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Forfatter(e) | Author(s):

Titel | Title:

Bindbetegnelse | Volume Statement:

Udgivet år og sted | Publication time and place: Copenhagen : The Royal Library, 1975-77

Fysiske størrelse | Physical extent:

Catalogue of Indonesian manuscripts.

Part 1

Copenhagen : The Royal Library, 1975-77

2 bd. :

DK

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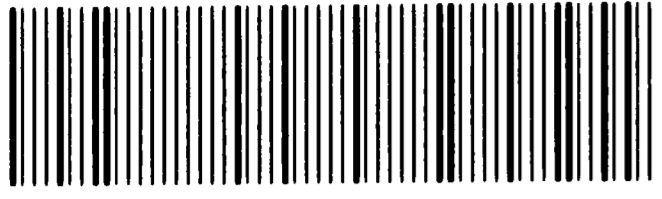
PART 1
BATAK MANUSCRIPTS

BY
P. VOORHOEVE
WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY
CARL SCHUSTER †

1975

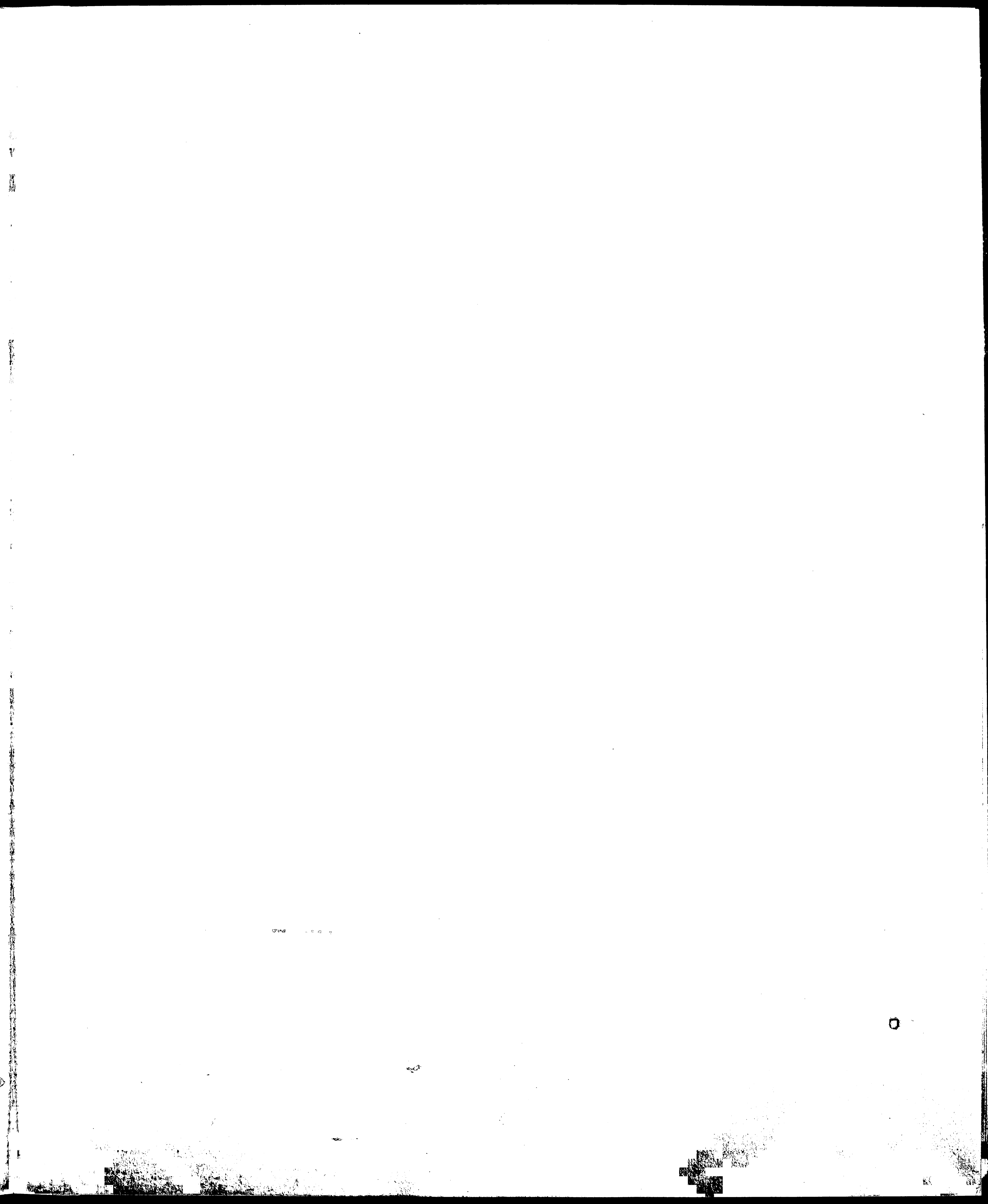
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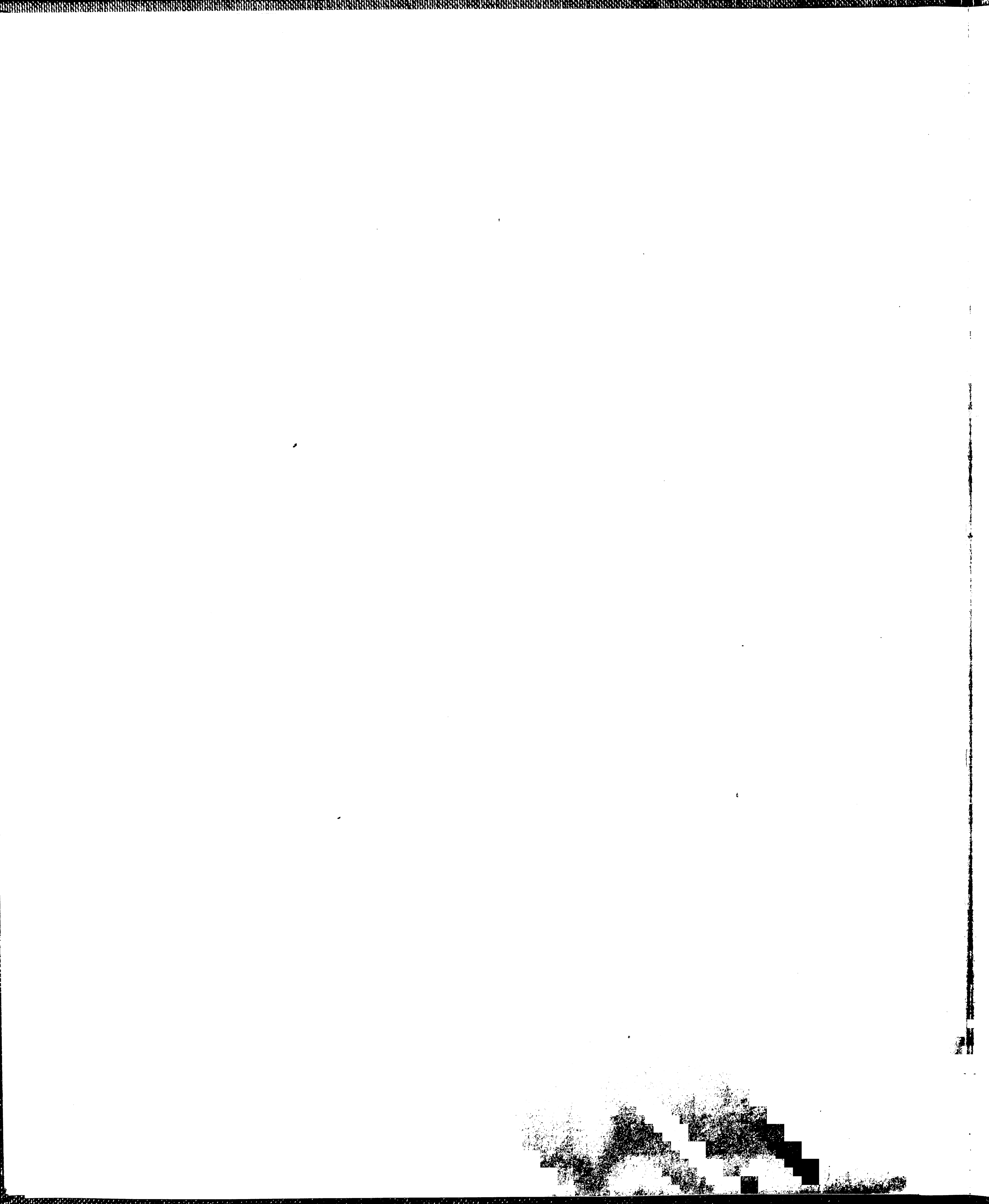
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VOL. 4 PART 1

THE ROYAL LIBRARY

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PREFACE

The fourth volume of the "Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in Danish Collections" comprises manuscripts in Indonesian languages belonging to the Royal Library and the National Museum, a few letters in the National Archives and two manuscripts in private collections. In this context 'Indonesian' does not mean the national language of the Republic of Indonesia, but the branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages to which almost all the languages spoken in Indonesia and Malaysia belong.

The royal letters preserved in the National Archives bear testimony of the connections that existed between Denmark and the Indonesian Archipelago in the 17th century. In the middle of the 19th century the Danish trader Mads Lange, who lived in the isle of Bali, sent some objects collected there as presents to the National Museum. A few fine Balinese manuscripts belong to this collection. The Royal Library preserves Mads Lange's correspondence with Balinese princes, written on palm leaves. The only Danish Orientalist to publish something on Indonesian languages and literature was Dr. Kurt Wulff, at one time librarian at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Indonesian manuscripts were never systematically collected for Danish collections, and most of the manuscripts are chance acquisitions. The fact that Batak manuscripts are the majority may be due to the circumstance that these were often bought by travellers as curiosities because of their little known script, uncommon materials such as tree bark and bone, and intriguing illustrations.

These Batak manuscripts are the subject of the present first part of volume four. The second part will comprise all the MSS. in other Indonesian languages, i.e., Malay, Javanese, Balinese and one Lampung manuscript.

The author of the catalogue of Batak manuscripts, Dr. P. Voorhoeve, has worked as a Government linguist in the Batak country in the isle of Sumatra from 1937 until the outbreak of the second world war. He was keeper of Oriental printed books and manuscripts at Leiden University Library in 1952 when the late Professor Kaare Grønbech asked him to catalogue the Batak manuscripts in Denmark. Until then only short check lists of Batak MSS. had been published, giving little more than the bare titles. Since then, Dr. Voorhoeve has also catalogued the Batak manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. This catalogue was published in 1961. A catalogue of Batak manuscripts in Germany by

Dr. L. Manik was published in 1973. Taken together these three catalogues will give a fairly complete survey of the written literature of the Batak people.

The illustrations in Batak bark books had attracted the special attention of the late Dr. Carl Schuster, who was an expert in the field of primitive design. He agreed to contribute a number of comparative observations on some Batak designs to this catalogue. He continued to work on his contribution until c. 1964. Then he planned to write a revised version of his article, but a short time before his death in 1969 he wrote to Dr. Voorhoeve that it was now impossible for him to do this but he agreed that it should be printed as it stood then, with all the additions inserted. This has been done as faithfully as possible. Dr. Schuster's observations will be found in the present volume as part two of the introduction.

This part of the catalogue could never have been realized without the constant efforts of the late Mr. L. Buschardt. His article on Mads Lange's letters in "Fund og Forskning" will be extensively quoted in part two of the present volume. For a careful revision of Dr. Voorhoeve's English idiom we are grateful to Mr. G. Schofield who has also agreed to assist in the proof-reading.

For the second part of this volume the Javanese and Balinese MSS. were described by Dr. Th. Pigeaud; the Old Javanese "Klampenborg" charters by the late Professor Dr. F. H. van Naerssen, and the Malay and Lampung MSS. by Dr. Voorhoeve. Dr. Pigeaud has also helped to arrange the descriptions of the Batak MSS. in the present first part and to make a detailed table of contents.

Copenhagen, October 1974

Palle Birkelund

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2. FIGURES

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- Fig. 27 Cretan coin with "labyrinth." Third century B.C. After Svoronos, 1890, pl. vi, AR 18 69
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- Fig. 35 Brass weight for weighing gold dust. Ashanti, Ghana (Gold Coast). After the original in Leiden, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 505/13. Size: 2.8×4.0 cm. Published: Zeller, 1912, pl. xv, fig. 400. Similar specimens are preserved in many museum collections. A fairly full discussion of the West African motive of "crossed crocodiles" is offered by Meyerowitz, 1951, p. 73f, who says, among

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- Fig. 39 Painted sherd of neolithic pottery from Tepe Giyan, Iran. About middle of the fourth millennium B.C. After Contenau and Ghirshman, 1935, pl. 43, no. 17 (text, p. 63)..... 75
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3. VIGNETTES

25 small drawings from the Karo-Batak MS. BAT. 47 have been used as vignettes in this catalogue. They represent the 12 *pormesa* (signs of the zodiac as understood by the Batak), 8 *panggorda* (animals connected with the points of the compass) and 5 *pormamis* (Hindu gods connected with the periods of the day).

Pormesa (Karo: *pěrmesa*).

1. <i>mesa</i> (Skr. <i>meṣa</i>), Aries, Karo <i>kambing</i> , goat	95
2. <i>měrsěba</i> (Skr. <i>vṛṣabha</i>), Taurus, Karo <i>kaba-kaba</i> , butterfly	99
3. <i>metuna</i> (Skr. <i>mithuna</i>), Gemini, Karo <i>gaja</i> , worm	114
4. <i>měrkata</i> (Skr. <i>karkaṭa</i>), Cancer, Karo <i>rikrik</i> , frog	120
5. <i>singa</i> (Skr. <i>siṃha</i>), Leo, Karo <i>arimo</i> , tiger	122
6. <i>kanija</i> (Skr. <i>kanyā</i>), Virgo, Karo <i>kaliki</i> , kite	131
7. <i>tula</i> (Skr. <i>tulā</i>), Libra, Karo <i>timbangěn</i> , scales	141
8. <i>dahanu</i> (Skr. <i>dhanu</i>), Sagittarius (9), Karo <i>kaju buruk</i> , rotten wood . .	145
9. <i>makara</i> (Skr. <i>makara</i>), Capricornus (10), Karo <i>gajo</i> , crab.	149
10. <i>kumba</i> (Skr. <i>kumbha</i>), Aquarius (11), Karo <i>ta(m)pajan</i> , jar	161
11. <i>měrtika</i> (Skr. <i>vṛścika</i>), Scorpio (8), Karo <i>babi(n)tang</i> , constellation . . .	165
12. <i>mena</i> (Skr. <i>mīna</i>), Pisces, Karo <i>ikan</i> , fish	168

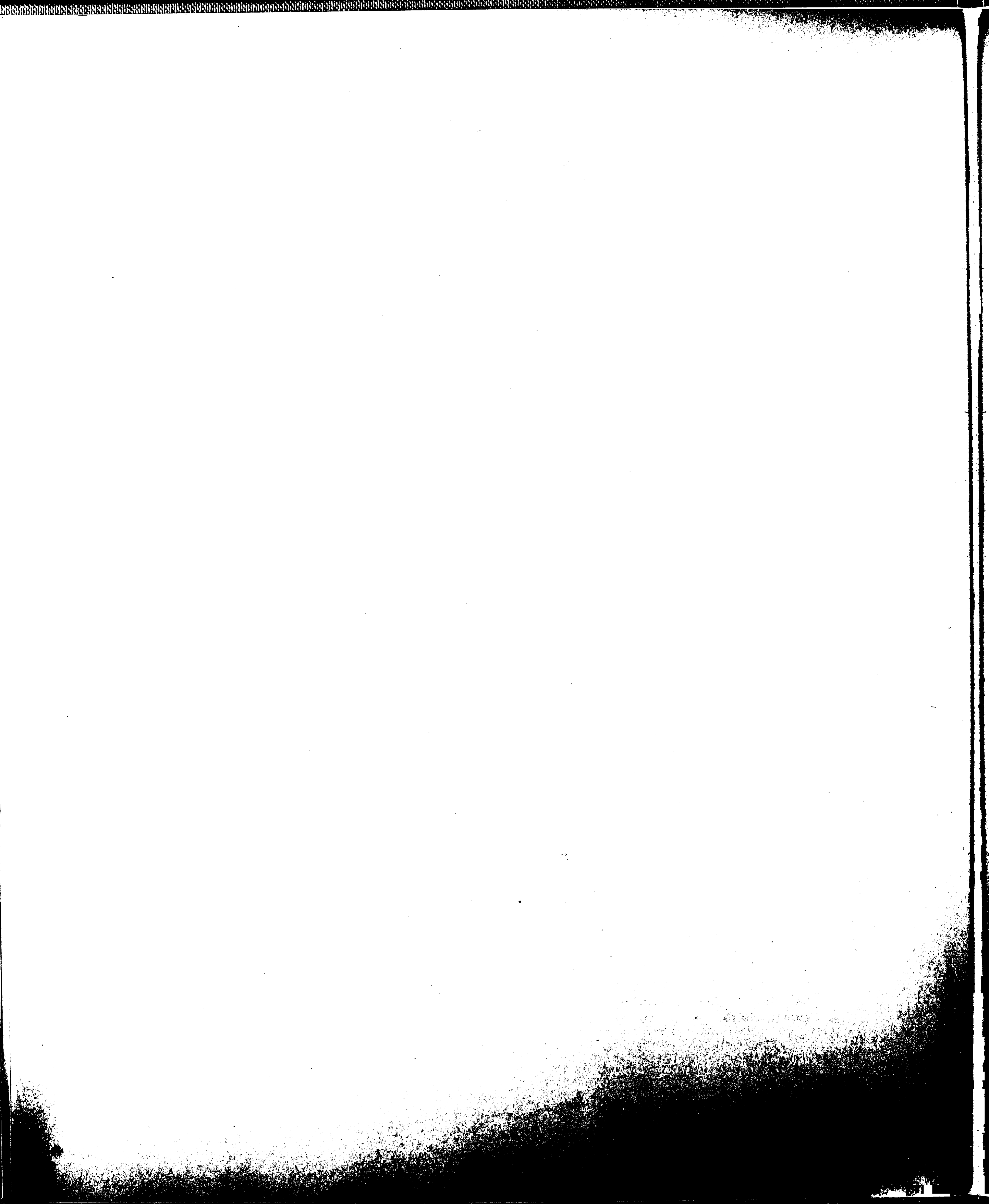
*Panggorda*¹ (Karo: *panggurdaha*).

1. <i>gurdaha</i> (Skr. <i>garuḍa</i>), Garuḍa, East, Karo <i>gěndang</i> , drum	171
2. <i>gěra</i> (Skr.), , Karo <i>manuk</i> , fowl.	174
3. <i>suwana</i> (Skr. <i>śvan</i>), Dog, South-West, Karo <i>bijang</i> , dog	179
4. <i>musika</i> (Skr. <i>mūṣika</i>), Rat, North-West, Karo <i>tikus</i> , rat	182
5. <i>sěrpa</i> (Skr. <i>sarpa</i>), Serpent, West, Karo <i>abal-abal</i> , bamboo container for salt.	188
6. <i>singa</i> (Skr. <i>siṃha</i>), Lion, South, Karo <i>arimo</i> , tiger	189
7. <i>sangbinaja</i> (Skr.), , Karo <i>api</i> , fire	192
8. <i>měrsabuwa</i> (Skr.), , Karo <i>buwaja</i> , crocodile	193

Pormamis (Karo: *pěrmamis*).

1. <i>mamis</i> (Skr. <i>Maheśvara</i>), Karo <i>kambing</i> , goat	195
2. <i>bisnu</i> (Skr. <i>Viṣṇu</i>), Karo <i>běras</i> , husked rice	197
3. <i>sěri</i> (skr. <i>Śrī</i>), Karo <i>ka(m)pil</i> , betel bag.	198
4. <i>kala</i> (Skr. <i>Kāla</i>), Karo <i>katjip-katjip gělang</i> , scorpion	201
5. <i>běрма</i> (Skr. <i>Brahmā</i>), Karo <i>pola</i> , palmwine	204

¶ ¹) The only Indian source I know for the *panggorda* is an English translation of a Tamil *śilpaśāstra* in *Indian Antiquary* vol. 5 p. 296. In Batak the order of the points of the compass is different and it remains a puzzle how to combine Batak nos. 2, 7 and 8 with Cat (skr. *mārjāra?*), South-East; Hare (Skr. *śaśa?*), North-East; and Elephant (Skr. *gaja?*), North.



PLATES

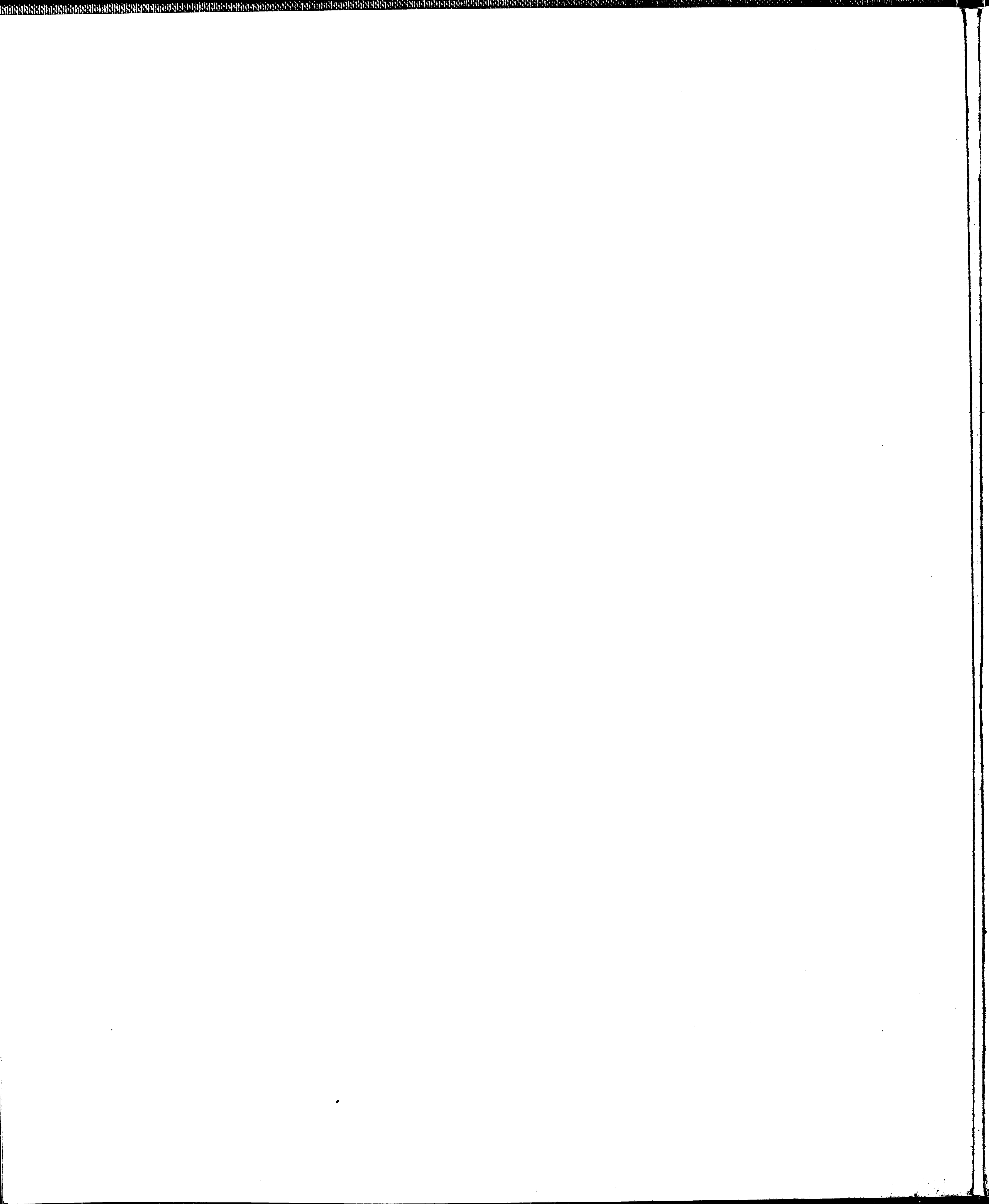




PLATE 1. Batak sorcerer drawing magic diagrams.



