produce. This system in its own way ensured a balance of economic power between the clans before the coming of the British.

When they came into Negeri Sembilan, the British had a different conception of "unclaimed land". In general, the British were opposed to the whole system of land tenure in Negeri Sembilan, particularly to the predominance of women's rights to land under the kin-based system. They clearly viewed it as an unnatural system, in that provisional rights over land devolved on females to the exclusion of males (Peletz, 1983:235).

Thus, in 1909, the British government had to directly intervene in the practice of land tenure in Negeri Sembilan and passed the Customary Tenure Enactment which can be summarised as follows: all land held by Malays, either **sawah** or residential acreage, must to be registered under the names of the individual proprietors.

This was a radical change and enabled the government to set aside certain lands, mainly but not solely those that were suitable for rice cultivation. The British likewise encouraged male acquisition and ownership of land on which men could plant cash crops. But this also meant that the **Undang** and the **lembaga** of Negeri Sembilan lost their right of ownership over unused land in Negeri Sembilan. And last, but not least, the British policy had the unprecedented effect of **enabling a married man to establish rights to land** independently of his wife and female matri-kin (Norhalim, 1989:12).

This development had a great impact on the dynamics of land ownership among adat perpatih Malays. The economic and political power of the **suku**, especially of its female members, was directly undermined by the loss of the major part of their productive property. In addition, the safety valve of expansion into new forest regions (as the population of a **suku** increased or the needs of particular family in a **suku** changed) was eliminated. This swift reduction and continuing restriction of the resources available to a **suku** caused considerable stress and led to growing inequality of land holdings. To some extent, it 'forced' **suku** members to migrate out to seek jobs. As such, this young generation who migrated, even though temporarily, lost contact with the adat culture. In their places of work, new values, norms and culture forms were instilled into their lives. Their children, and grandchildren lost touch with the adat culture and adopted urban-western cultural forms. This new generation makes up the majority of contemporary Negeri Sembilan Malay society.

4. CONCLUSION

Adat culture has existed for about five to six centuries. It passed through different stages and periods, during which it was influenced either mildly or drastically. Adat Perpatih is a dynamic system. It has changed and will continue to change to suit the time and place. But in this process the "uniqueness" of Adat Perpatih of Negeri Sembilan is eroded.

The first sign that the old Negeri Sembilan culture was eroding was the loss of power of the adat chiefs. Their positions were replaced by new official posts created by the British - the **penghulu mukim** and **ketua kampung**. The adat political system was further eroded when, after independence, a new form of leadership was created - political leaders at all levels in the nation state.

Along with this was the loss of land ownership. Land tenure introduced by the British in 1909, 1926 and 1930 changed the rules of land tenure to encourage individual rather than collective kin-group control of land in Negeri Sembilan. In addition, a new cash crop - rubber was introduced. Forest land was cleared for rubber; then local deforestation, combined with the deforestation of

the central mountain range (the backbone of Negeri Sembilan), through large-scale and 'unecological' logging, created near-drought conditions in relation to the level of precipitation and catchment needed for wet-rice cultivation. Besides this, road-building and other types of construction, some in the name of development, often disrupted the padi irrigation systems to such an extent that many rice-fields could no longer be cultivated. This forced the Negeri Sembilan society to abandon rice farming, the backbone of traditional Negeri Sembilan society and culture.

The abandonment of rice farming, and the introduction of money economy, created a wave of change in the cultural life of the people. Rituals, ceremonies and other activities, either social or economic, and politics became less and less active. People became more individualistic, in contrast with the ideology of the adat - communalistic, familialistic and cooperation among members.

Finally, one must admit that the penetration of western culture values and images into Negeri Sembilan society, in particular, and Malaysia in general, is extensive. New attitudes and values have affected almost all areas of the people's lives but most explicitly Negeri Sembilan people's ideas and choices are increasingly shaped by values brought about by the accompanying capitalist development. This speeded up the process of the eradication of all the adat culture, except for its weak and powerless political structure and organisation. As for the rest of the adat culture, it is just the same as the other Malay culture of the Malays outside Negeri Sembilan.