PLATE 2. Exorcism by means of a snake design. South India.



PLATE 3. Indian woman drawing a threshold design.

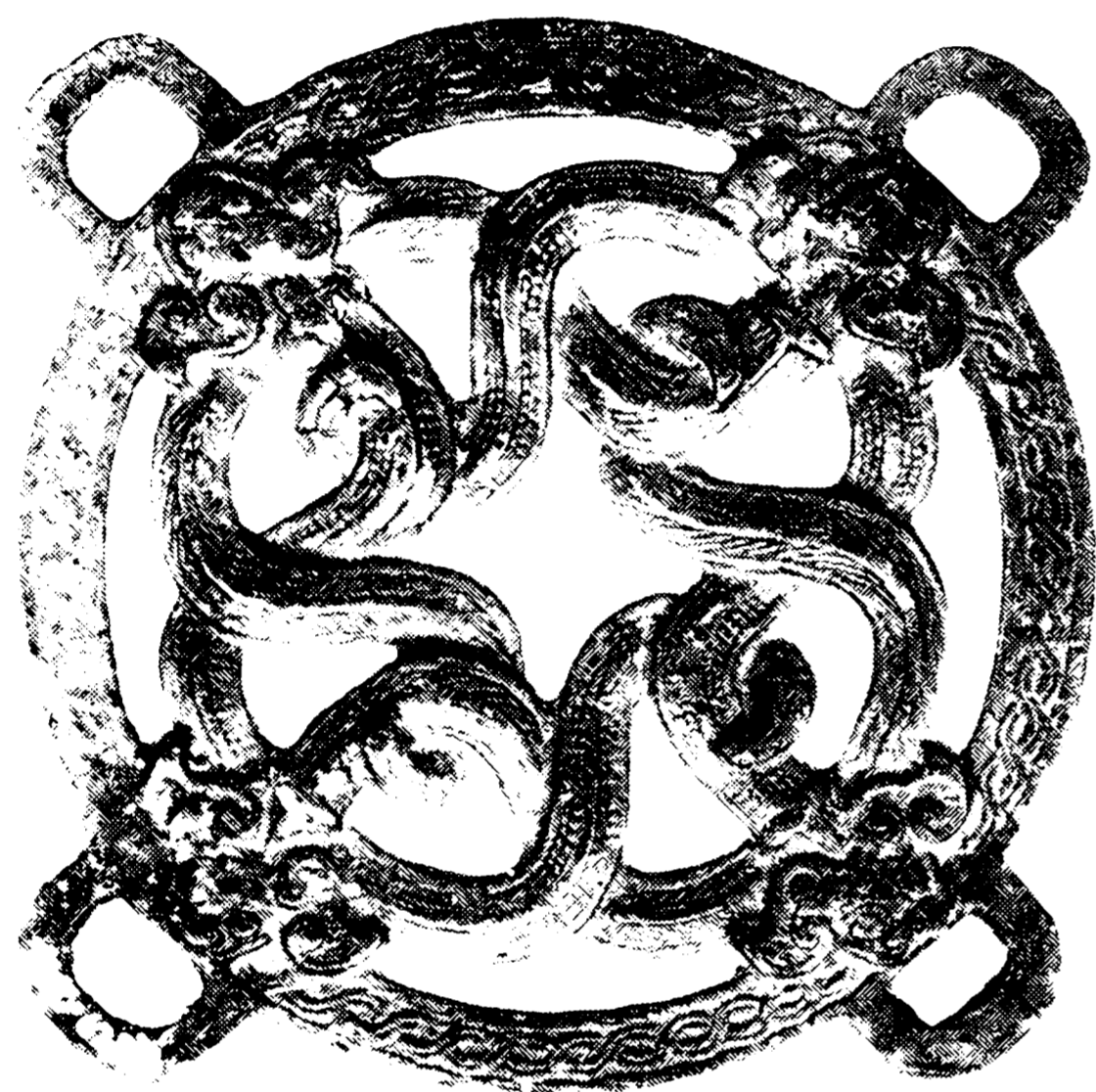
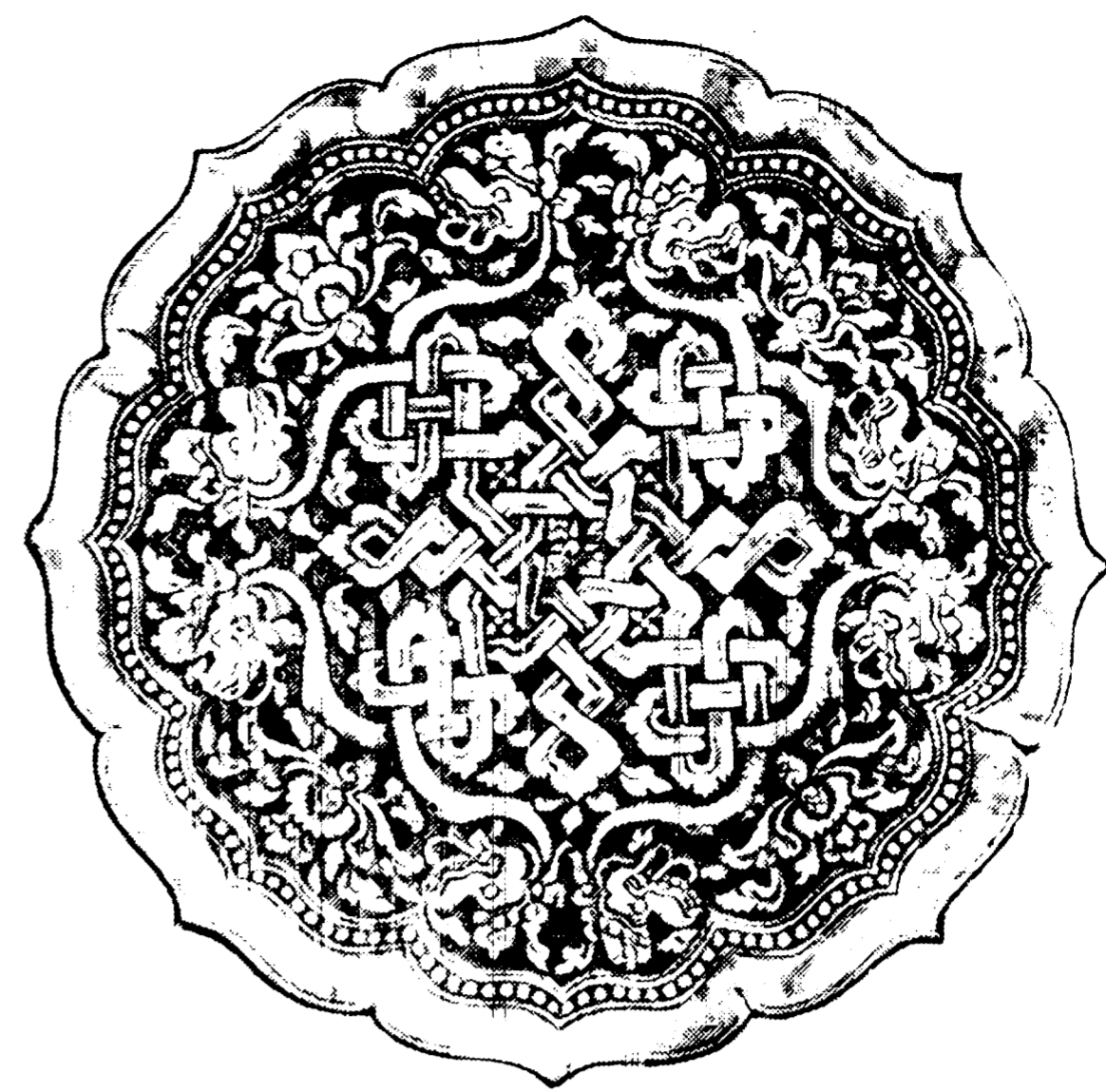
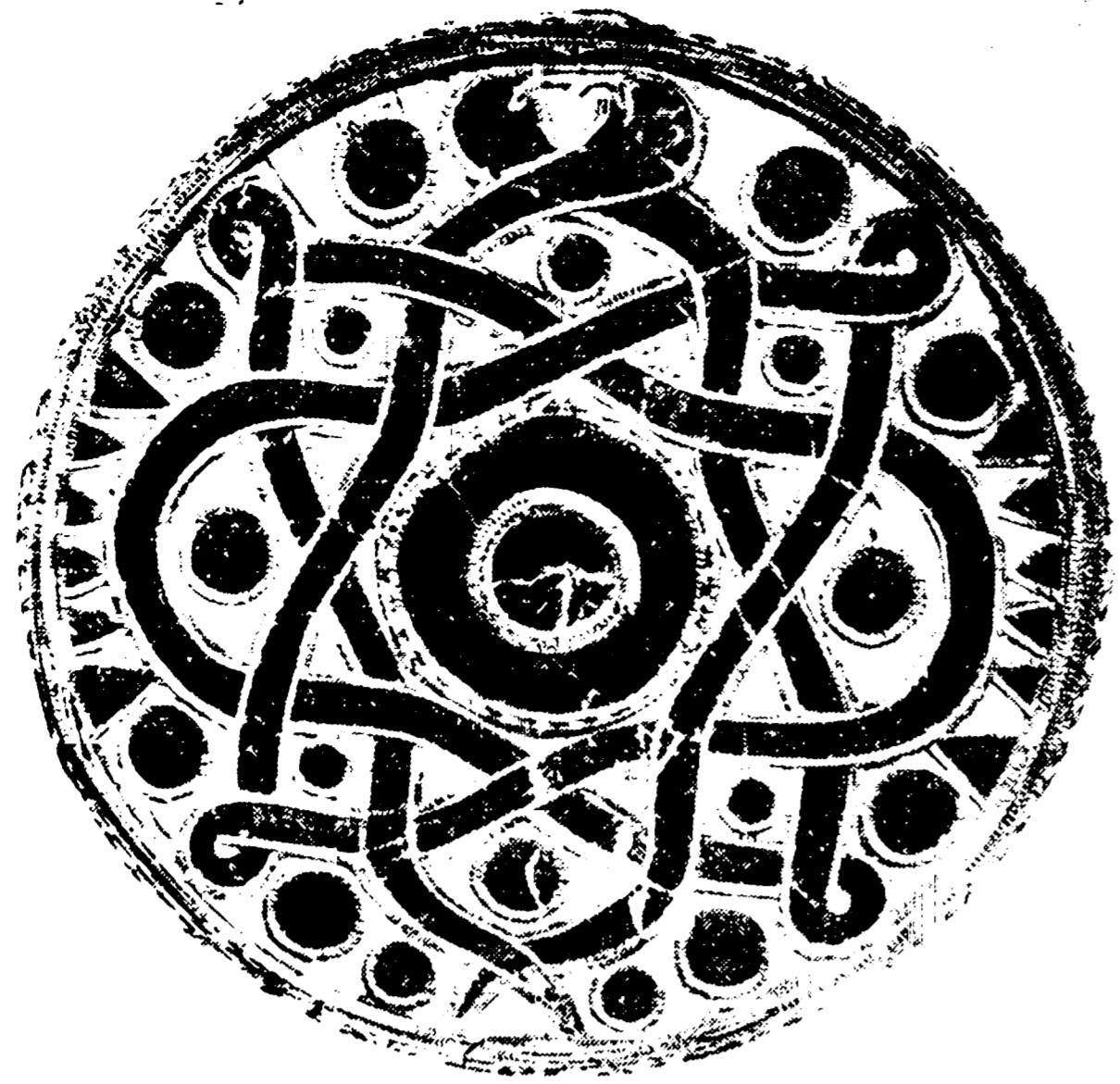


PLATE 4. Disk of palm-leaf and mica. Ceylon.

PLATE 5. Silver panel from Palembang, Sumatra.

PLATE 6. Ancient Chinese bronze plaque.



PLATE 7. "Boulder labyrinth" near Bijapur, India.



PLATE 8. Rock-carved "labyrinth", northwestern Spain. Bronze age.

PLATE 9. Boulder with incised "labyrinth", Ireland. Bronze age.



PLATE 10. "Labyrinth" cut on a vertical rock wall, Cornwall, England. Presumably bronze age.



PLATE 11. "Labyrinth" cut on a boulder, Caucasus. Presumably end of the second millennium B.C.



PLATE 12. The Great Dragon. BAT. 5.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or similar, arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines. The text is highly stylized and difficult to decipher due to the image quality and the nature of the script. The characters are small and closely spaced, with some larger characters that may serve as markers or specific symbols. The overall appearance is that of a fragment of an ancient manuscript or inscription.

PLATE 13. Specimen of writing from
BAT. 1.

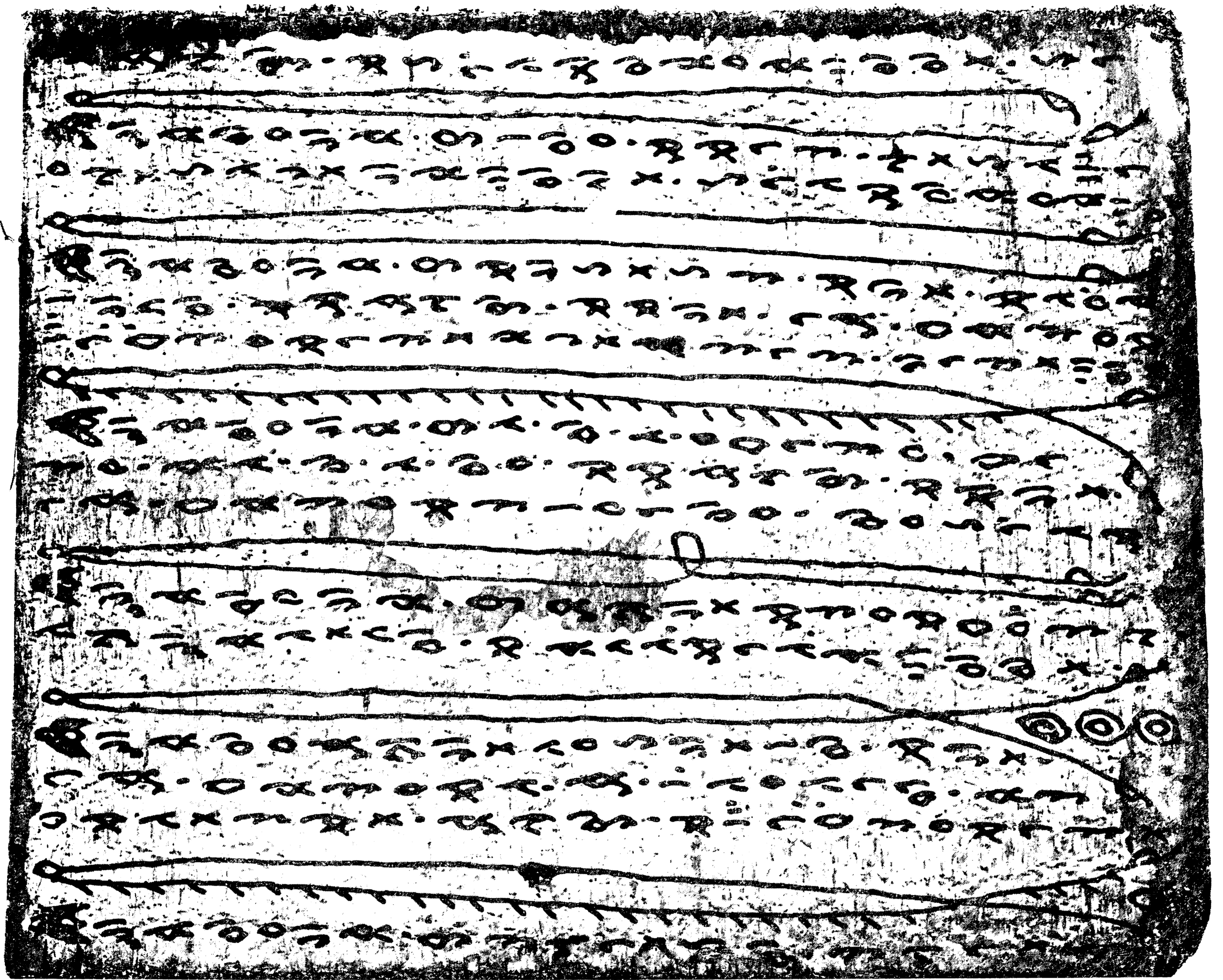


PLATE 14. The oracle string (*rambu siporhas*) in various positions. BAT. 5.

PLATE 15. The carved wooden cover of BAT. 6.

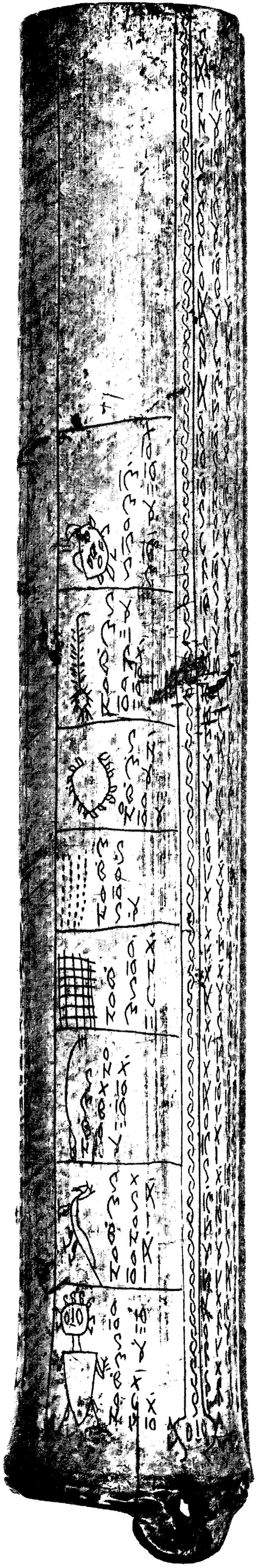


PLATE 16. Bamboo cylinder with illustrated table of *sibangua* (taboos). BAT. 60.



PLATE 17. An incendiary letter written on a bamboo cylinder. BAT. 81.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



PLATE 18. A page from a pormanuhon manuscript. BAT. 37.

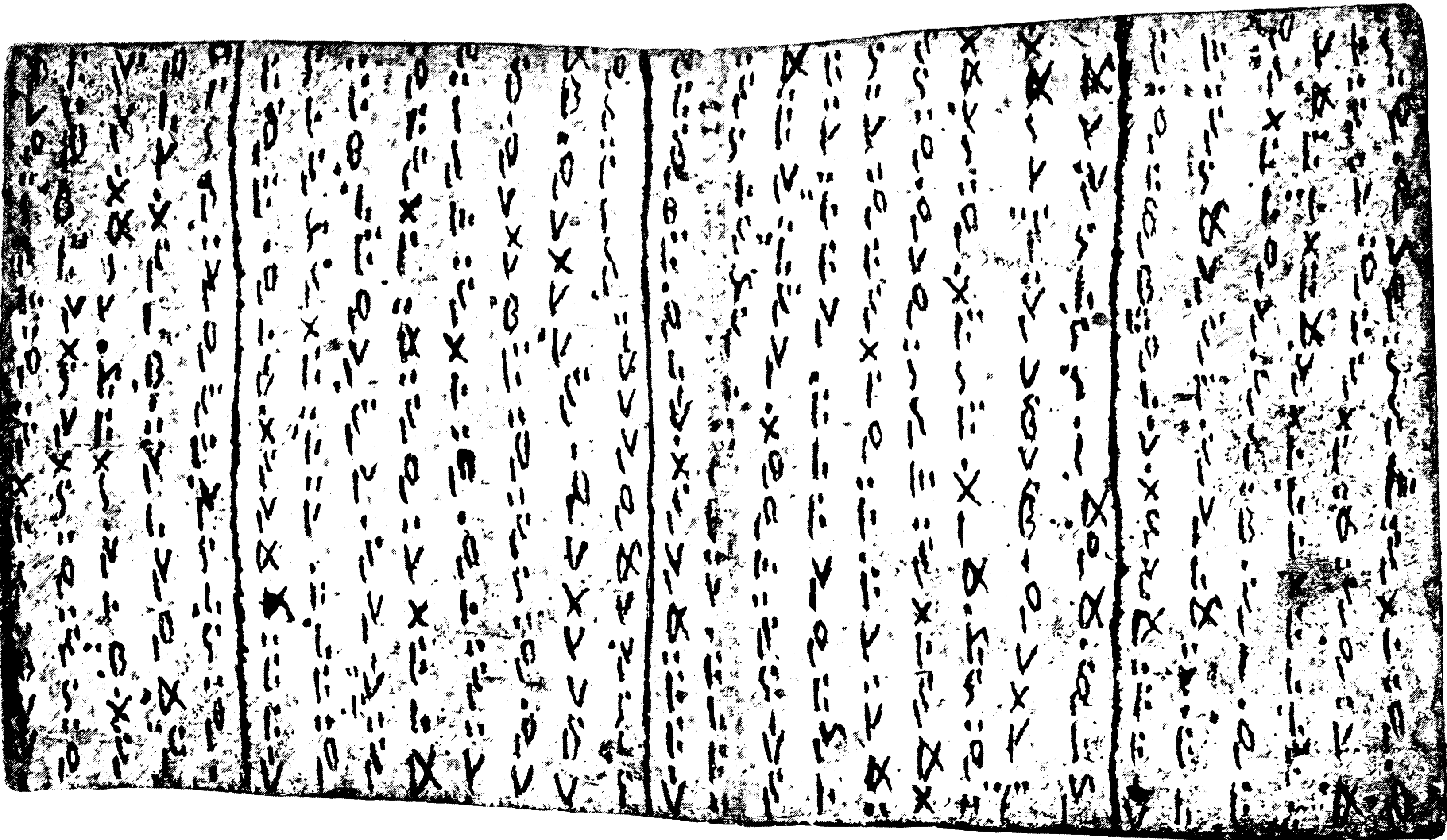


PLATE 20. A page from a palimpsest. BAT. 7.

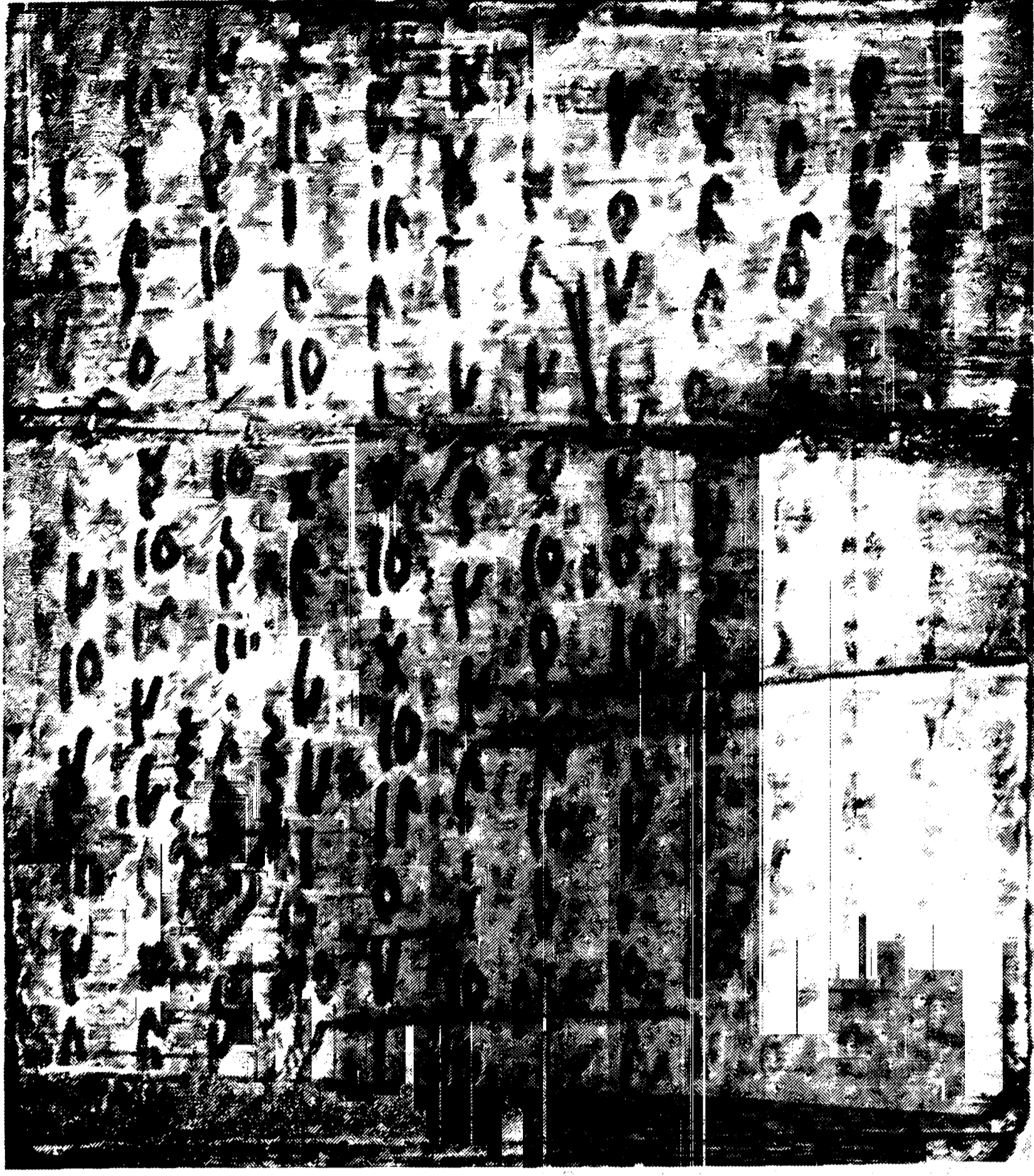


PLATE 19. A specimen of Simalungun-Batak writing. BAT. 48.

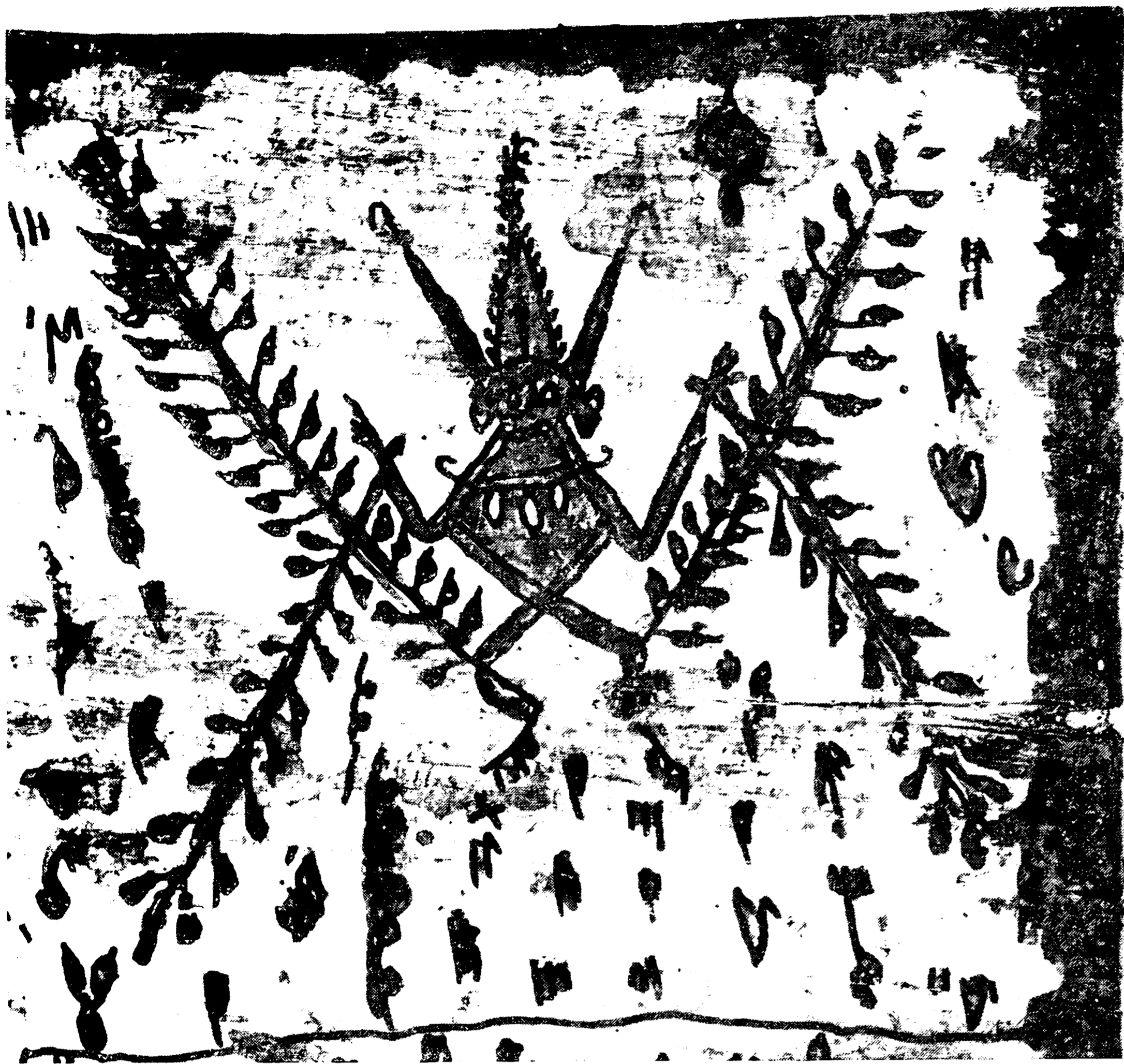


PLATE 21. An illustration from a *pangulubalang* text. BAT. 4.

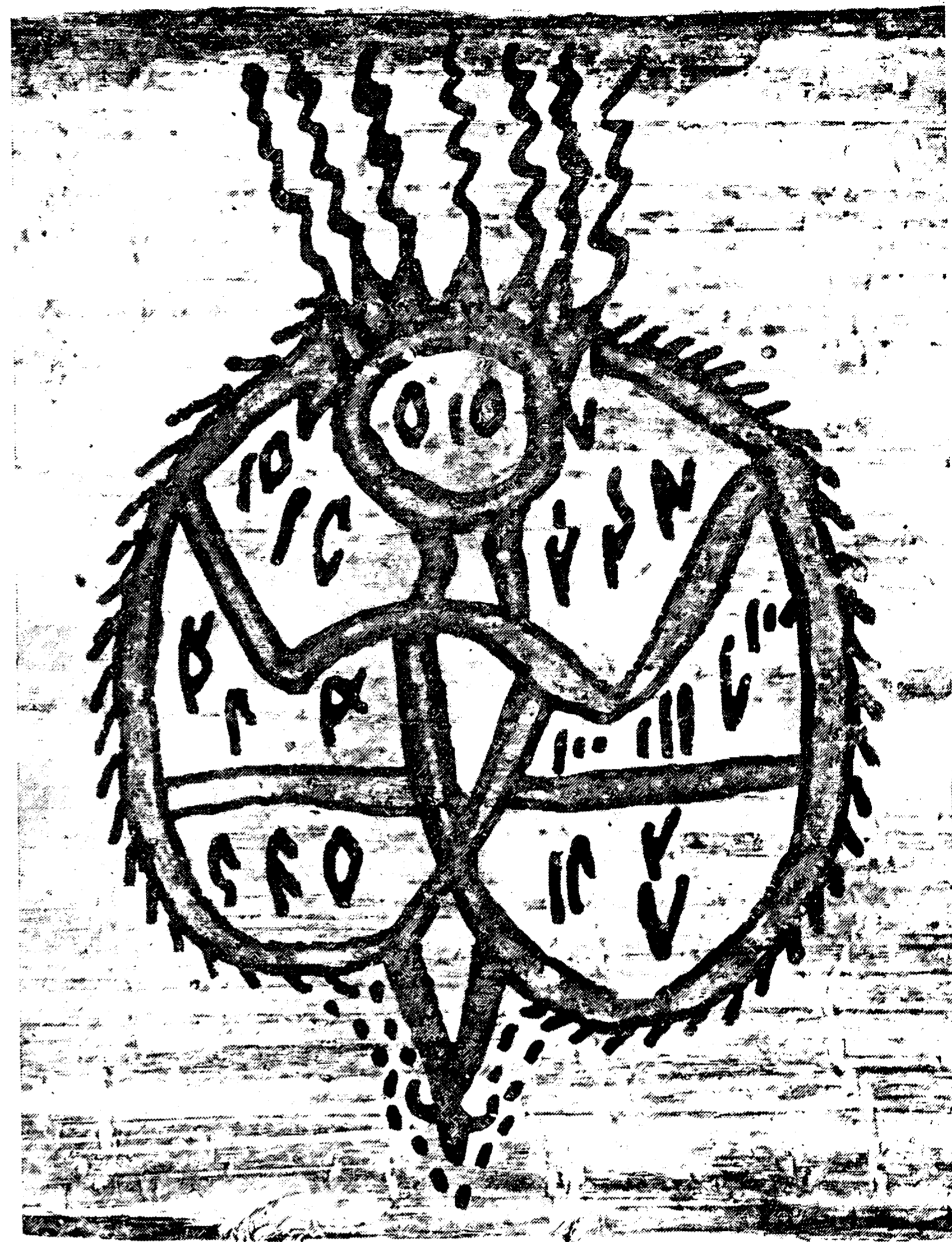


PLATE 22. The human figure used in the divination called *surat humala djolma*. BAT. 38.

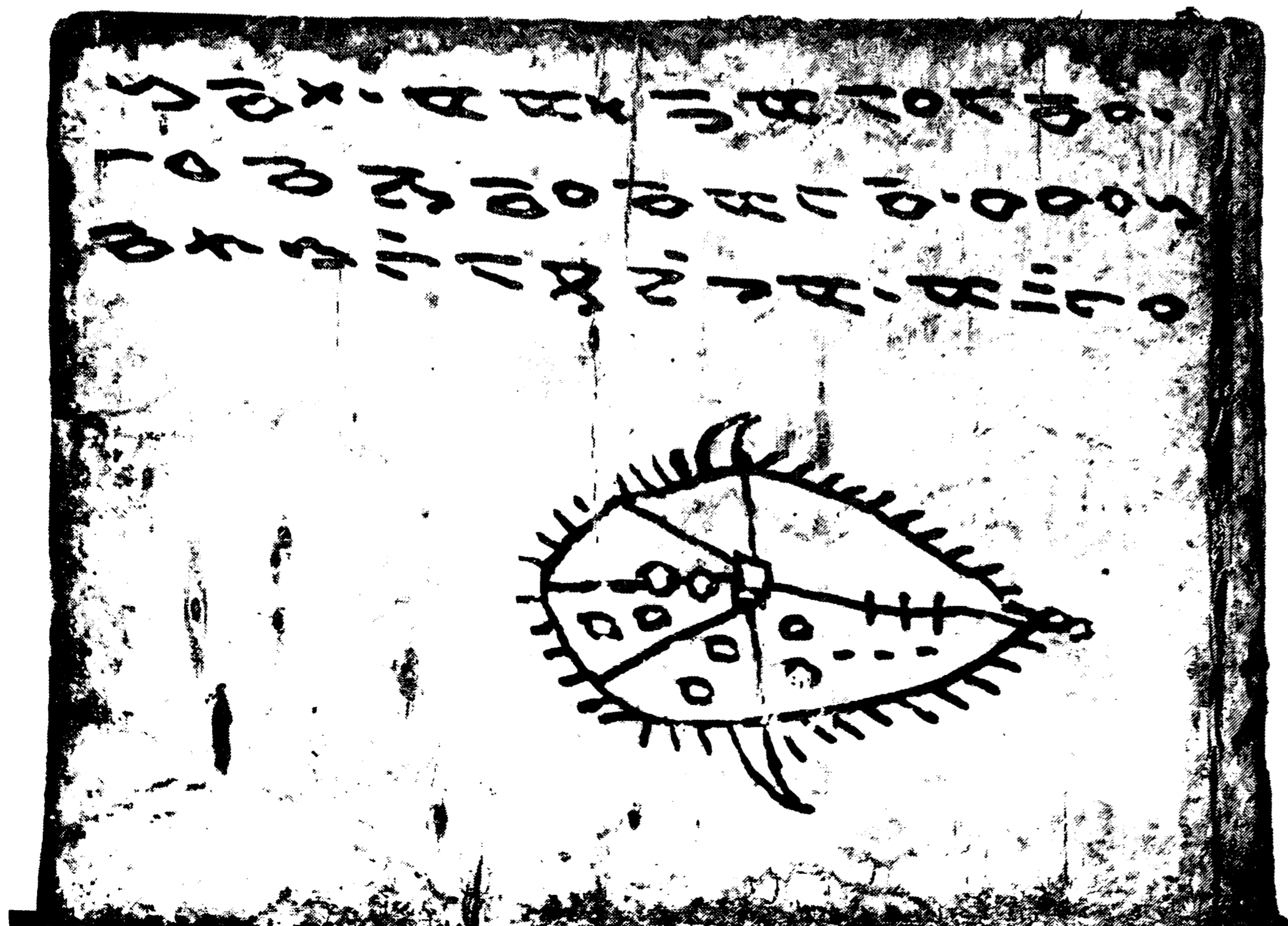


PLATE 23. End of a text on divination from the cut-off neck of a pig. BAT. 33.

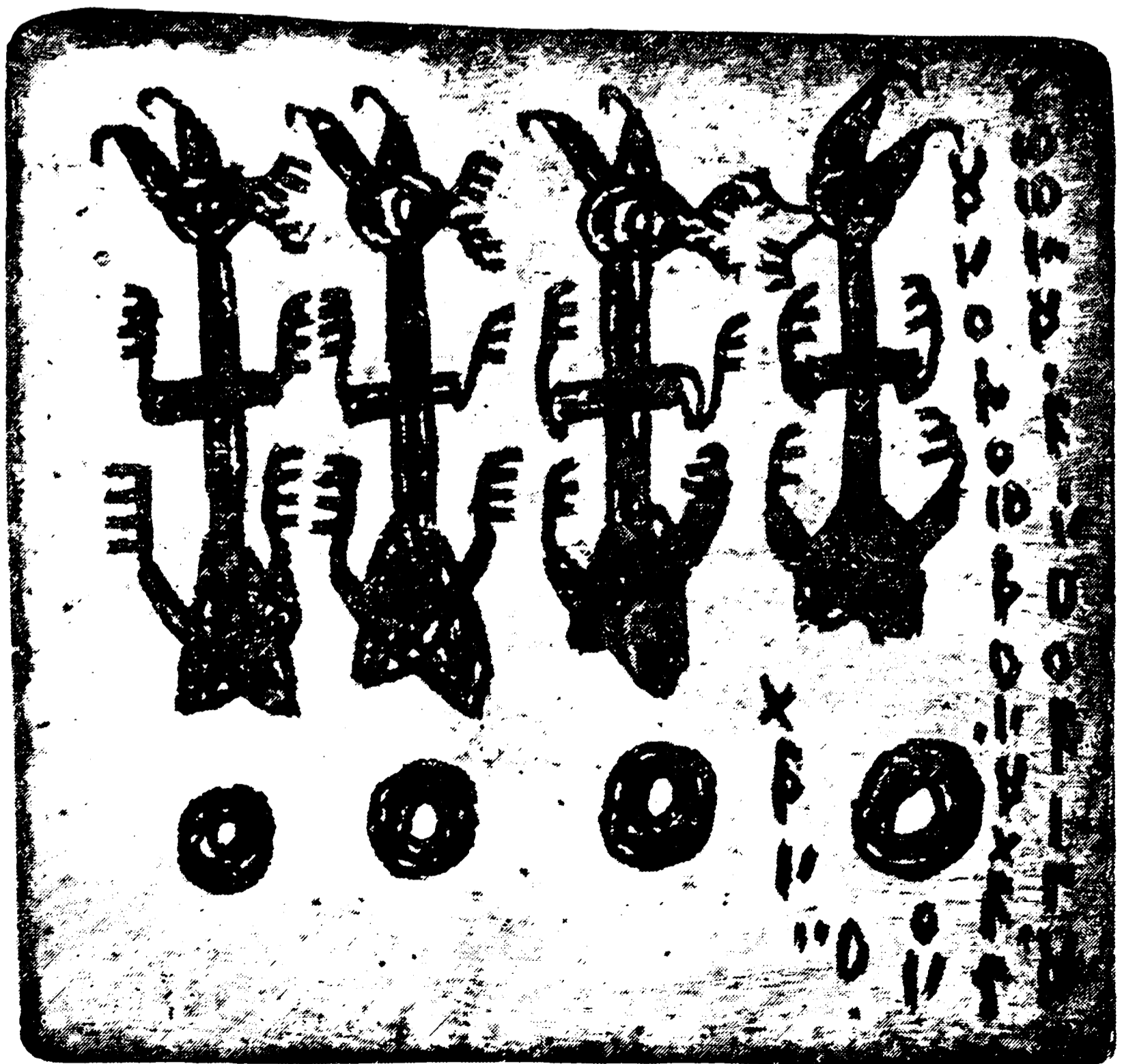
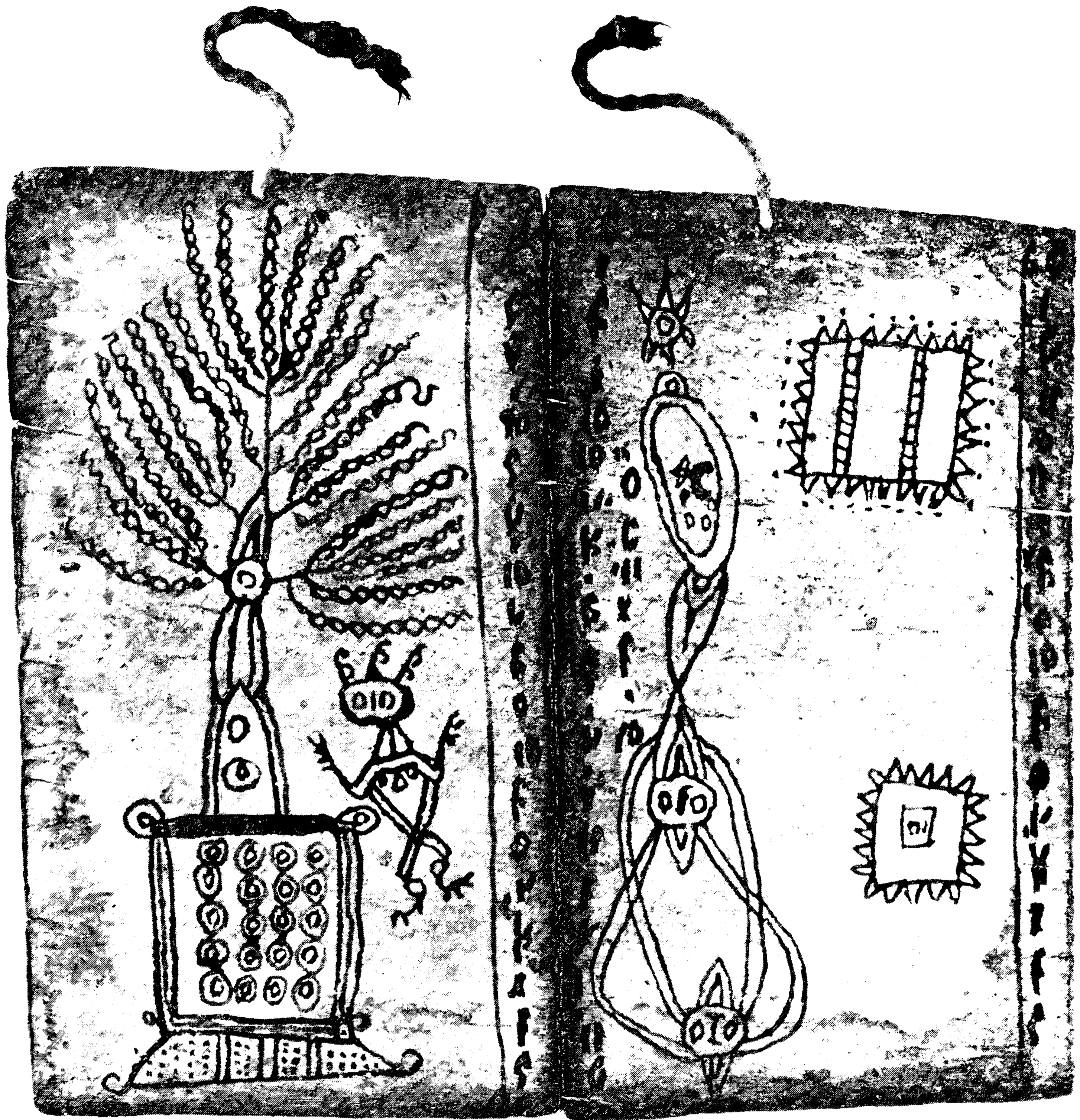


PLATE 24. Two illustrations from a Karo-Batak *tending* manuscript. BAT. 46.

PLATE 25. An illustration from a Karo-Batak *tending* manuscript. BAT. 45.