Bibliography

Abdullah, Dato' Sedia Raja, 1927. "The Origin of the pawang and the Berpuar Ceremony", **Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society**, 5(2) : 309-313.

Chung Siok-Hwa, 1969, "The Rice Industry of Malaya: A Historical Survey", **Journal of the Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society**, 42(2), 130-144.

de Jong, de Josselin, P.E. 1960, A Review of Gullick's Indigenous Political systems of Western Malaya' **Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Laud-en Volkenkunde**, 116.

..... 1967, "The Participants' View of their Culture" in Jongmans, D.G. and Gutkind, P.C.W. (eds), **Anthropologists in the Fields**, Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V.

Fauve, P., 1849, "A Journey in the Menangkabau States of the Malay Peninsula", **Journal of the**

Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia, 3, 153-161.

Gray, C. 1852, "Journal of a Route Overland from Malacca to Pahang, Across the Malay Peninsula" **Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia**, 6, 369:375.

Kato, T., 1988, "Agricultural Rituals and Rice Cultivation in Negeri Sembilan: A Reconstruction from oral History, **Journal of Southeast Asian Studies**, 26(2), 109-131.

Newbold, J.T., 1837, "Account of Rumbowe, One of the States in the interior of Malacca", **Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries**, Singapore: 64-67.

Norhalim, Hj. Ibrahim, 1967, Social Change and Condition in the Matrilineal society of Rembau, Negeri Sembilan, M.A. thesis, University, of Hull.

..... 1977, Social Change in Rembau, **Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**, JO(2): 136-149

..... 1983, "Negeri Sembilan: Adat Perpatih or Adat Temenggong", **Ilmu Masyarakat**, 1.

..... 1983, "Adat Perpatih and Adat Temenggong: A Review" **SARI**, 1(2).

..... 1984, "Sistem Social Adat Perpatih Negeri Sembilan" A paper presented: **Seminar Kebangsaan Adat Perpatih dan Wilayah Budaya Negeri Sembilan**, Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, Serdang.

..... 1988, "Negeri Sembilan sebagai Identiti Socio-Budaya yang Unik" A paper presented: **Seminar Identiti Budaya Negeri Sembilan**, Seremban.

..... 1988, "Social Structure and Organisation of Adat Perpatih: A Preliminary Paper, Subang Jaya.

..... 1988, "Some Observations on the Adat and Adat Leadership in Rembau, Negeri Sembilan ", **Journal of Southeast Asian Studies**, 26(2): 150-165.

..... 1989, "The Negeri Sembilan Adat Through Time with special reference to Rembau", A paper presented at **"The Malay Seminar**, University of Kyoto, Japan.

..... 1989, "Adat Leadership Conflict in Rembau, Negeri Sembilan", A paper presented at **The JSPC-VCC Social Science Colloquim**, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi.

..... 1990, "Tanah Adat Terbiar di Zaman Pembangunan", Norazit Selat (ed.), **Negeri**

Sembilan dahulu dan sekarang, K. Lumpur: Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, 147-154.

Parr, C.W.C. and Mackray, W.H., 1910, "Rembau, One of the Nine States", **Journal of the Straits Branch of the royal Asiatic society**, 56.

Peletz, M., 1983, "A Share of the Harvest: Kinship Property and Social History Among the Malays of Rembau", Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Swift, N.G. 1965, **Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu**, London: The Athlone Press.

Taylor E.D., 1871, **The Primitive Culture**, N. York: Random House, 1976.

Tenku Iskandar, Dr., 1986 **Kamus Dewan**, K. Lumnpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Zainal Kling, 1984, "Prinsip Adat dan Pembangunan Masyarakat", A paper presented at **Seminar Kebangsaan Adat Perpatih dan Wilayah Budaya Negeri Sembilan** Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, Serdang.