PLATE 26. The signs of the zodiac. BAT. 42.

Handwritten text in Karo-Batak script, consisting of approximately 20 lines of characters on a dark, textured background. The script is a form of the Batak family, characterized by its unique symbols and punctuation marks.

PLATE 27. A specimen of Karo-Batak writing. BAT. 71.

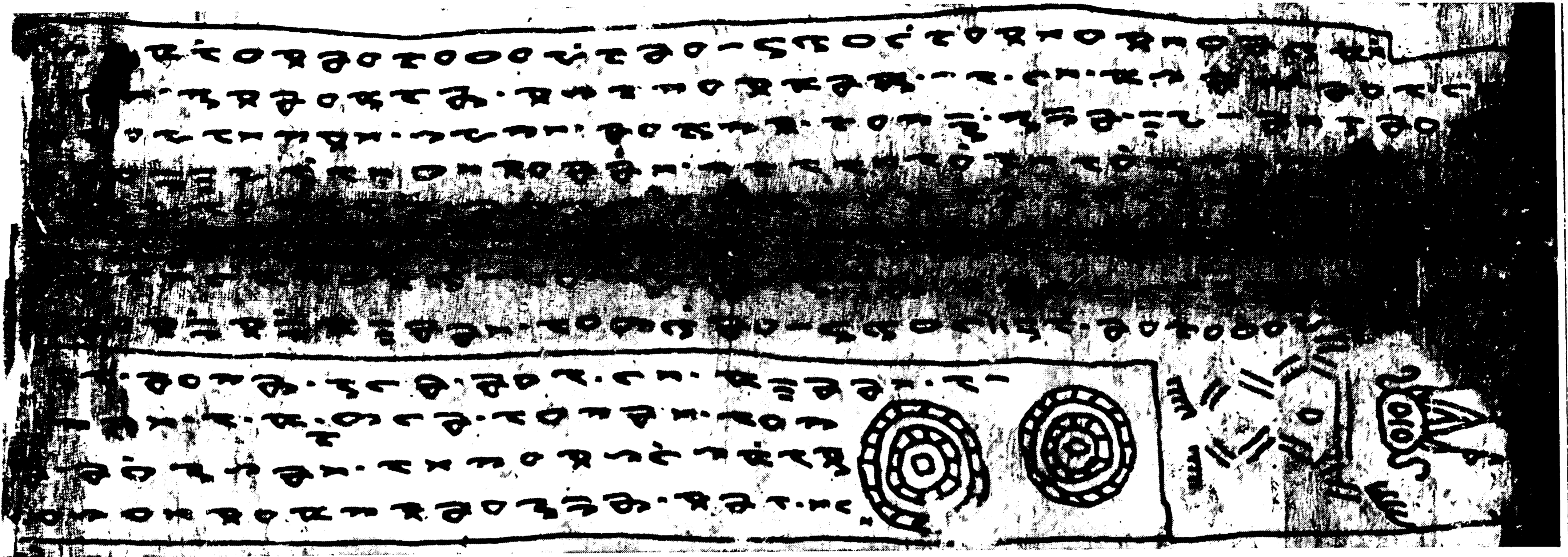


PLATE 28. One application of the *pangulubalang sitoba-toba*. BAT. 2.

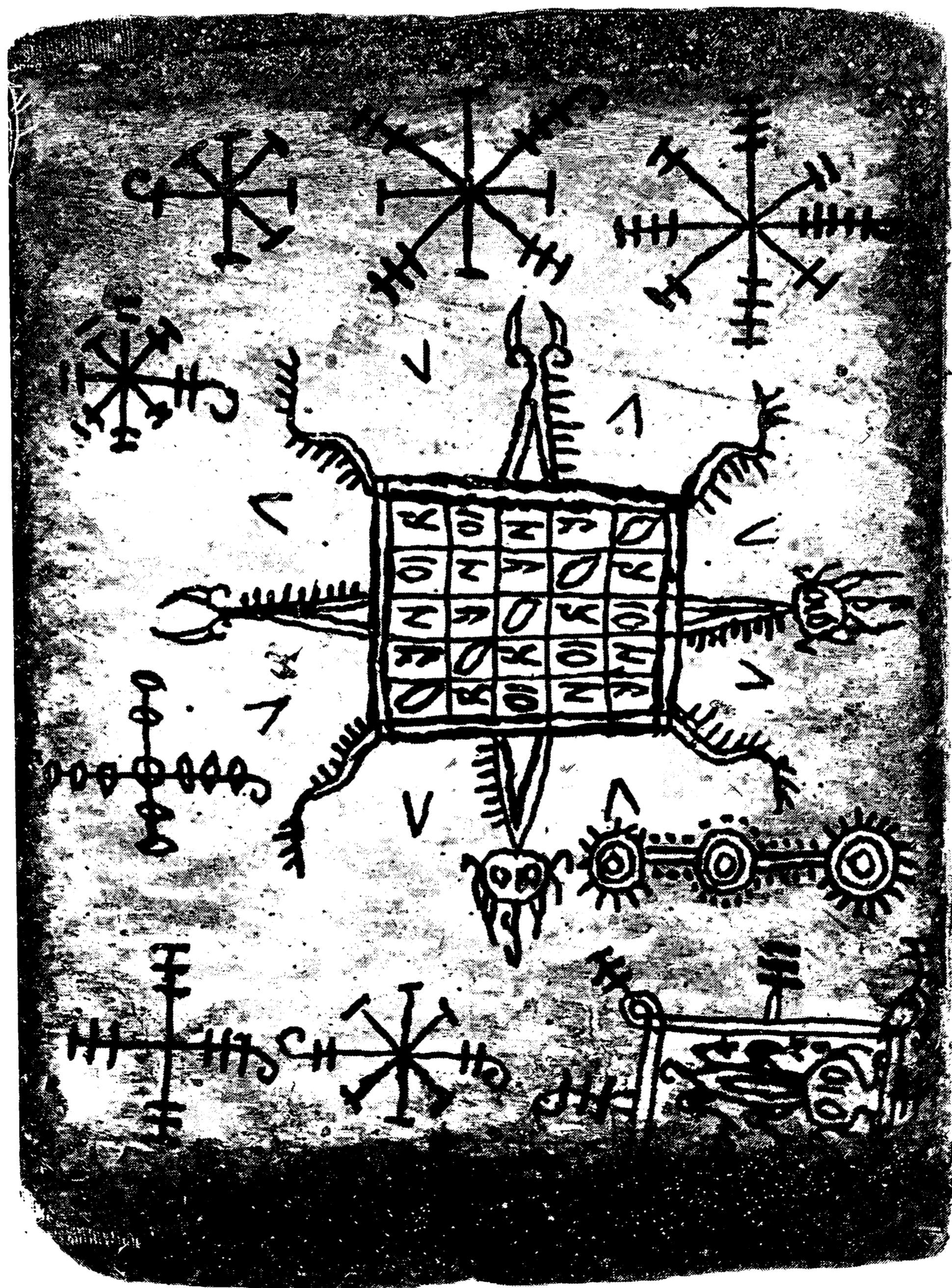


PLATE 29. Diagram of the *përmamis* and other drawings in a Karo-Batak text on divination. BAT. 47.

INTRODUCTION



SECTION ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION
BY
P. VOORHOEVE

The Batak people live in the northern half of the island of Sumatra between $1/2^{\circ}$ and $3 1/2^{\circ}$ N.lat. In the centre of the Batak territory is Lake Toba which had never been seen by a European before H. N. van der Tuuk reached its south-western shore in 1853. Van der Tuuk had been commissioned by the Netherlands Bible Society to study the Batak language. In six years (1851–1857) he collected the materials for a Batak reader (published in 1860–62), a dictionary (1861) and a grammar (1864–67). The texts published in his Batak Reader are only a small choice from those written at his request by Batak literates in their own alphabet. Most of these texts were folktales from oral tradition, then for the first time recorded in writing. But Van der Tuuk also brought to Holland a large collection of original Batak manuscripts. He donated some specimens to the museum of the society *Natura Artis Magistra* in Amsterdam (now in the Royal Institute for the Tropics), but the majority of his collection came to the Leiden University Library at his death in 1894. With a few exceptions these manuscripts were written on tree bark.

Already in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century some Batak bark books had been acquired by European museums and libraries. The catalogue of N. L. Westergaard (1846) mentions one facsimile of a Batak MS. in the Royal Library at Copenhagen and two original MSS. in the University Library, whilst the National Museum acquired its first bark book in 1850.

The subjects of the texts in the bark books are divination, magic and medicine, the 'labors of the *datu*'—as H. H. Bartlett has aptly translated the Batak word *hadatuon*. Though writing was in the first place part of the *hadatuon* it was also occasionally used for letter-writing and for writing a lover's complaints to his sweetheart. These complaints and ordinary letters were written on bamboo. The National Museum preserves some of the earliest specimens of this kind of literature in European collections, letters written by Batak chiefs to Dutch officials before 1843. Bones of animals are also used by the Batak to write upon.

A perfect bark book consists of a strip of bark of even width, well smoothed and folded accordion-wise so that it is divided into a number of leaves of about equal size. Hard wooden covers are glued to the first and last leaves; their inner sides are flat, the outsides somewhat convex. Often one of these covers is decorated with carved patterns and has two protruding tabs with holes in them (see BKI 110, the plate facing p. 340, fig. 1). The folded bark with the covers is held together by one or two plaited rattan bands. A carrying string made of the black fibres of the sugar-palm is fastened in the holes of the

carved cover with knots on the flat side of the cover. The rattan bands can be slipped off the book to both sides but they cannot be altogether removed as they remain threaded on the string (See no. 17 on the plate facing p. 177 in: J. Winkler, *Die Toba-Batak*). The lines of writing are parallel to the folds of the bark. Before writing the bark is blind-ruled. Usually the text begins at the end of the bark where the plain cover without holes is. The first page, whose back is glued to the cover, is often left blank. At the beginning of the text there is an elaborate *bindu* (decorative chapter heading); somewhat less elaborate designs are found at the beginnings of new chapters, and small *bindus* mark the beginnings of paragraphs. In some manuscripts the edges of the bark have a narrow decorative border. The text extends over the pages of one side of the bark until the other end is reached, and from this end it is continued in the opposite direction on the other side of the strip of bark. In this catalogue the first side will be called a and the second side b; the pages on each side will be numbered: a 1, 2, 3, etc.... b 1, 2, 3, etc., including the first and last pages that are glued to the covers. Thus, in a MS. of 30 leaves, the reverse of page a 1 is b 30, the reverse of a 2 is b 29, etc.

The best kind of bark for writing is that of *Aquilaria malaccensis* (Batak *alim*); the bark of some other trees may be used as a substitute. In Assam, the bark of a closely related tree, *Aquilaria agallocha*, is used for writing. An interesting description of the manner of preparing this bark was published by E. A. Gait in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXIII, part I, 1895, p. 109. J. Filliozat (*L'agalloche et les manuscrits sur bois dans l'Inde et les pays de civilisation indienne*, in: *Journal Asiatique*, 246 (1958), pp. 85–93) insists on calling this material 'wood' (French 'bois') because it is the 'liber', not the 'écorce' of the tree. It is indeed the smooth inner bark or bast, not the uneven outer bark or rind.

The Batak use a thick coal-black ink and a pen made of the sticks found in the fibre of the sugar-palm (Batak *tarugi*). Many Batak books are illustrated. These illustrations are drawn with the pen with black ink and sometimes enlivened with red paint, mostly used to fill in the spaces between the black lines or to double these lines. In the same manner red paint is used in the *bindus*.

The Batak name for a bark book is *pustaha* (southern dialects) or *pustaka* (northern dialects), a Sanskrit word. In Simalungun the books are mostly called *laklak*, bark. In the text the book is often called *lo pian* (Toba-Batak), *lapihin* (Dairi-Batak). This is an old Javanese word, *lěpihan*. According to S. O. Robson (*Wangbang Wideya*, 1971, p. 39) it can be interpreted as a folded book, perhaps of bark. One folded book from Java is in the Leiden University Library (Cod. Or. 11092); Pigeaud (*Literature of Java*, II, p. 709) calls the material on which it is written 'treebark paper'. The Batak seldom use treebark paper (i. e. bark softened by beating, the *tapa* of the Pacific islands) for their books; almost all their *pustahas* are written on stiff, unbeaten bark.

Most *pustahas* do not conform to the 'ideal' description given above. Not only have many specimens in European collections suffered damage by wear and tear, but even well-preserved books often consist simply of a folded strip of bark without covers, written and eventually illustrated with black ink only.

In the Batak language there is a great variety of dialects. They can be divided into a northern group comprising Dairi-Batak, Karo-Batak and Alas; a southern group comprising Toba-, Angkola- and Mandailing-Batak; and Simalungun-Batak as an intermediate group. The main differences in the phonemic system are that original *ě* has been preserved in northern Batak, whereas it became *o* in

southern Batak and Simalungun. Original *k* became *h* in some positions according to fixed rules in southern Batak and Simalungun, whilst northern Batak always has *k*. Original final *-h* is preserved in northern Batak and Simalungun; it is lost in the southern Batak dialects.

In the bark books, however, a certain uniformity prevails, not only in the subject matter, but also in the language. I have called this uniform literary dialect *poda*-language, i. e. the language of *poda* (instructions). Some of its conventions are followed by almost every copyist, e. g. the use of *di* as a preposition in preference to the northern Batak and Simalungun *i*. Often some characteristic words or some particular spelling may reveal the writer's dialect, but in many cases it is impossible to ascertain the origin of a MS. by means of its language.

The same alphabet is used throughout the Batak territory with some minor variations. It is a syllabic script, closely akin to the South-Sumatran scripts, and ultimately of Indian origin. Its use is explained in Van der Tuuk's grammar (*Tobasche Spraakkunst* p. 1 (Toba), 25 (Mandailing) and 32 (Dairi); English translation: *A Grammar of Toba Batak*, p. 3, 25 and 31). The Batak fount of type used in the grammar was designed for Van der Tuuk's publications in imitation of the script used in bark books. Afterwards a few signs were added to this fount in order to make it fit for printing Karo-Batak. This adapted type was used in M. Joustra's dictionary (*Karo-Bataksch Woordenboek*, 1907) and in a reader printed in Holland (G. Smit, *Soerat ogēn*, 1916). Another fount of type for the Mandailing dialect only was used to print Batak school readers in Batavia. In Simalungun a somewhat different kind of script is often used. Its main characteristic is that many characters appear to be dissolved into loose strokes of the pen. MS. BAT. 48 is written in this style (see Plate 19). For particularities of writing that differ from the printed types the reader is referred to the facsimiles in this catalogue and in the catalogue of the Chester Beatty collection (P. Voorhoeve, *A Catalogue of the Batak Manuscripts*, Dublin 1961).

In Van der Tuuk's Batak type two different forms of *ta* are used, one for Mandailing and Toba Batak, another one for Dairi. In Toba and Simalungun bark books both forms occur. In our description of the MSS. we shall call Van der Tuuk's Mandailing/Toba form the southern *ta*, Van der Tuuk's Dairi form the northern *ta*.

For *na* Van der Tuuk uses two different types, one for Toba- and Dairi-Batak and one for Mandailing. The Toba *na* is a horizontal stroke of the pen with a loose oval underneath; the Mandailing one a convex stroke with the oval attached to it at the right side. In the bark books one sometimes finds a third form, in which a loop takes the place of the oval, with one end attached to the horizontal stroke and the other end protruding to the right. This form we shall call the 'old' *na*, because it is very similar to an old Javanese form of the letter. This does not mean that a pustaha in which it occurs is always very old. Its use is not restricted to any particular area.

In transliteration I have used the Dutch/Indonesian system of spelling Malay, except for the indistinct vowel (often called *pěpět* after the sign used for it in Javanese script) which I have rendered *e* in Malay and *ě* in Batak. The Batak alphabet, in the order used in Karo and Simalungun, is transliterated: *ha, ka, ba, pa, na, wa, ga, dja* (Eng. j), *da, ra, ma, ta, sa, ja* (Eng. y), *nga, la, i, u, nja* (Eng. ny).

Comparison with other Indonesian scripts clearly shows that the original value of the first letter of the Batak alphabet is *ha*, but now the pronunciation in southern Batak is always *a* (or, when it is accom-

panied by a vowel sign, *e*, *i*, *o* or *u*), and in northern Batak and Simalungun *a* or *ha* according to its position. My transliteration follows the actual pronunciation of these dialects.

The original value of the second letter is *ka*, and so it is always pronounced in northern Batak. In Toba-Batak it is pronounced *ha* at the beginning of a word and between two vowels. My transliteration follows the conventions that have in the course of time been developed for the printing of southern and Simalungun Batak texts in Latin characters.

A special difficulty in transliteration is caused by the use of the sign *sihora* (Toba) or *sikurûn* (Karo) in the spelling of Karo-Batak bark books. It has the shape of a small cross. Originally it was used for *ě* (e.g. in the Lampung script) but with the general shift of *ě* to *o* in southern Batak, its pronunciation became *o*, and it was also used for an original *o* (e.g. Toba *horbo*, buffalo, with *sihora* in both syllables, Karo *kěrbo*). In southern Batak, another sign, called *haborotan*, is used for *u*; it is written under the consonant or joined to it on the right side. In Dairi-Batak, a northern dialect, this sign (*kěběřětěn*) means *u* when written under the consonant, but *ě* when it is written above the consonant. Karo-Batak bark books too use one sign for both *ě* and *u*, but they use *sikurûn*, which is always written after the consonant. Moreover, though Karo-Batak has a special sign for *o* (*kětolongěn*), some copyists slavishly following a model in *poda*-language use *sikurûn* for *o* as well. In the Dublin catalogue I have transliterated every *sikurûn* by *o*. This system is consistent, but takes no heed of the actual Karo-Batak pronunciation. In this catalogue I have followed the pronunciation as far as I know it, but in some cases I could not make a choice between *ě* and *u*, because I had not heard the text read aloud by a Karo-Batak expert. In these cases I have transliterated *sikurûn* by *x*, e.g. *inxn*, a pronoun that is only used in *poda*-language and never in ordinary spoken Karo-Batak.

For an excellent survey of the subject matter of Batak *hadatuon* the reader is referred to Dr. Joh. Winkler's book *Die Toba-Batak auf Sumatra in gesunden und kranken Tagen* (1925). Here I shall only make some remarks on the subjects represented in the Copenhagen collections.

Life in the pre-colonial Batak society was an endless war against human and spiritual enemies. Health and prosperity were always endangered by deities, ghosts and spirits that should be placated by offerings or frightened into submission by magical means. Possessions and life itself were subject to attacks by human robbers and rivals who used magical as well as physical methods and had to be counteracted in the same manner. The absence of large political units caused a succession of petty wars. The main constructive forces in this society were a keen sense of kinship relations, a system of communal religious ceremonies and markets held under truce of God, and a certain respect for the authority of Si Singamangaradja, the "Holy King" at Bangkara.

The most powerful ally in this warfare was the *pangulubalang*, a ghost made subservient to a *datu* and his employer, and residing in a strong magical preparation (*sihat*) that could be used to make various aggressive magical devices effective. The ghost acts as a champion (*ulubalang*) in magical warfare: it manifests itself in various deities (*debata*) bearing ill-boding names and each represented by some magical design. According to Ph. L. Tobing's theory, the *pangulubalang* is the manifestation in the middle world of the all-pervading High God (*The Structure of the Toba-Batak belief in the High God*, 1956).

about whom B. Hagen had remarked as early as 1882: 'Debata ist zugleich der Inbegriff des Weltalls.' (TBG 28, p. 506).

The Copenhagen collections include three long texts on *pangulubalang*, two of them fully illustrated. In a sense, the art of shooting with a gun (*tembak*, MS. BAT. 12) also belongs to aggressive magic.

Among protective magical devices *pagar* is the most important. For protection in war one also uses amulets (*porsimboraon*, *adjimat*) and formulae insuring invulnerability (*hobal*, Karo *kěbal*), whilst the crops on the fields and other possessions may be protected against thieves by *songon* and *pohung*.

The methods of divination used by the Batak *datu* are numerous; some are simple, and some extremely complicated. The texts on this subject found in the Copenhagen collections greatly vary in length. There are elaborate lists of omens observed at the great buffalo offering (*porbuhitan*) and the offering of a pig or a dog (*adjipajung*), on two methods of divination by means of a cock or a hen (*pormanuhon*), and on the oracle strings called *rambu siporhas*. Astrological predictions fill much space in the bark books. We shall pay special attention to the lists of days called *ari rodjang*. The National Museum has some bamboos inscribed with the Batak calendar (*porhalaan*) and two bark books that have been specially prepared to serve as instruments of divination (*tondung*, Karo *těndung*) by means of illustrations and pieces of thread fixed to one edge of the bark.

Though the National Museum has some shoulder-blades of animals in its Batak collection, it seems that these served mainly as amulets and were not used for 'scapulimancy', i. e. divination through the appearance of the shoulder-blade of an animal, which may or may not have been subjected to scorching. The following quotation from C. R. Bawden's article 'On the practice of scapulimancy among the Mongols' (*Central Asiatic Journal*, IV (1958/59), p. 1)—describing some texts from the Grønbech collection in the Royal Library, Copenhagen—might, however, also apply to the Batak literature of divination:

"From the number of texts on the subject which are to be found in European collections . . . , divination, the addiction to astrological calculations and the observance of omens of all sorts seem to have played, and perhaps still play, an important role in everyday life . . . From literary evidence, these various practices would seem to be susceptible of covering every aspect of activity of daily life, though it is doubtful to what extent all the manifold prescriptions and prohibitions . . . can actually have been observed. Taken together they would tend to make ordinary life quite impossible to lead, and perhaps we should conclude that they constitute a body of information from which individual items might be drawn as needed for the most important events of life as, for example, marriage. That all the prescriptions concerning the days when the various parts of a house may be built, . . . journeys . . . undertaken and so on were conscientiously observed is difficult to credit. . . One finds also that all sorts of natural and personal phenomena are classed as omens—clouds, . . . rainbow, lightning and so on may have significance, as may the . . . howling of dogs, twittering of sparrows . . . and so on."

The last-mentioned class of omens is known as *parombunan* (from clouds) and *pormunian* (from natural phenomena) with the Batak.

Though the possibility that some methods of divination may have been practised in Indonesia since prehistoric times cannot be excluded, it seems probable to me that the immediate origin of the divination of literate peoples such as the Malays and the Batak should be looked for in the country whence they

got their writing, i. e. in India. In cases where there is a striking similarity between Indonesian and Mongolian technics, India may be the missing link. If no exact parallels are found in Indian literature or present day use this may be due to our lack of knowledge of the popular undercurrent of Indian culture, or practices that have subsisted in the marginal regions of Indian influence may have vanished in India itself. Dr. Schuster's observations on some Batak designs point in this direction. Another instance is the calendar of the Batak and the Achehnese, that has not been traced in a Sanskrit work, but must still be of Indian origin as it is mentioned by Baldaeus (*Afgoderye*, ed. A. J. de Jong, 1917, pp. 46 and 196). Divination through the motion of the Great Dragon (Malay *naga besar*, Batak *Pane na bolon*) is mentioned in a Sinhalese manual for house-building (BKI 113, p. 291), and the Batak *pang-gorda* (eight animals for the eight points of the compass) in a Sanskrit Śilpaśāstra (*Indian Antiquary* 5, p. 296).

Many Batak texts on divination begin with an enumeration of the purposes for which the oracle may be consulted, and often one of these is to predict the event of an illness or to find out its cause. An anticipated fatal event may sometimes be evaded through some ceremony, such as the giving of a substitute (*porsili*) to the spirits, the averting of evil influences by various ceremonies (*mangulak*, *manabari*), or the counteracting of inimical magic or poison by a magical medicine (*tawar*). This does not mean that the *datu* always resorts to magical means only. He also disposes of a fairly wide knowledge of folk-medicine, and prescriptions for medicines (*tambar*) against asthma, worms, the stone, etc. are to be found in the Copenhagen manuscripts.

As mentioned above, some of the bamboo manuscripts are letters. There are also two incendiary letters and a number of complaints from unhappy lovers.

Mention should be made here of three texts of special interest. These are:

1. a Karo-Batak mythological tale on the origin of a ghost called *sirudang gara* (MS. BAT. 1). As far as I know this text is quite unique. It is to be regretted that it is so obscure that even a summary of its contents cannot be given with absolute certainty (let alone a translation, which I have not attempted).
2. a Karo-Batak manual for divination by a goldsmith (*kinipandên*), MS. BAT. 30. It is interesting to see how in this craft even minute accidents may have an ominous meaning, reminding us of our leadcasting on New Year's eve. This text is published and annotated in the catalogue.
3. a paragraph on the treatment of the chopped-off head of an enemy. This is found in a Toba-Batak text from the isle of Samosir in Lake Toba (MS. BAT. 5 pp. b25–29). In 1937 Batak school-boys in Java could still tell their teacher tales about persons who cut people's heads to use them as foundations for a bridge or a building, but these tales are current throughout Indonesia, also in regions where the practice of headhunting is unknown (H. J. de Graaf, *Over het tjoelik bijgeloof*, in: *De Opwekker*, 1937, pp. 101–117). Real headhunting as an essential cultural feature, such as found e.g. in Borneo and Nias, is not usually mentioned in descriptions of the Batak people. Nevertheless, Wilken, in his article about the worship of skulls in the Indian Archipelago (BKI 38, 1889, p. 102) had already collected some old information about the Batak (from Nicolò Conti, 15th century, until W. Marsden, 1811) from which he concluded that headhunting had existed among the Batak in former times. He saw a connection between this practice and the making of a *pangulubalang*. Our text brings a striking confirmation

of Wilken's conclusion. It contains a litany that can be compared with the typical headhunters' songs from other parts of Indonesia (cf. Wilken, l. c. pp. 100 et sq.). The language of this litany is archaic; one gets the impression that by long oral transmission it had become an unintelligible formula, and that the copyists did not understand its meaning. Once I had found this text in the Copenhagen manuscript, I noticed versions of it and fragments, often without any apparent connexion with the context, in 20 other pustahas. I have collected all these fragments and published them in an appendix.

It seems that the main purpose of the ceremonies described in these texts is to stop (*mamuhui*) the evil influence of the victim and to prevent vengeance from the part of his surviving relatives, but some texts also express the idea that the ghost of the slain enemy becomes a *pangulubalang* who assists the *datu's* party in destroying their opponents. Ultimately the head is buried in a pit, seven cubits deep. This seemingly contradicts the reports collected by Wilken about skulls of slain enemies being stored by the Batak in their houses and granaries. As the Batak often preserved the skulls of dead relatives whose bodies had first been buried and afterwards exhumed, we may surmise that the skulls of slain enemies were also exhumed after some time.

A set of rules for warriors published by C. M. Pleyte in BKI 55 mentions an *ulos tompian ulu-ulu*, a piece of cloth in which the severed head of a killed enemy is carried on the warrior's back. Pleyte concluded that these rules were very ancient and dated back to the time when headhunting was still practised by the Batak. In a note to Pleyte's article the missionary J. H. Meerwaldt Sr. denied that real headhunting had ever been a Batak custom; the warriors used to bring the heads and the hands of slain enemies with them after an expedition in order to collect their fees for killing. This may have been the case in later times, and some of our texts may refer to this custom, but taken together I think the texts give clear evidence that real headhunting once existed.

Some remarks may be added here on the introductory chapters found in many pustahas. After the title and an enumeration of the purposes for which the magic or divination may be used (e.g. in case of illness, in war, at a marriage, etc.) there follows a chain of transmission mentioning the origin of the teaching and the names of the *datu's* who have handed it down until the pupil for whom the copy in hand is written. It seems that these lists of names are no mere embellishments added to emphasize the authoritative character of the text, but contain reliable information that can sometimes be verified by comparing related texts. An example has been given in the supplement to the Dublin catalogue (BKI 124 p. 374–376) where a *terminus ante quem* for the date of some manuscripts was found by comparing their chains of transmission.

It is not always possible to accept these chains of transmission at their face value. In some cases the authenticity of a name may be confirmed by the testimony of a MS. where it is found in an absolutely different context. Thus, the name of Guru Mangina ni adji of the marga Hutadjulu, who lived in Lobu Goti, is found in the Scheide manuscript in Princeton (*The Princeton Library Chronicle*, vol. xxx, p. 168) and in a bark book belonging to a *datu* in Onan Runggu on the isle of Samosir, and copied some years ago by Father H.J.A. Promes. In the Onan Runggu MS. the modern name Laguboti is used instead of the old form Lobu Goti. (Personal communication from Father H.J.A. Promes). Guru

Mangina's name is also mentioned in the Leiden MS. Or. 3506. There the pupil of his pupil is called Guru Laga ni adji, a man of the marga Sigalingging, the copyist of at least three bark books in Van der Tuuk's collection. We may surmise that Guru Laga ni adji lived in the first half of the 19th century and Guru Mangina ni adji probably in the last part of the 18th century. The adventures of his pupil Ompu Radja Debata, narrated in the introduction to the Scheide manuscript, may have happened c. 1800.

In Indonesia I know only one more instance of the custom of prefixing a chain of transmission to a literary work, i.e. the *silsilahs* found in works by Muslim teachers of mysticism (see D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraef van Singkel* (1909), chapter IV). In oral tradition we find a kind of pedigree recited by a Redjang folkdoctor (M. A. Jaspán, *Traditional medical theory in South-East Asia*, 1969, p. 29) and a Malayan shaman. (R. Winstedt, *The Malay Magician*, 1951, p. 60: 'Sometimes in imitation of the credentials of Muslim teachers, the shaman and his assistant will now recite the names of former magicians, their teachers and ancestors.') It seems scarcely possible that the Batak datu should have followed a Muslim model in these pedigrees; more likely the Redjang folkdoctor and the Malayan shaman are continuing a pre-Muslim practice.

In the style of these introductory chapters, a man's patrilineal clan is often indicated by adding to his name: *anak na di ...on*, e.g. *anak na di Borboron*, a man of the clan Borbor. Here we should remark that every Batak belongs to an exogamous patrilineal clan, *marga* (southern Batak), *morga* (Simalungun), *měrga* (northern Batak). Chieftainship is hereditary in the marga of the founder of a village. The marga of his son-in-law or brother-in-law who assisted him in the village-founding is called *marga boru* and has a special position. In the dialect of Van der Tuuk's Toba-Batak texts the leader of the *marga boru* is called *namora boru* or just *namora*.

Nowadays a Batak man usually indicates his clan by adding its name after his personal name, e.g. Waldemar Hoetagaloeng, the author of a work on Batak genealogy who belonged to the marga Hutagalung. This method is sometimes followed in the bark books too, but other ways of indicating the marga are more frequent there. Van der Tuuk says (*Grammar*, p. 377): 'A person is designated according to his or her marga, *anak ni* or *boru ni*, e.g. *anak ni marbun*', i.e. a man who belongs to the clan Marbun. In the pustahas one also finds *anak* (without *ni*), e.g. anak Aritonang, and often *namora* (without *ni*), e.g. namora Marbun, or *anak ni namora*, e.g. anak ni namora Pandjaitan. One would expect that the names with *namora* or *anak ni namora* would refer to members of *marga boru*, and names with *anak ni* to members of a reigning marga. However, there are a few instances of the same person being called *anak ni...* and *namora...* The clan to which a woman belongs by birth is always indicated by *boru* followed by the clan name, sometimes in a shortened form, e.g. *boru Regar*, a woman of the clan Siregar. It seems to me that Van der Tuuk's statement that *boru ni* is used in this case is one of the very few factual errors in his grammar.

Referring to the literary clan names with *na di ...on* Van der Tuuk continues: '*Na di ... on* is also used to designate a marga, e.g. *na di tukka on* (lit. that which is here in Tukka). *Anak ni* or *boru ni* can also be placed before (such) a marga name, though the *ni* can be omitted.' Apparently Van der Tuuk here explains *on* as the demonstrative pronoun meaning 'this'. However, in one of his volumes

of Batak texts (Leiden MS. Or. 3417 p. 107) there is a transcription made by Van der Tuuk himself from a pustaha that belonged to A. D. Willer, with a Dutch translation, in which we find:

*Poda (ni) pagar balik kunda na bolon na todingkon Ama
ni martungkot bilang anak na di bolaon, asa tolkas tu datu
mangoloi ni adji anak na di sution*

Voorschriften van 't behoedmidel Balikkunda de groote
dat afkomstig is van Ama ni martungkot bilang van
de familie Nadibolaon; het kome aan Datu mangoloi
ni adji van de familie Nadisution,

and further on:

asa disalinkon ho ma i alé datu nami anak na di sobuon.

Alsdan werd 't door U overgeschreven O onze datu van
de familie Nadisobuon.

Here Van der Tuuk treats the ...*on* as a suffix, and I think this is right because:

a. If *on* were the pronoun, why should one never find *i*? Must it always be here in *Borbor*, never there?

b. One never finds *on* written separately. It is true that enclitic pronouns are very often written together with the preceding word, but one would expect to find sometimes the other spelling. As far as I know the spelling is always *na di bor-bo-ron*, never *na di bor-bor on*, even in the rock inscription of Lobu Hamindjon, which is one of the oldest specimens of Batak writing (*Cultureel Indië*, I, p. 189, last word of the inscription on the lower photograph).

c. One finds *Nai Borboron*, *Nai Ambaton*, *Nai Rasaon*, *Nai Suanon*, and *Nai Tukkaon* as names of marga-groups. These names are now often explained as those of the female ancestors of the groups (*nai* = *ina ni*, mother of), but according to Ypes, *Bijdrage* (1932), p. 40 others explain them as meaning the male ancestors. This proves that *nai* in these names does not mean 'mother of'. I prefer to think that *na di Borboron* is only another form for *Nai Borboron*, and *anak na di Borboron* means: a man of the Borbor group, not: 'who is here in Borbor'. The suffix *-on* is the same as in the pronouns *onon* and *inon* used in the *poda*-language, and its use (whatever its original meaning may have been) is now only to indicate that the word belongs to the literary language. In the incantation cited in our description of MS. BAT. 37 we find female literary clan-names with *inang*, 'mother': *inang na di Borboron*, etc.

The following list of literary clan-names may be found useful by students of Batak genealogy and social structure. Where no other source is mentioned I found the name in the chain of transmission of a bark book.

anak (ni) na di Ambaton or *anak (ni) nai Ambaton*; *nai Ambaton* (tabas, i. e. incantation; Ypes p. 40)

anak na di Anginon

anak na di Aridon (text G, infra sub BAT. 5) or *Ariton* (ibid. text F)

anak na di Bolaon; *nai Bolaon* (tabas)

anak (ni) na di Borboron; *inang na di Borboron* (tabas); *nai Borboron* (used for the whole group of Borbor margas, according to a personal communication by the late Dr. Ph. L. Tobing)

anak na di Djabaon (once found written *Djabahon* in a Mandailing MS.)

bajo na di Gojongon (text F sub BAT. 5; the older text G has *bajo Dahojo*)

anak na di Haiton or *anak nai Haiton*; *inang na di Haiton* (tabas)

anak na di Lantungan or *anak nai Lantungan*

anak nai Lindungon; nai Lindungan (tabas)
anak na di Longgaon (?)
anak na di Lontungon; inang na di Lontungon (tabas)
anak nai Manik
anak na di Ngambuwon (?), perhaps an error for na di Djambuwon
anak na di Obungon or Abungon or Ubungon
nai Paiangon (tabas)
anak (ni) na di Poholon or anak na di Polon; inang na di Poholon (tabas)
anak ni na di Rait
anak na di Rasaon; nai Rasaon (Ypes p. 40)
anak ni na di Rataon, anak ni na di Marata
anak na di Sobuon
anak (ni) na di Sumbaon
anak na di Sution
anak na di Suwanon; nai Suwanon (tabas; Ypes p. 40)
anak na di Taburon; inang na di Taburon (tabas)
anak na di Taramon
inang na di Tulison (tabas)
anak (ni) na di Tungkaon; inang na di Tungkaon (tabas); nai Tungkaon (Ypes p. 40)
anak na di Turigon; nai Turihon (tabas)

It seems probable that these names represent an earlier genealogical classification of the Batak people. At present, Lontung and Sumba are considered as moieties (Cf. J. C. Vergouwen, *The social organisation and customary law of the Toba Batak of Northern Sumatra*, 1964, pp. 21 et sqq.). Borbor is called a 'complex' by Vergouwen, whereas he calls Nai Ambaton, Nai Rasaon and Nai Suwanon 'divisions'. Other names survive as exogamic clans in the present system, e.g. anak na di Sution as the *marga* Nasution (Hasution in Van der Tuuk's time according to his dictionary). Perhaps anak na di Turigon is the Karo-Batak *mĕrga* Tarigan (See *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* XXX p. 166). The name na di Anginon survives in the custom of calling a woman who belongs to the Mandailing-Batak *marga* Lubis *boru Angin* as well as *boru Lubis*. Na di Gojongon or Dahojo is now only found as *Nadihojong*, the name of a sub-clan of Sinaga. The name which I found twice as *na di Obungon*, once as *na di Abungon* and once as *na di Ubungon* apparently indicates a group to which the *marga* Sitompul belongs, for one of the texts says: these instructions may come to you, my brother-in-law, namora (see p. 46) Sitompul anak na di Obungon from the Silindung valley. In modern Batak genealogical literature Sitompul belongs to the Sobu group.

Knowledge of the relation between the old and the new genealogical systems was occasionally used for magical purposes. As a preventative against rinder-pest, the *datu* might hang up some red leaves at the entrance of the village and of the stables. On these leaves he drew small black human figures, to which he addressed the following incantation in archaic language: *Barang ho anak ni Sagala, idok ho*

ibamu so huboto, huboto do ibamu Sagala Nai Bolaon, if you, a man of the *marga* Sagala, should think that I do not now your person, I know your person: Sagala (belonging to) Nai Bolaon, and so on for other clans: Limbong belongs to Nai Lindungan, Sitanggang Simbolon to Nai Ambaton, Silalahi to Nai Suwanon, Siboro to Nai Turihon, Situmorang to Nai Paiangon etc. Do not harm our cattle; go to you own ivory feeding-trough at the other side of the sea. (MS. Amsterdam 2761/49 p. b.41–42; cf. the complete text below pp. 154–155).

The illustrations in Batak books are one of their main attractions for European collectors. Their style is strictly traditional and strikingly different from the style of Batak sculpture. The carvings on the covers and the decorative chapter headings may be compared to the ornamental carvings and paintings on Batak houses (e.g. Winkler, *Die Toba-Batak*, plates facing pp. 80 and 81). Human and animal figures in the bark books are mostly schematic without any attempt at expression. A drawing such as 'the *datu* and his pupil' reproduced on p. 74 of Winkler's book is exceptional; the typical human figure of the *pustahas* has the shape reproduced on Plate 24 in this catalogue (left page of *tëndung* MS.). In some *pustahas*, however, the style of the human and animal figures comes closer to that of the remarkable paintings of pageants on the façades of some Toba-Batak houses. These paintings can be seen on the plates in Modigliani, *Fra i Batacchi indipendenti*, Tav. IX; Winkler, *Die Toba-Batak*, facing p. 49; D. W. N. de Boer, *Het Toba-Bataksche huis*, pls. 2–5, 8–12, 14; *De Bataks op weg*, p. 54, 94 and 102. They can be compared with plate 5 in the Dublin catalogue and with the reproduction on the cover of *De Bataks op weg*.

The illustrations in Van der Tuuk's largest *pustaha* (*Bull. John Rylands Library*, 33, pl. 1, facing p. 296; J. C. Lamster, *Indië*, p. 97; Tobing, *High God*, pl. 1) also belong to this class, although they come somewhat closer to the schematic style. An example of a painting in a more lively style on a Karo-Batak house is reproduced in W. Volz, *Nord-Sumatra*, I (1909), p. 338, fig. 111.

From the point of view of their use, the illustrations in Batak *pustahas* may be divided into two classes: those that are consulted by the *datu* as divinatory tables or illustrate texts on divination, and those that are models to be copied by the *datu* in order to harm his enemies or protect his own party. In some cases a drawing of the latter kind reproduces ingredients used in the magical ceremony—e.g. in the Leiden MS. Or. 3533 a hobo (*sarune*), a flute (*salodam*, for *sordam*?) and a jew's harp (*saga-saga*). Rarely is the ceremony itself depicted. An example is the 'storm making magic' (*pangulubalang pangkaba-haba*) illustrated in Van der Tuuk's large *pustaha* (reproduced in *Bull. John Rylands Library*, l. c., pl. 1). Another instance is the 'striped buffalo' (*horbo huring*), a magic device made of bamboo, palm-leaf, etc. in the shape of a buffalo, illustrated in the same *pustaha* and in several bark books in German collections.

Dr. Carl Schuster has contributed to this catalogue a number of comparative notes on six Batak designs that are frequently found in the bark books. He shows that these designs 'cannot have been simply invented by the Bataks, but represent merely twigs, as it were, upon an immensely ancient and very widespread family tree'.

One of these designs, Schuster's no. 5, belongs to our first class, drawings used for divination. It is

the table of *pormamis* with animal heads, tails and legs. It has the shape of a magic square with the names of five Hindu gods indicated by the letters *ma* (Mamis), *na* (Bisnu), *sa* (Sori), *ha* (Hala) and *ba* (Borma). The *datu* counts on the 25 squares and then consults the text in which the influence of each god is described. The same magic square is also used with Batak—or perhaps rather old-Malay—names, represented in the drawing by small figures. This is called *partadjomburikan*. I have never seen a *partadjomburikan* with animals' heads, etc., and the heads are not a regular feature of the Batak table of *pormamis* and the identical Malay *ketika lima*. In the Copenhagen MS. BAT. 47 (Plate 29 in this catalogue) the heads are human. Various other divinatory tables are sometimes found with heads and limbs attached to them. Therefore I think that the connexion of the table of *pormamis* with the 'crossed lizards' design is not as firmly established as Dr. Schuster's other comparisons.

In the same Karo-Batak MS. BAT. 47 we find a series of 12 *pormesa* (signs of the zodiac), 8 *pangorda* (animals of the points of the compass) and 5 *pormamis* with small illustrations which represent the Batak translations of the Sanskrit names. They have been used as vignettes in this catalogue and are explained in the list of illustrations. These drawings are no mere illustrations of the astrological text but they may also be copied for magical purposes (See Winkler, *Toba-Batak*, p. 217).

I am not sure that the Batak *datu* still connects the figures of the *pormesa* with the constellations that they originally represented. Actual drawings of constellations may be seen in the figures that accompany the Karo-Batak text of *pěrbintangěnkěn* (Dublin catalogue p. 70). The text does not say that they should be copied for magical purposes, but they probably were used so too.

The series of 12 figures for the 12 months found in MS. BAT. 42 (Plate 26) is identical with the 'signs of the zodiac' from MS. BAT. 47 that have been used as vignettes in this catalogue. On the other hand, the 30 figures for the 30 days of the month in Chester Beatty manuscript 1108 are apparently purely protective drawings.

The illustrations reproduced in Plates 14 and 18 belong to divinatory texts too. Plate 14 shows the oracle strings, *rambu siporhas*, and Plate 18 the oracle with a cock under a basket, *pormanuhon*. These designs are taken from long series (see e.g. Winkler, BKI 110, p. 340 Abb. 3 for *rambu siporhas*). Drawings of strings and fowls are convenient means to identify the texts they illustrate at first glance without a knowledge of the Batak language. The same holds true for the series of diagrams of the inside of a fowl that often accompany texts on *manuk gantung* (oracle of the hanging cock), but there is no illustrated copy of this text in the Copenhagen collections. Neither is there an illustrated text on *tembak*, the magic art of markmanship. The designs that accompany some texts on *parombunan* (divination from clouds) are too much like magical designs to allow identification without reading the text. There is a short specimen of such an illustrated text in MS. BAT. 45.

Texts on *Adji pajung*, divination through the cut-off neck of a pig, are sometimes illustrated by a diagram of the surface of the cutting as reproduced in Plate 23. In the *těndung* MSS. the illustrations are indispensable, as the drawings are themselves the instrument of divination (Plates 24 and 25). The text on *sibanggua* (taboos) is rather common, but I know no other copy that has figures representing the tabooed objects beside the one reproduced in Plate 16. Another less common design is the *surat humala djolma* (Plate 22), used to ensure luck in names.

Among the designs on which Dr. Schuster has made comparative observations Nos. 2–4 and 6 are not used for divination but are considered to have magic power and may be used in magical and religious ceremonies or serve as amulets. Most remarkable is the *bindu matoga*, the diagram with 8 loops in Schuster's No. 1. It represents the Earth. In some invocations the Earth is called *bindu matoga* or said to be encompassed by the *bindu matoga* (Mss. Leiden Or. 3400 p. 233; 3401 p. 62). In Plate 12 *Pane na Bolon*, the Great Dragon, is shown encircling the *bindu matoga*, i.e. the Earth. A *bindu matoga* is drawn on the earth at one of the main religious ceremonies, the great buffalo offering. Schuster has shown its relation to Indian culture, and in one place (note 43, page 82) he refers to the *bindu matoga* with snakes as a *yantra* (Sanskrit), i.e. a mystical diagram used by a yogi as an aid to meditation. The *yantra* reproduced in P. Pott's book *Yoga and yantra* p. 34 (fig. 5) is clearly related to the Batak *bindu matoga*. In my *Overzicht van de Volksverhalen der Bataks* (1927), p. 12, I mentioned the identity of another Batak design (a rectangle with tridents at the corners) with the *Hanumān yantram* found in E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, the figure opposite p. 186.

The Sanskrit word *yoga* is found in some Batak texts in the form *ijoga* or *ajoga*, but I have found no indications that anything really like the Indian *yoga* was practised by the Batak *datu* at the time these texts were written. According to Van der Tuuk's dictionary *mangijogai* means *manabasi*, to utter incantations over; *maiijoga* = *martonggo*, to pray. In the texts *ijoga* is associated with the painting of stripes on the *datu's* body, and the Mandailing form *ajoga* is explained as a kind of pantomime. The form *ajoga* can be derived from Sanskrit *mahāyoga* through the intermediary of a form *mangajoga*; cf. Batak *mangaradja*, Skr. *mahārāja*. *Mangajoga*, taken as a verb, would give the stem *ajoga*.

But apart from the designs that may have some remote connexion with Indian *yantra* there are numerous other magical drawings in the Batak bark books. From those found in the Copenhagen manuscripts I have chosen two illustrations from *pangulubalang* texts for reproduction in Plates 21 and 28. A series of drawings belonging to this category is shown in Winkler's book *Die Toba-Batak*, the plate facing p. 177, no. 3, and also the plate facing p. 176. In many cases the name of the figure mentioned in the text agrees with the drawing, e.g. Dublin catalogue pl. 2 a (a whirlwind), pl. 6 (stars and biting animals). Sometimes the text only says: 'this' should be drawn on (lead, paper, a potsherd, etc.) without mentioning a name, and in some cases there is no apparent connexion between the name and the design.

Comparison of related illustrated manuscripts shows that a Batak scribe had some freedom to adapt the drawings to his individual (or perhaps local traditional) style, but copied the essential details meticulously. In this way he has preserved some very old motives, as has been pointed out by Dr. Schuster in the following comparative observations.

SECTION TWO
 COMPARATIVE OBSERVATIONS ON SOME TYPICAL
 DESIGNS IN BATAK MANUSCRIPTS

BY
 CARL SCHUSTER

Especially interesting in Batak manuscripts are the drawings with which many of them are illustrated. Since the texts themselves invariably deal with divination and magic, it might be expected that the drawings would have some reference to these practices. And this is true, for the most part, as Dr. Voorhoeve has shown in his introductory section. Our purpose in the present section is not so much to inquire into the ideas associated with the various designs by the Batak *datu* or magician as to explore the affinities of these designs with designs in other cultures and earlier epochs. For it appears that many of the designs used to illustrate Batak manuscripts are not peculiar to the Bataks, but must have reached them from elsewhere—often, as we shall see, probably from, or at least through, continental India. The fact that many of the designs used for magical purposes by the Bataks can be matched in other cultures suggests the question whether such designs may not have been conceived originally as magical, and whether their magical use by the Bataks may not represent a survival of their original function. Perhaps the following comparisons will contribute to an eventual solution of this question. At least they will show that the Batak designs were hardly invented by the Bataks, but that as a group they represent merely one branch of what is evidently a vastly ramified tradition. We shall see that the roots of this tradition reach back into remote antiquity, probably even into prehistoric times.

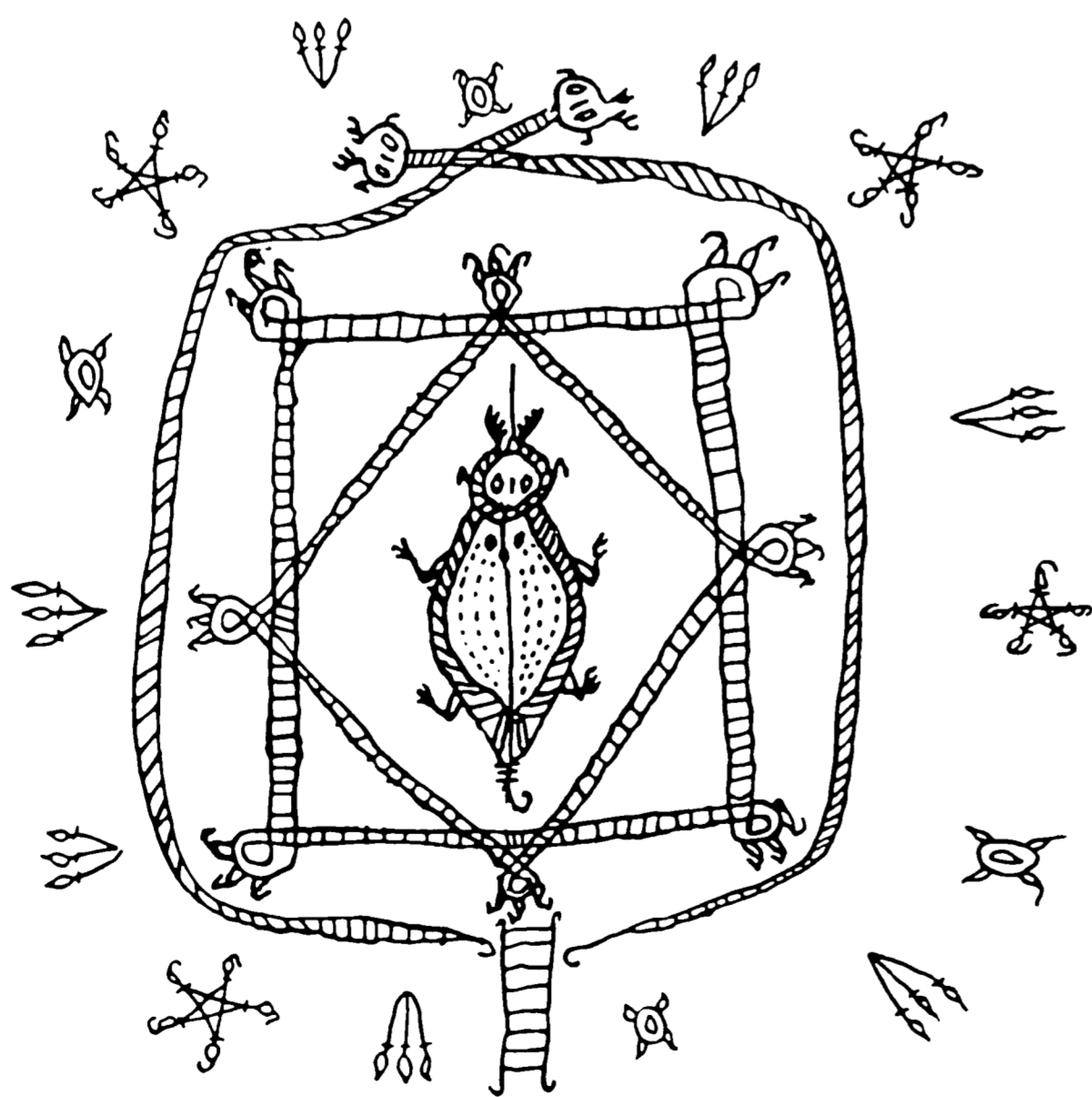


FIG. 1. Drawing in a Batak manuscript.

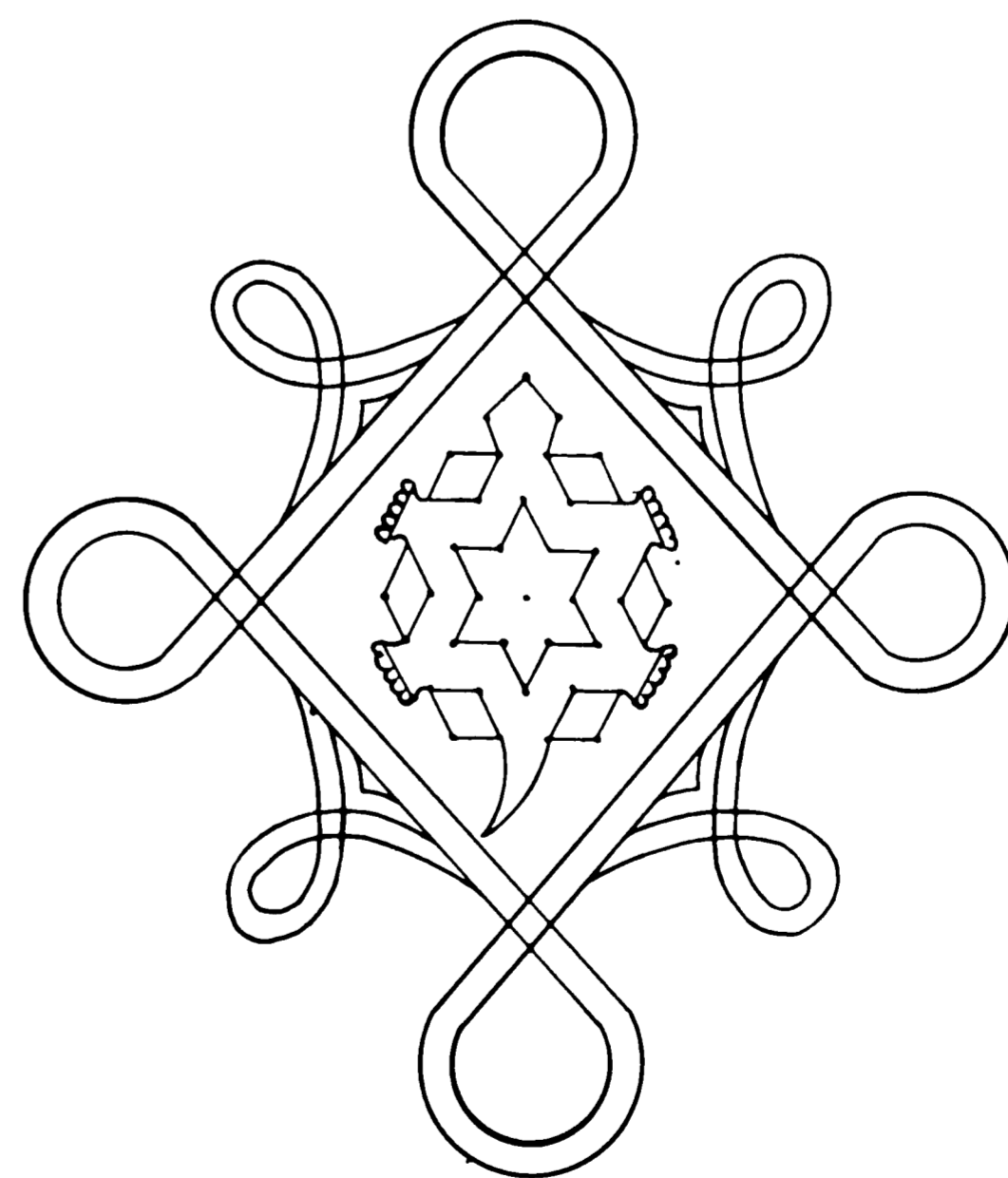


FIG. 3. South Indian threshold-design.

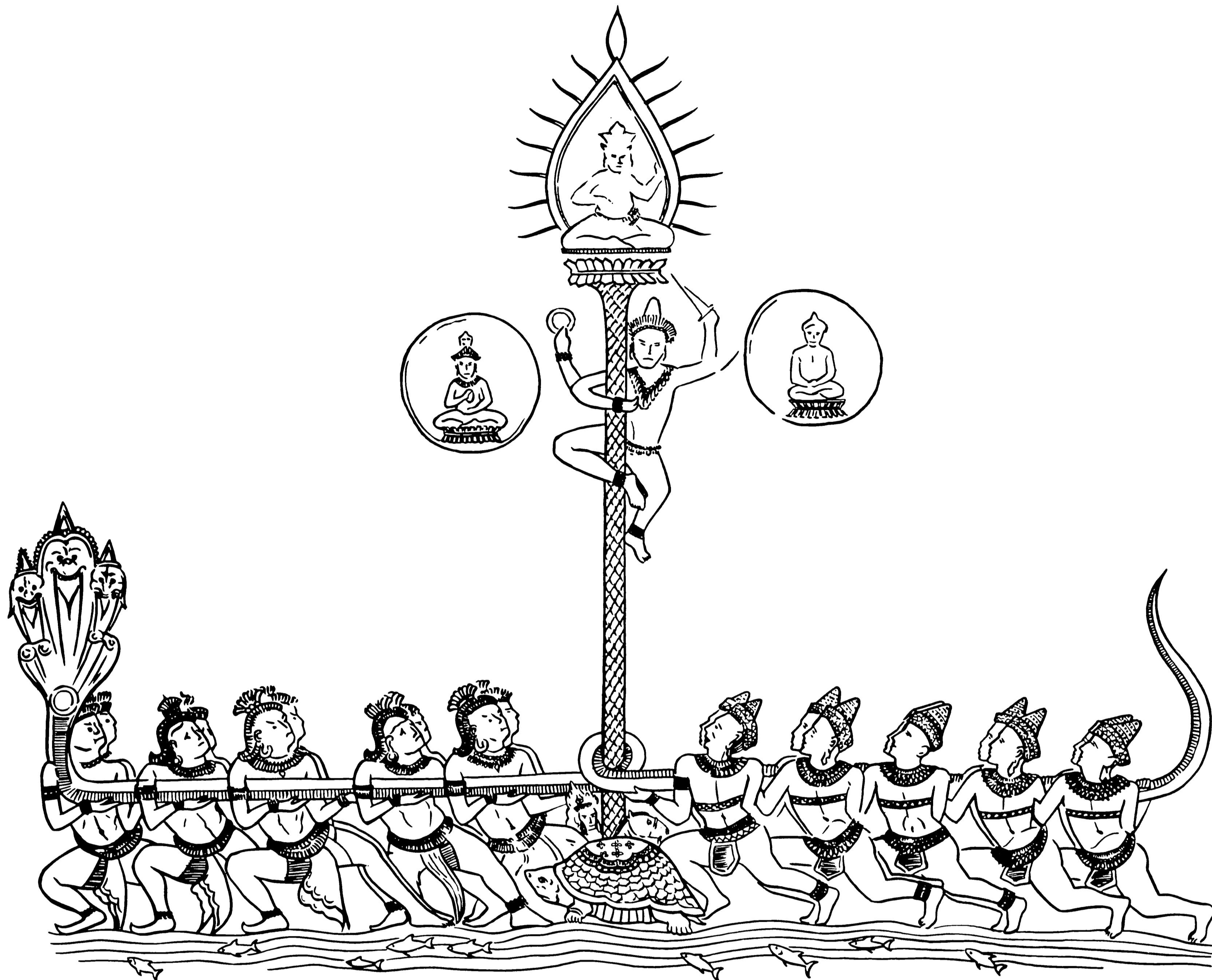


FIG. 2. Scheme of a bas-relief representing the Churning of the Ocean. Angkor-Vat, Cambodia.

Chthonic turtle

Of the six designs which we have chosen for illustrating our study, the first, Fig. 1, shows a quadruped inscribed within a diagram consisting of two overlapping squares, one upright and the other diagonal, with loops at the eight corners (called respectively *bindu matoga* and *bindu matogu* by the Bataks)¹, surrounded by two snakes², which are in turn surrounded by symbols apparently of an astral character. Though the text accompanying this design does not help us to understand it, a design of precisely the same type in another Batak manuscript³ is fortunately accompanied by a passage which sheds some light on its meaning. Dr. Voorhoeve, who kindly called my attention to this passage, reads it as follows: *Au debata ni sang palibuwan dohot sang naga basuhi dohot sang naga hurma djati*; and translates it: "I am the god [*pangulubalang*] of *sang palibuwan* and the venerable dragon *Basuhi* and the venerable dragon *Hurmadjati*." Partly from this passage, and partly from other circumstances, it appears that the

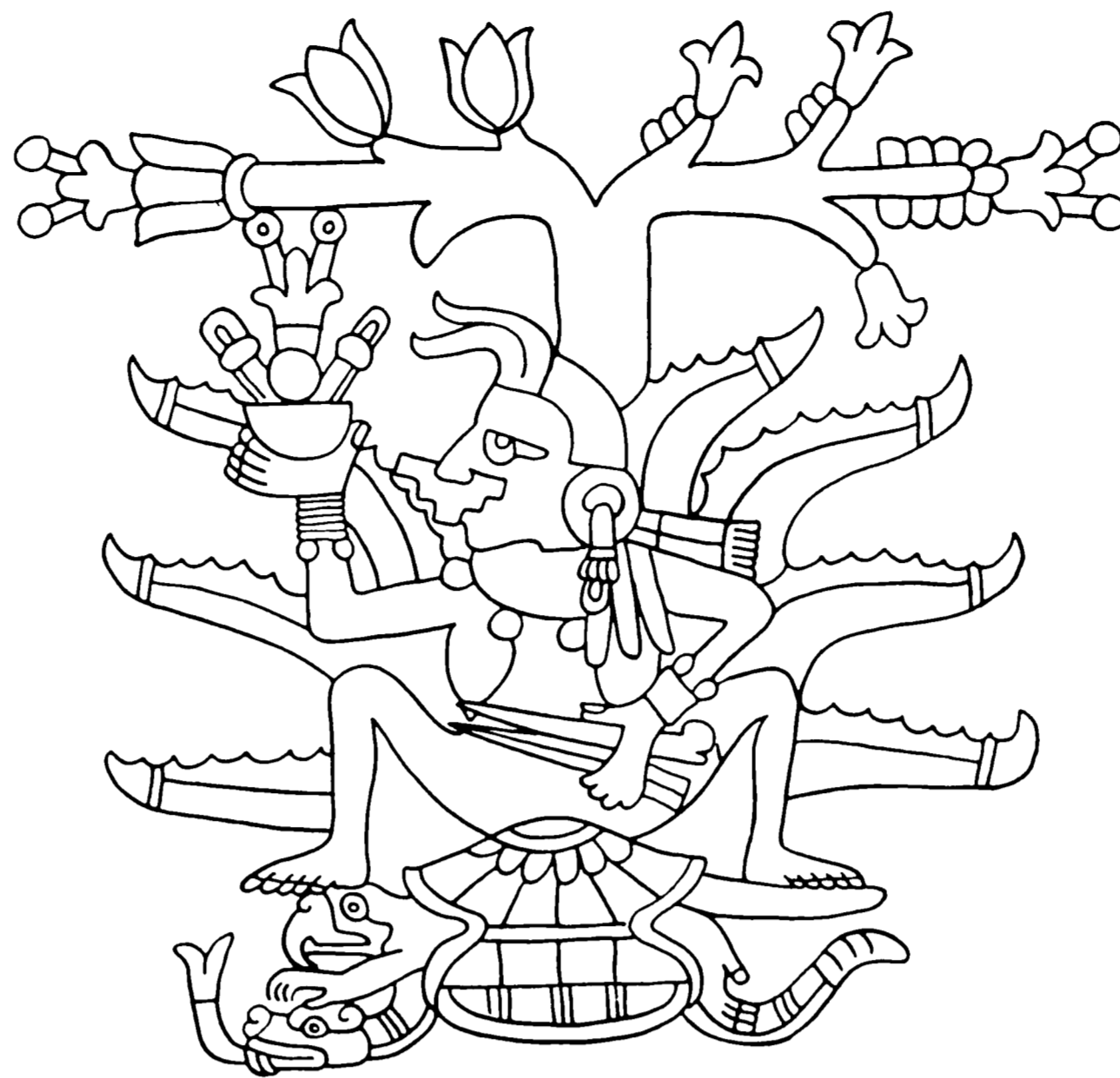


FIG. 2a. Design from a Mexican codex.

central quadruped in Fig. 1 must have been intended for the representation of a turtle (Batak *hurma* = Sanskrit *kūrma*); and the snakes enclosing the diagram of squares represent “the venerable dragon *Basuhi*”—a name obviously identical with Sanskrit *Vāsuki*, King of Snakes, who in Indian mythology was used as a rope to turn the churning pole based on the back of the cosmic turtle at the Churning of the Ocean of Milk⁴.

Disregarding all other features of the Batak design of Fig. 1, we may say that the association in it of turtle and snakes alone suffices to suggest a relation to the mythical theme of the Churning of the Ocean, as it is represented, for example, on one of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat, Fig. 2. In this Cambodian scene, the churning pole is based on the back of a turtle and twirled by gods and demons pulling alternately on the body of the snake *Vāsuki* (in some accounts, another world-snake, *Śeṣa*), coiled about it. The cosmic character of this scene is emphasized by the presence of two disks, representing the sun and the moon, at the sides of the column, which is thus designated the axis of the universe (*axis mundi*)⁵. If we are justified in likening the design of Fig. 1 to this Cambodian scene, the astral symbols surrounding it would have a plausible counterpart in the lunar and solar disks of the Cambodian relief. The analogy between Figs. 1 and 2 might even extend to the ladder-like motive projecting downward, i. e., presumably “outward”, from between the tails of the two snakes in the Batak design. This evidently represents the *langga omas* or “golden ladder”, which was drawn on the ground at the place of sacrifice. It is said to be a lucky sign if the buffalo treads on this simulated ladder with its right forefoot when being led to the sacrificial pole. In the context of Fig. 1, the “ladder” appears to be equivalent to the “churning stick” based on the back of the cosmic turtle in the Cambodian representation, in the special sense of a “climbing pole”—on which, in Fig. 2, the god Viṣṇu is represented as climbing⁶. This suggests that the “ladder” in the Batak design of Fig. 1 is in a sense equivalent to the sacrificial pole itself; especially since we know that this pole, called *borotan*, was traditionally planted upon the drawing of a turtle enclosed within a magic diagram of two overlapping squares, surrounded by snakes, as in our Fig. 1⁷.

The schematic character of the Batak drawing, which is conceived without perspective, would suffice to explain why the "ladder" does not rise directly from the turtle's back, as does the pole in the more sophisticated Cambodian representation of Fig. 2.

Once we recognize the conceptual equivalence of the Batak sacrificial pole with the *axis mundi* based on a turtle as shown in Cambodian sculpture, it becomes of interest to enquire more closely into the characteristics of the *borotan* and the ritual centering about it, in order to learn to what extent it may embody ideas which were long ago sublimated in Indian myth, and then reflected in Cambodian art. From such an enquiry we may hope to gain new insights into the Cambodian representation and into the complex of ideas expressed by that carving.

The following observations about the Batak *borotan*, except for the remarks enclosed within brackets [], are taken from Korn⁸. To the accompaniment of certain ceremonies, an appropriate tree of a sacred variety is felled and transported to the place of the sacrifice, where [after being presumably denuded of its limbs] it is crowned by a four-spoked wheel [patently a solar symbol], which is then ornamented with branches [so that the whole device takes on the aspect of an artificial rather than a natural tree. In other words we may say that the *borotan* is the symbol of a tree—a Tree of trees.]. This tree-pole, to which the sacrificial animal will be tied, is conceived by the Bataks as the meeting place of the spirits of the underworld and the upper world, who are invoked by prayers to take their places within it, thus symbolically uniting Earth and Heaven. The cosmic tree-pole is then symbolically planted on the back of a turtle, by being lowered into a hole at the bottom of which is placed a metal plaque bearing the diagram of a turtle enclosed within a double square surrounded by serpents, as in our Fig. 1—or a diagram essentially like that of our Fig. 1 is inscribed upon the bottom of the pole itself before it is lowered into place—or the same diagram may be drawn, presumably in larger scale, upon the flat earth of the offering place in lines of red, white and black powder, before the pole is lowered into the post-hole around which the diagram is drawn. By this means, as Korn says, the sacrificial pole is symbolically planted in the underworld. Its penetration into the upper world is symbolized by the wheel already mentioned, and by a cloth (sometimes white) thrown over its top, above the wheel, to represent the "pure" sky which lies beyond the sun.

Now some of the features of the Batak sacrificial pole and of the practices associated with it appear to be survivals in actual usage of customs long extinct in India, but reflected in Vedic literature. A few sentences from Coomaraswamy will suffice to suggest the extent of the analogies:

"We find accordingly in the literature a conception of the World-tree in which the trunk, which is also the Sun-pillar, sacrificial post, and *axis mundi*, rising from the altar at the navel of the earth, penetrates the world door and branches out above the roof of the world. . . . Connected with these conceptions we find in the literature that the ascent of the spirit [of the sacrificer, or vicariously, of the sacrificed animal] is often described in terms of tree-climbing [compare Viṣṇu on the lotus-stalk of the churning pole in Fig. 2], and in the ritual meet with a variety of climbing rites. . . . Climbing rites are enacted in connection with the sacrificial post (*yūpa*), one of the most characteristic aspects of the *skambha* or *axis mundi*. . . . [In two Vedic accounts] the priest on behalf of the sacrificer mounts a wheel set up on a post, navel high, and mimes the driving of horses; he makes the wheel revolve three times. . . ." ⁹ [It may be added that the nave of the wheel represents the Sundoor, through which the individual spirit must pass to the realm of pure or universal Spirit (*Brahmaloka*), which lies "beyond the sun"].

Though we do not know whether the Batak *borotan* was ever mounted like a ladder, there can be little doubt that the wheel fixed near its top has its prototype in Vedic usage, and that this wheel symbolizes both the sun and the rotation of the pole. The rotation implicit in the wheel attached to the "axle" of the sacrificial pole is obviously the same as the rotation of the "churning pole" in the Cambodian scene—which itself no doubt imitates the observable rotation of the heavenly bodies or of the earth. Among the Bataks, as in ancient India, the penetration of the hub of the wheel by the pole doubtless symbolizes the ascent of the spirit, *via* the pole, through the sun, and then beyond it, to the world of pure spirit (*tano solam*), which the Bataks represent aniconically by a cloth thrown over the very top of the pole, above the solar wheel. Corresponding to the Batak cloth in the Cambodian representation is an image of the god Brahmā, personification of the *brahman* or spirit, seated on a lotus, of which the *axis mundi* is the stem¹⁰. Perhaps the placing of the disks of the sun and moon below the level of Brahmā's seat in the Cambodian scene, and the placing of the wheel at some distance below the summit of the Batak *borotan*, both reflect the simple notion that the realm of spirit (i. e., the sky) lies "beyond the sun", whence it can be reached only "through the sun".

It is now clear that the Batak design of Fig. 1 can be understood only with reference to the Batak *borotan*, and that this sacrificial pole is, in fact, equivalent to the cosmic churning pole of the Cambodian representation, Fig. 2, which is itself a figment of Indian mythology. But it is not only through these correspondences that we are taken back to India as the original home of the Batak design. Of the three methods used by the Bataks for drawing this design—namely on the bottom of the sacrificial post itself, on a metal plaque lowered into the post-hole under it, or by means of colored powders forming lines on the surface of the ground—the third is of special interest to us, because it is identical with the method commonly used by Indian housewives today for tracing auspicious designs before the thresholds of their houses. A glance at the photographs reproduced in Plates 1 and 3 attests the similarity of methods and materials. But the resemblance evidently extends to the designs themselves; for it can hardly be an accident that we find, among the many designs traditionally traced by Indian housewives before their thresholds, that reproduced in Fig. 3, showing a turtle (*kūrma*) within a diagram of double lines very much like the overlapping squares of the Batak *bindu matoga* and *bindu matogu*.

The analogy between Figs. 1 and 3 of course raises a number of questions. In the first place, though it is true that the enclosure around the turtle of Fig. 3 does not correspond precisely to the Batak *bindu*, in so far as the upright square is represented only by its corner loops, there can be little doubt that a motive precisely analogous to the Batak *bindu* does or did exist in India and perhaps Ceylon¹¹; and it seems reasonable to assume that at some time in the past, and perhaps in some parts of India still today, the enclosure drawn around the turtle in such "ground-paintings" was or is identical with the Batak *bindu*. As for the fact that the design of Fig. 3 is but one of many different designs drawn before thresholds throughout India, and that we have no explicit record (at least to the writer's present knowledge) that such a design was, or perhaps still is, drawn on the ground around an Indian sacrificial pole¹², nevertheless the application of such a design before thresholds may be regarded as tantamount to the planting of a sacrificial pole upon it, inasmuch as pole and threshold are equivalent symbols of spiritual passage between the worlds¹³. Because of the existence of the Batak custom, if for no other reason, we venture

to believe that the design of Fig. 3 must once have had a special significance in India, before it became secularized as one of many "threshold designs", serving ostensibly nothing more than the sentimental and aesthetic needs of the nation's housewives.

Since the turtle was, already in Vedic India, regarded as the beginning of all life¹⁴, we might expect to find traces of its function as primordial foundation in Indian usage, as well as in the Cambodian iconography of the Churning of the Ocean. Undoubtedly it is this idea which is reflected in an Indian legend, to the effect that a turtle was once buried alive under a Vedic altar, and was found again miraculously living when the altar was dismantled after it had been used for sacrifice¹⁵. And we know that one of the forms of the Vedic fire-altar was that of a turtle (*kūrmacit*)¹⁶. It is not surprising, moreover, to learn that nowadays the Samsam of the Siamese-Malayan border region customarily place the diagram of a turtle under a housepost at the erection of a dwelling¹⁷. For the housepost is a microcosmic replica of the world-pillar, just as the roof which it supports represents the sky¹⁸. Equally in ritual, art and legend, it thus appears that whatever stands upon the turtle is as firmly founded as the universe itself. The extreme antiquity of this notion is suggested by the fact that the turtle appears in the role of cosmic foundation in the legends of the North American Indians¹⁹, who presumably brought such ideas to the New World in the course of prehistoric migrations long antedating the Vedic period in India.

Of great interest in this connection is a drawing in a pre-Columbian manuscript from Mexico, the Codex Laud, reproduced in our Fig. 2a, which provides a remarkable parallel for the Cambodian scene of Fig. 2. Even a superficial comparison of these two designs reveals their iconographic similarity; and an enquiry into the mythology underlying the Mexican design shows that this similarity rests upon a far-reaching identity of concept.

The foundation of the Mexican design is again a turtle, combined with a snake. Seated upon the turtle is the Mexican goddess Mayauel, personification of the agave plant, whose spiny leaves project at her sides, and whose stalk rises behind her like a tree, bearing buds and flowers at its extremities. In view of the general correspondence between the two scenes, it may be concluded that the agave plant is somehow equivalent to the lotus stalk which serves as *axis mundi* in the Cambodian representation; and similarly that there is at least a mechanical equation between the goddess Mayauel of Fig. 2a and the god Viṣṇu climbing the lotus stalk in Fig. 2. The nature of this correspondence appears from the circumstance that Mayauel is a milk-giving goddess, who, like the Greek Artemis, was supposed to have four hundred breasts, and that she is here represented as apparently pressing milk from her teat with one hand, while in the other she holds a bowl filled with the milky juice flowing from the agave plant behind her—a juice which, when fermented as "pulque", has properties and associations similar to those of the fermented plant-juice called *soma* in Vedic India. Mackenzie, who especially has explored the correspondences between Old- and New-World mythologies in this connection (Mackenzie, 1921, Chapter XI, "The Milk Goddess"), points out that in Levantine-classical mythology, the many-breasted milk-giving Artemis was associated with the fig-tree as a "milk-yielding tree". The fact that Mayauel and the agave plant are associated with milk as a life-giving force obviously stands in relation to the fact that the similarly arranged Cambodian scene represents the churning of the "Ocean of Milk". Indeed, Mackenzie indicates that a churning myth with associated iconography (including a snake as churning-cord) actually reached the New World, even though the butter-churn itself and the use of milk from domesticated animals were there unknown (Mackenzie, 1921, p. 191, citing Codex Cortes, sheet 19B, as in Seler, 1910, fig. 724; and a Zuñi myth). The occurrence of an iconographic complex like that of Fig. 2a in pre-Columbian Mexico can then hardly be understood except as the survival of an imagery previously established among a people practicing a dairy economy in the Old World: hence among a people of Southern rather than of Eastern Asia. The Mayauel representation of Fig. 2a evidently belongs to the series of specifically South Asian iconographic motives which, according to Heine-Geldern and Ekholm, 1951, and Ekholm, 1953, found their way

to the New World, and especially to Middle America, by a trans-Pacific route around the middle of the first post-Christian millennium.

The fact that the "lactic" symbolism of Fig. 2a (and especially that of the related Mexican churning scene mentioned above) must have originated in a culture practicing a dairy economy may provide a clue to the time and the place in the Old World from which this symbolism reached the New World. We must ask whether the milk-giving goddess and the "milk-tree" of the Mexican iconography do not represent the survival of an earlier stage in the development of this symbolism than is represented by the god Viṣṇu climbing the lotus-stalk in the Cambodian scene. Significant in this connection is the correspondence between the receptacle for agave-juice (i. e., "milk") held in the Mexican goddess' hand and the pot (*kumbha*) resting on the turtle's back in which the churning stick revolves in some of the Cambodian representations (Auboyer, 1949, pl. xi, *a*). That these vessels do indeed correspond appears from the circumstance that in Mexico "the heads of a little man and of a little woman are seen in the pulque protruding from the mouth of the jug" (not in our illustration, but in sheet 31 of Codex Vaticanus B, as cited from Seler by Mackenzie, p. 180); for these personages have their counterpart not only in Hindu mythology, as Mackenzie pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 185f), in the twins of opposite sexes born from a "milk-yielding tree" (*Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣma Parva*, Roy's translation, pp. 24ff), but apparently also in Hindu-Cambodian iconography, in the diminutive bust of a goddess (*Śrī*) and in the diminutive head of a horse (*Uccaiḥśravas* or *Balāha*) emerging as if born from the foam generated by the churning-stick where it rests on the turtle's back in our Fig. 2—and in the similar figures emerging from the sides of the *kumbha* or vase at the base of the churning-stick in another Cambodian scene of the same type (Auboyer, 1949, pl. xi, *a*). These nascent figures must be equivalent to the pair of children born of the Mexican pulque froth, who are, according to Mackenzie, "either the first man and woman, or twin deities like those who have their origin in foam in the Zuñi myth." This is not to say that the horse and the goddess of fortune are to be conceived as literally representing "the first man and woman"; but rather that these images were, at some time prior to the execution of the Cambodian friezes, substituted for such a pair of primordial twins as described in the *Bhīṣma Parva*, and as we see them surviving in the iconography associated with the mythology of milk in the New World. The sexual symbolism of the bowl or vase and of the churning-stick inserted into it is the same in both hemispheres. By extending our view to include several Mexican representations of what may be called the cycle of milk and birth, we can thus recover Mexican counterparts to virtually all of the main features of the Hindu-Cambodian iconography of the churning of the Milky Ocean. It is safe to say that the "independent invention" of such an elaborate symbolism in the two hemispheres is totally out of the question. The only question is how and when this symbolism was transmitted from the Old World to the New.

Did the conception of the turtle as world-support reach the New World only with the relatively late wave of cultural influence which seems to have brought the symbols of a dairy economy to Middle America; or could it have been brought to the New World by an arctic migration of relatively "primitive" hunters and fishers in prehistoric times presumably long antedating the rise of a dairying economy in the Old World? Undoubtedly related to this question is another one: how does it happen that the Mexican Mayauel was regarded also as goddess of childbirth, and that as such she is here shown "seated on the turtle seat" (cf. J. E. Thompson, 1950, p. 116f); a symbolism which clearly recalls the ancient South Asian conception of the turtle as progenitor of all beings (see our text at notes 14 and 22)? May not this conception antedate the Vedas, in which it first becomes known to us? These are difficult and complex problems; but their existence shows that American parallels to Old-World symbolism may not be ignored, for the very circumstance of separation can provide unexpected clues to the history and development of the Old-World symbols themselves.

With this we conclude our consideration of South Asian analogues of the Batak design of Fig. 1, and their American counterparts. In Indonesia itself it appears that this Batak design has some analogues. Apparently not used in ritual, but nevertheless related schematically to the Batak design of Fig. 1, is a Balinese "representation of the cosmos", reproduced in Fig. 4. The Balinese name of *nāga-kūrma*, applied apparently to the whole composition, might be taken as a compound meaning "snake-turtle"

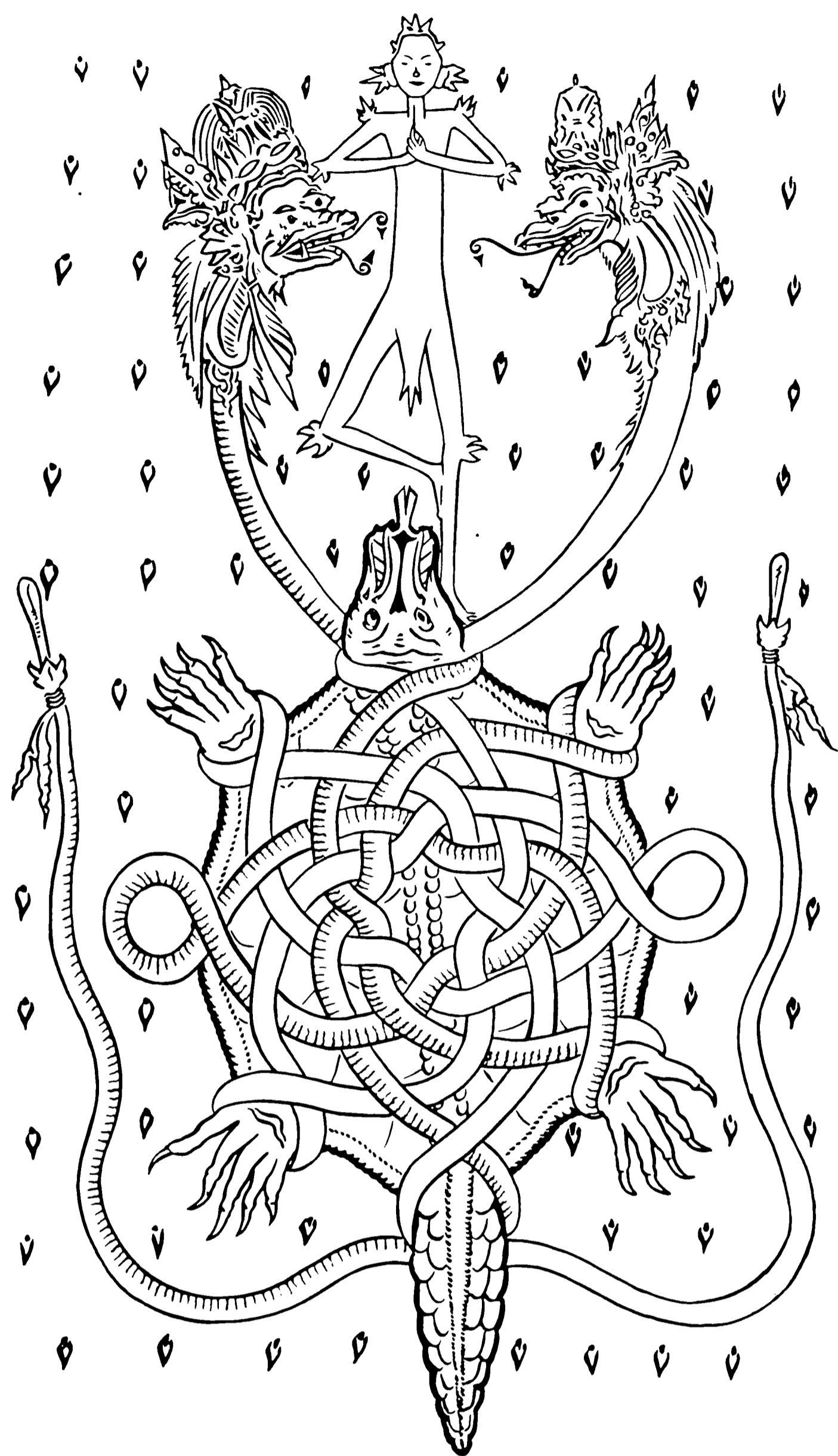


FIG 4. Balinese cosmogram. After a painting.

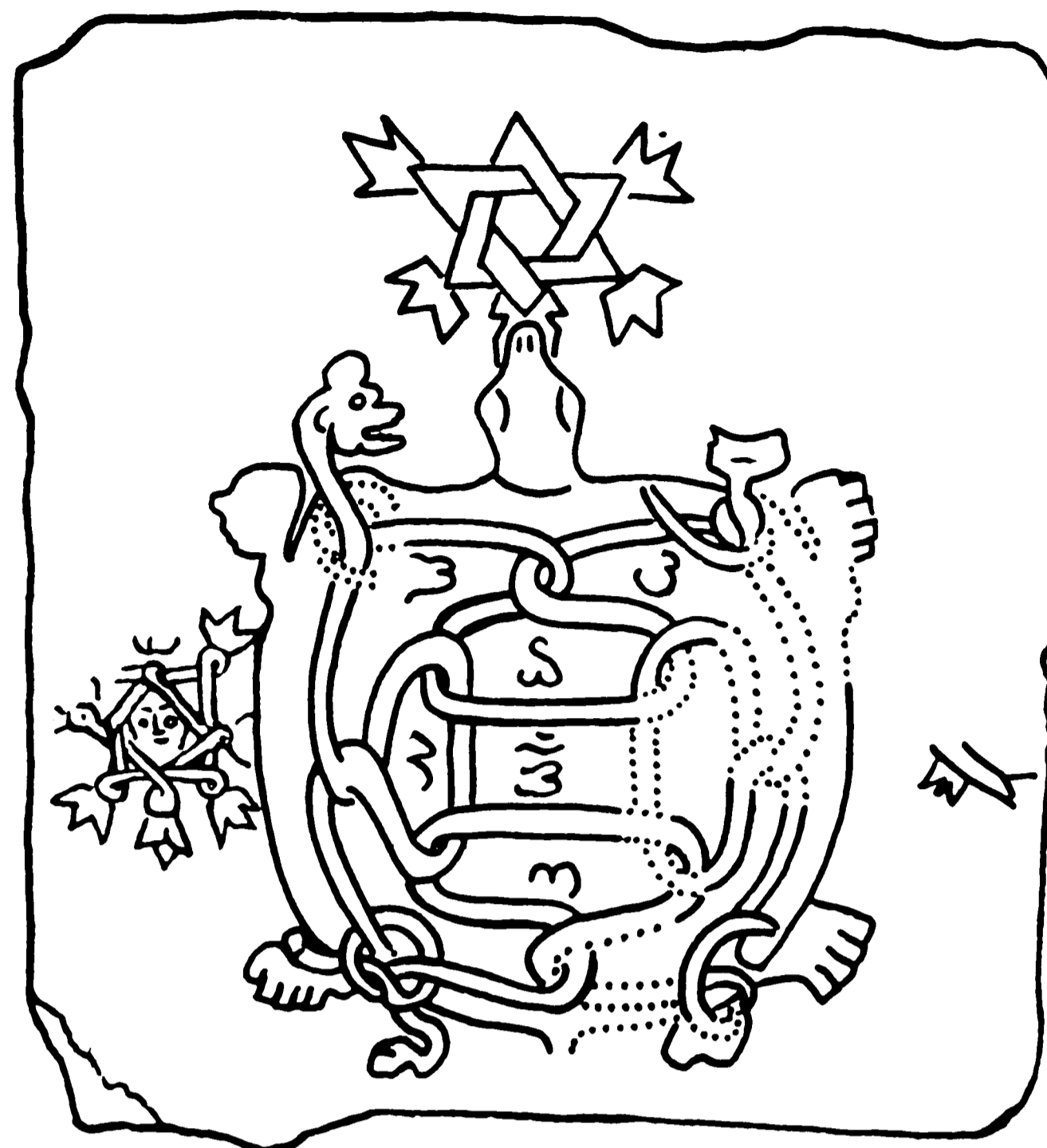


FIG. 5. Hindu-Javanese carving on stone. 15th century.

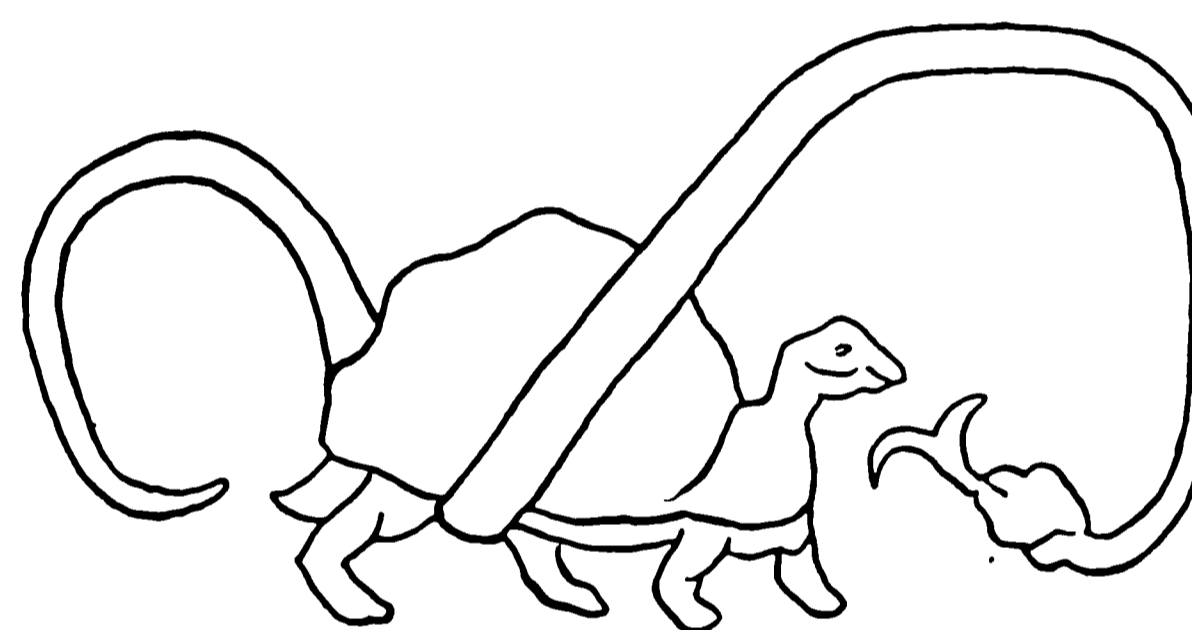


FIG. 6. Chinese stone carving. Han dynasty.

or “turtle-dragon” (i. e., “dragon in the form of a turtle”, as seems to be intended by the Batak expression *naga hurma djali*); but the design itself suggests the reading “snake and turtle”. However this may be, we see the anthropomorphic Supreme Being, *Tintiya* [i. e. *Acintya*], with flaming head, joints and genitals, standing on one leg poised simultaneously on both creatures. The coils of the two serpents in which the turtle is enmeshed together form a figure obviously akin to the *bindu* surrounding the turtle in the Batak design of Fig. 1. The many little tridents embellishing the background of this picture (which in the original painting appear white against the black “sky”) seem to be intended for representations of “falling stars”. Undoubtedly these have their counterpart in the tridents which, in alternation with more obviously astral symbols, form a ring around the corresponding diagram of the Bataks, Fig. 1. We may assume that these astral symbols in both the Balinese and Batak designs correspond, at least in principle, to the disks of the sun and the moon flanking the cosmic axis in the Cambodian representation of Fig. 2.

Despite obvious differences in formulation and style, it thus appears that a conceptual kinship underlies all these designs, in terms of which they largely explain each other. *Tintiya*, the “Supreme Being”,

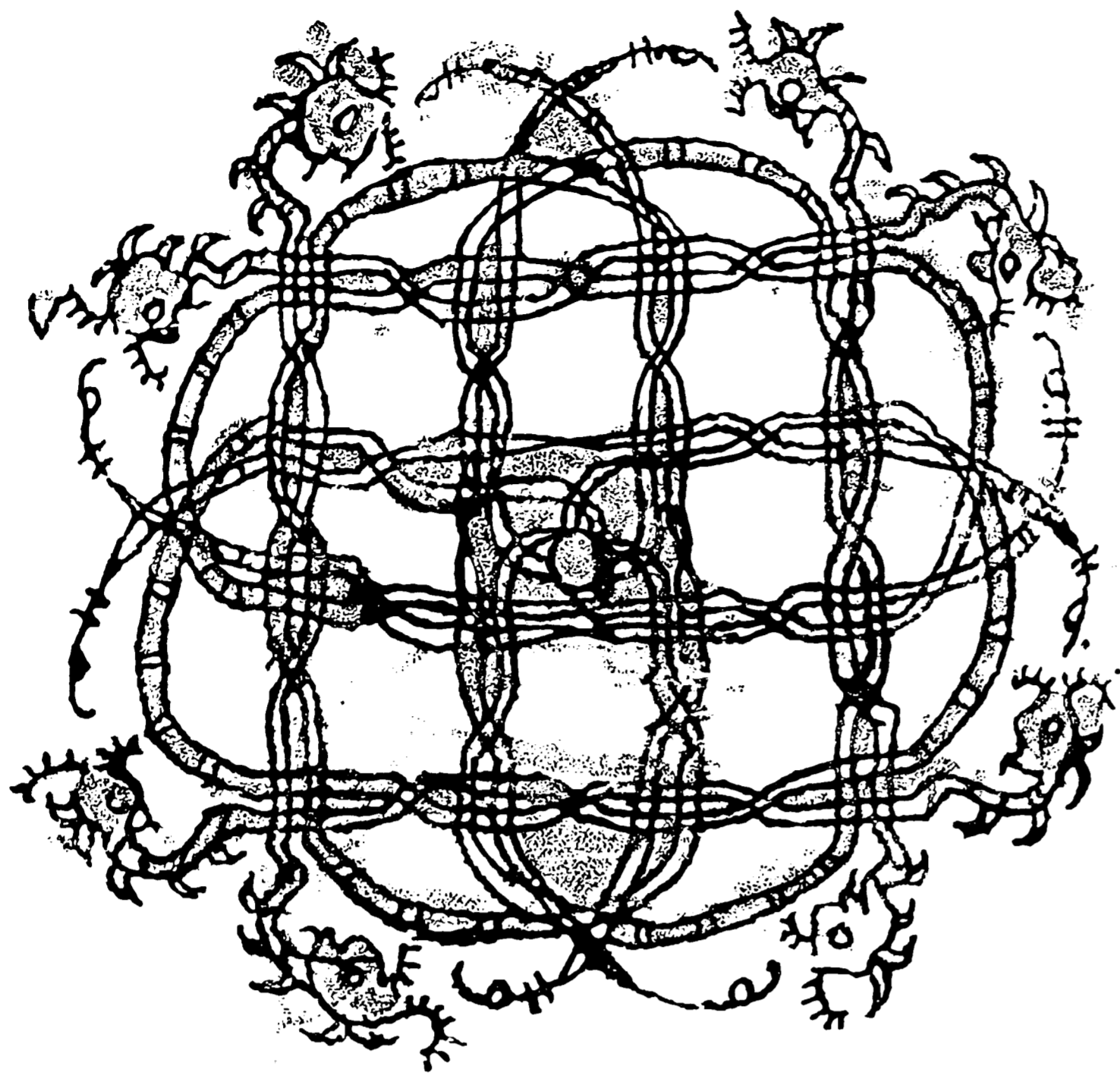


FIG. 7. Drawing in a Batak manuscript.

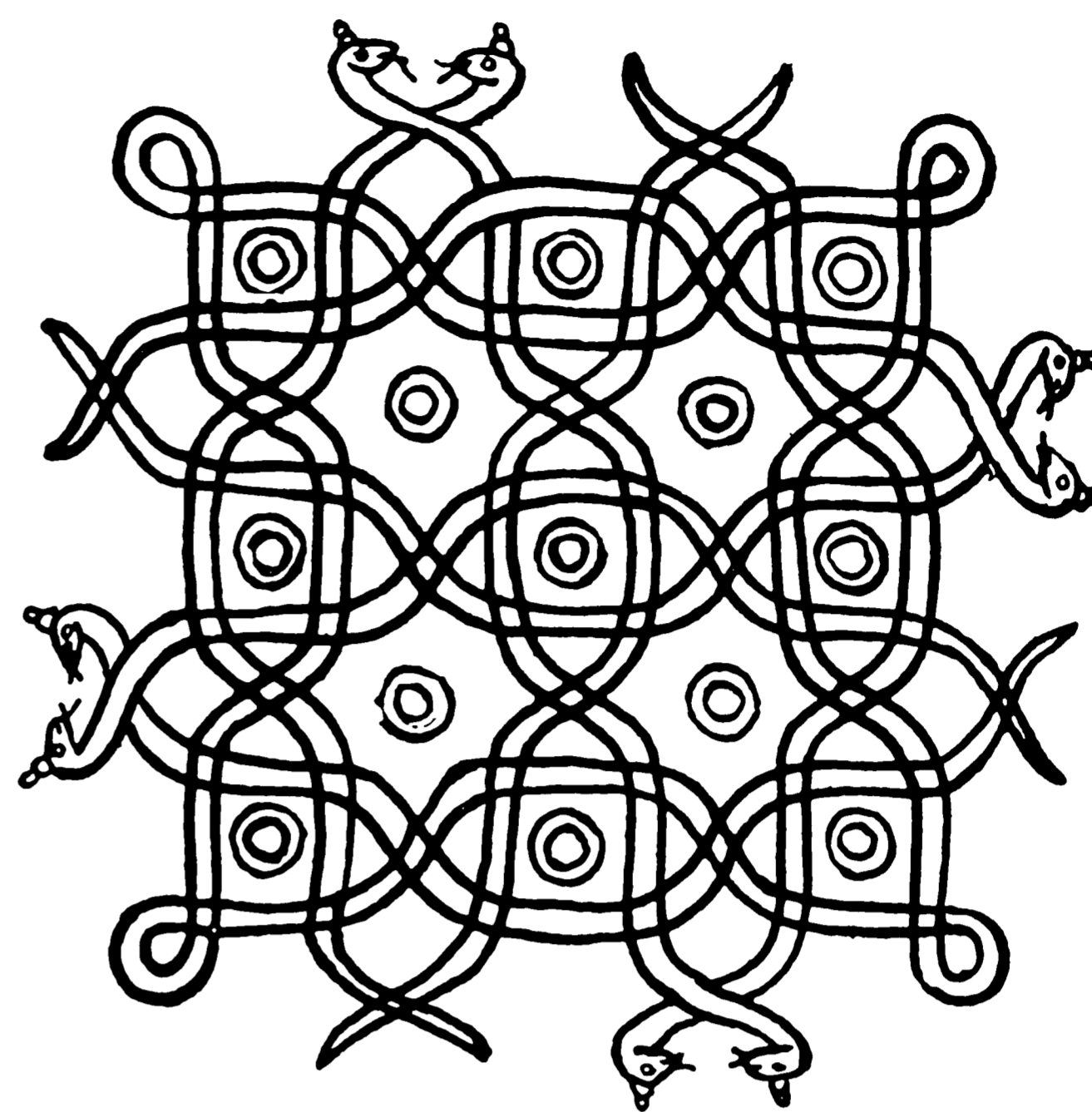


FIG. 8. South Indian threshold-design.

at the top of the Balinese cosmogram, evidently corresponds to the image of Brahmā surmounting the world-pillar of the Cambodian scene^{19a}; and both have their aniconic counterpart in the cloth flung over the top of the Batak sacrificial post (which is implicit, as we have seen, in the design of Fig. 1). In Figs. 1, 2 and 4, alike, turtle and serpent are closely associated, or perhaps tantamount, as symbols of the earth or the cosmic foundation. In the Batak design of Fig. 1 (and perhaps also in the Indian one of Fig. 3), the idea of the earthly foundation is evidently represented by the diagram of two overlapping squares with loops at the eight corners; while in the Balinese design of Fig. 4 the earth-serpents form a similar diagram by themselves.

Again clearly related to both the Batak design of Fig. 1 and the Balinese design of Fig. 4 is the image of a turtle enmeshed in the coils of serpents as it appears in the carving on a Javanese stone, Fig. 5, which is dated by an inscription 1337 Çaka, or A.D. 1415²⁰. Apart from the six-pointed "Solomon's seal" above the head of the turtle (which occurs rarely if at all in modern Batak manuscripts), we are especially interested in the pair of looped squares with apical "flames" at the left of the turtle—a motive which is certainly related to, and because of its date perhaps prototypic for, the pair of overlapping squares with apical ornaments in the modern Batak design of Fig. 1. Three of the main elements of this mediaeval Javanese composition—turtle, snakes, and *bindu*—are thus obviously akin to symbolic designs of the modern Bataks and Balinese; though they are somewhat differently combined in the three instances. In Java the *bindu* was placed outside, rather than around, the turtle, as it is placed by the Bataks; whereas the snakes in the Javanese carving are moved into close relation to the turtle, as they are in Bali, though they do not similarly form a *bindu*.

Finally, we propose to align with this complex an ancient Chinese motive of a turtle with a snake, as shown in Fig. 6—a combination which seems to have been first used by the Chinese in the Han dynasty (roughly 200 B.C. to A.D. 200) as a symbol for the direction north²¹. In the light of the foregoing con-



FIG. 9. Archaic Sumerian seal. Early 3rd millennium B.C.

siderations, it can hardly be doubted that the reason why this combination of creatures was chosen to represent the north is because of the “pole” or *axis mundi* implicit in their association. Probably the Chinese adopted this motive from some ancient iconography (perhaps Indian), in which the pole was either represented, as in Fig. 2, or implicit in a ritual usage, like that associated with Fig. 1. In any event, the assignation of these creatures to the north implies a pole, as corollary to the cosmic foundation which they undoubtedly represent. The fact that it was the north rather than any other direction to which the Chinese assigned these creatures is sufficiently explained by the rudimentary observation that the north star, being virtually immobile, represents the axis of the firmament. If originally there was a pole with the motive of the turtle and the snake from which the Chinese adapted their symbol of the north, they might have dropped it in order to make this pair of creatures accord better with the single creatures to which they assigned the other cardinal directions: the “blue dragon” of the east, the “red bird” of the south, and the “white tiger” of the west. (In this series, the snake and turtle are considered black). Whether as cause or effect, it may be said that the assignation of these creatures to the north, as the first or fundamental direction, harmonizes with the primacy of the north in Chinese cosmology and custom—as when, for example, the Chinese emperor thrones on the north, facing south.

A curious concomitant of this symbolism is the supposed sexual ambiguity of the turtle in ancient Chinese folklore (which evidently leads to its invocation in the modern Chinese curse of “turtle’s egg”, roughly equivalent to our “bastard” as an uncomplimentary designation of a person of doubtful parentage). This points to a conception of the turtle as the ultimate, pre-sexual, ancestor of all beings: a role assigned to it already in Vedic India²². The Chinese idea that the turtle conceives asexually, or that all turtles are female and need to be fertilized by snakes, might then be a rationalization of a mythical and iconographic theme whose origin had been forgotten or was but vaguely remembered in China of Han times—an origin which we can more nearly approach in Hindu mythology, Cambodian art, and the ritual diagrams and religious practices of the modern Balinese and Bataks²³.

Entwined snakes

A second motive frequently found in the Batak *pustahas*, perhaps related ultimately to that of the serpent or serpents entwined about the chthonic turtle, is the motive of a group of serpents entwined about themselves, as shown in Fig. 7—and in a simplified version in Fig. 41. Just as we found the closest

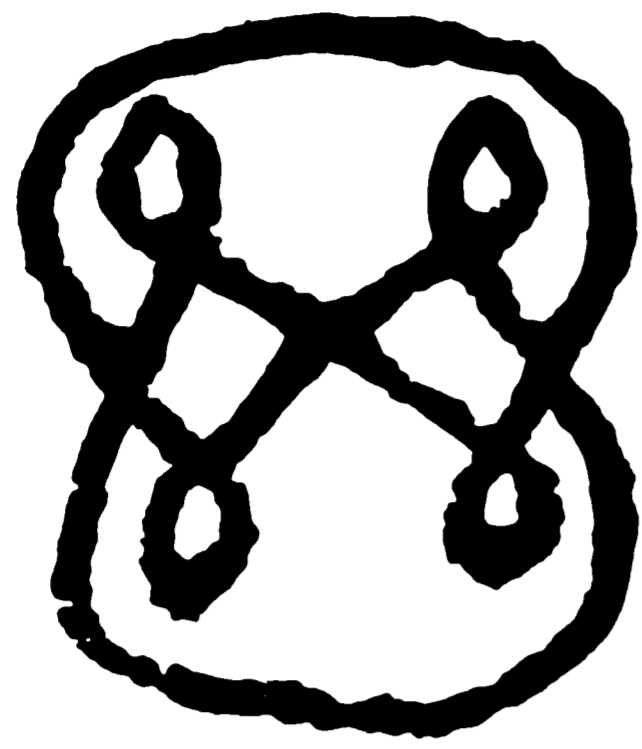


FIG. 10

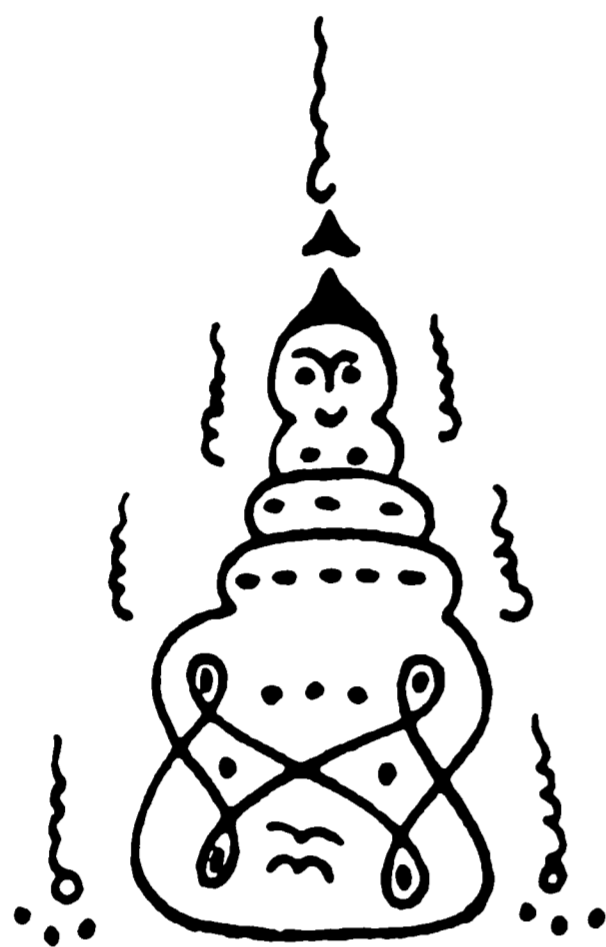


FIG. 11

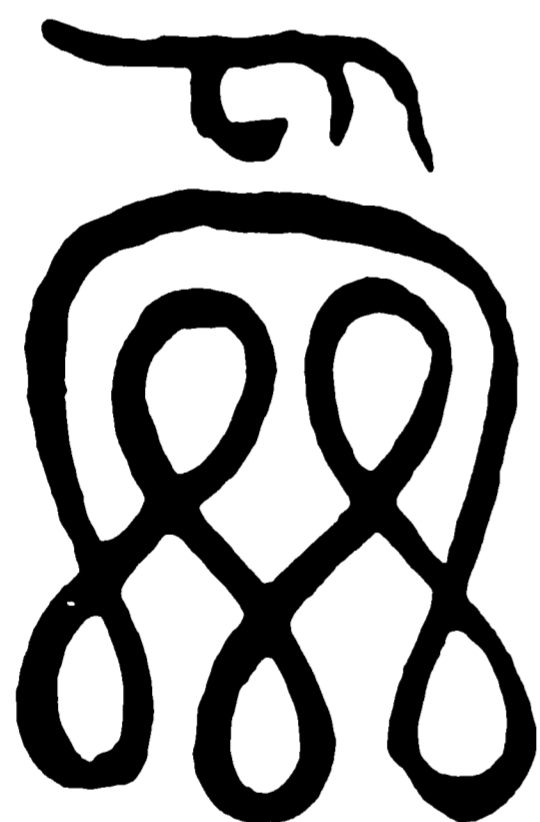


FIG. 12

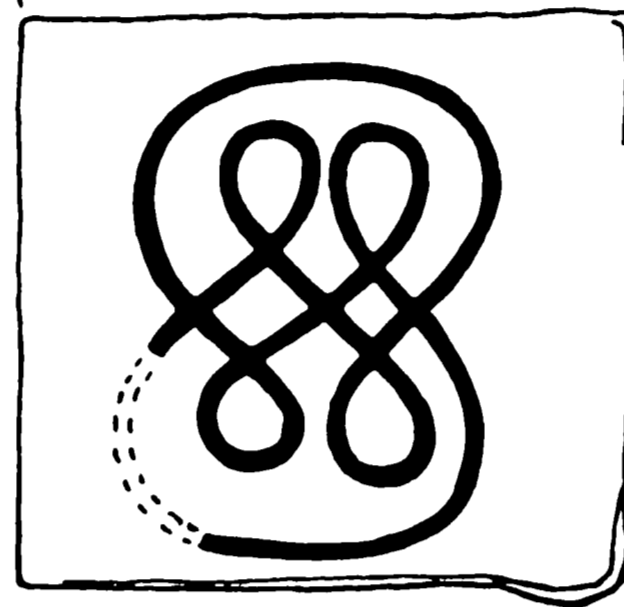
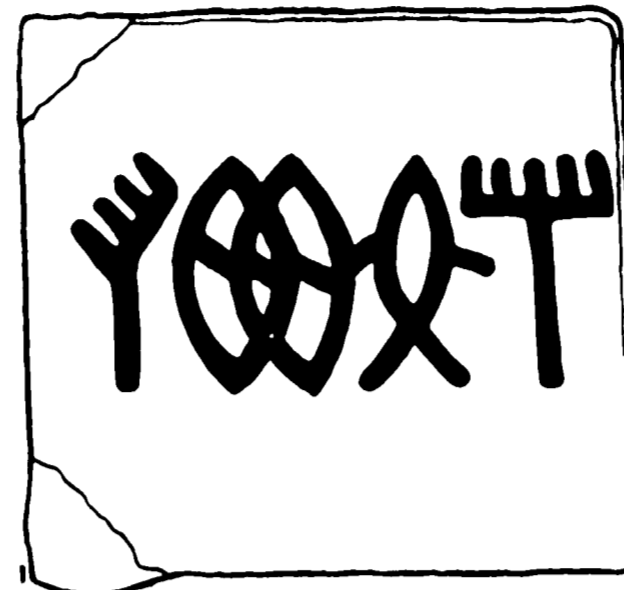


FIG. 13

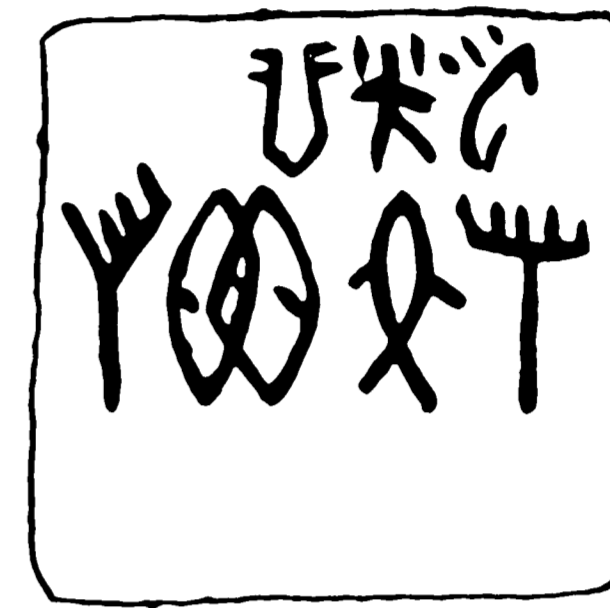
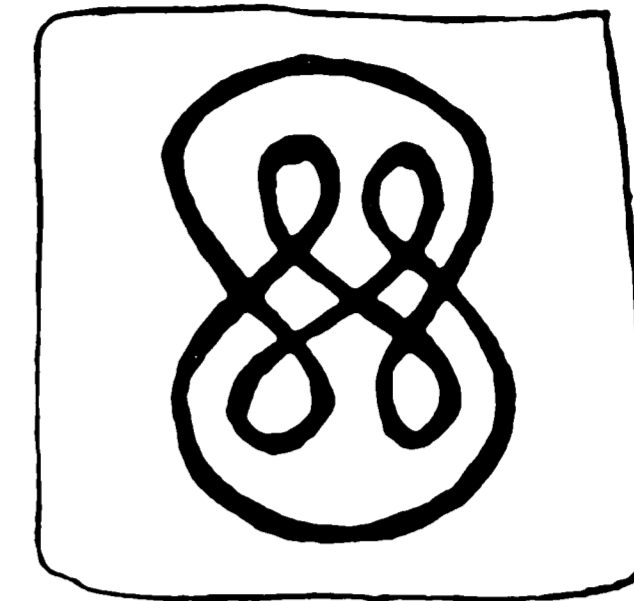


FIG. 14

- FIG. 10. Sumatra. Batak design. Modern. (Detail of Fig. 41).
 FIG. 11. Laos. Modern tattooing.
 FIG. 12. China. Shang inscription. About 13th century B.C.
 FIG. 13. Mohenjo-Daro. Copper plate. 13th century B.C.
 FIG. 14. Mohenjo-Daro. Copper plate. 13th century B.C.

relative of the Batak motive, Fig. 1, in India, so we find there also, in Fig. 8, the "first cousin" of this Batak motive of entwined snakes. Though the idea of forming a symmetrical pattern out of the coils of snakes is doubtless very old, as shown by its occurrence on an archaic Sumerian seal of the beginning of the third pre-Christian millennium, Fig. 9²⁴; still it is obvious that the Batak and Indian designs of Figs. 7 and 8 together constitute a special instance of this principle. In fact, the Indian design includes certain elements, omitted from its Batak counterpart, namely disks placed in the intervals between the coils of the snakes, which compel us to recognize the relationship of these two designs to a special type: that in which continuous lines are coiled about, or pass through, a prearranged framework of dots. The "serpentine" character of such lines, which are often duplicated, as if traced by two fingers of one

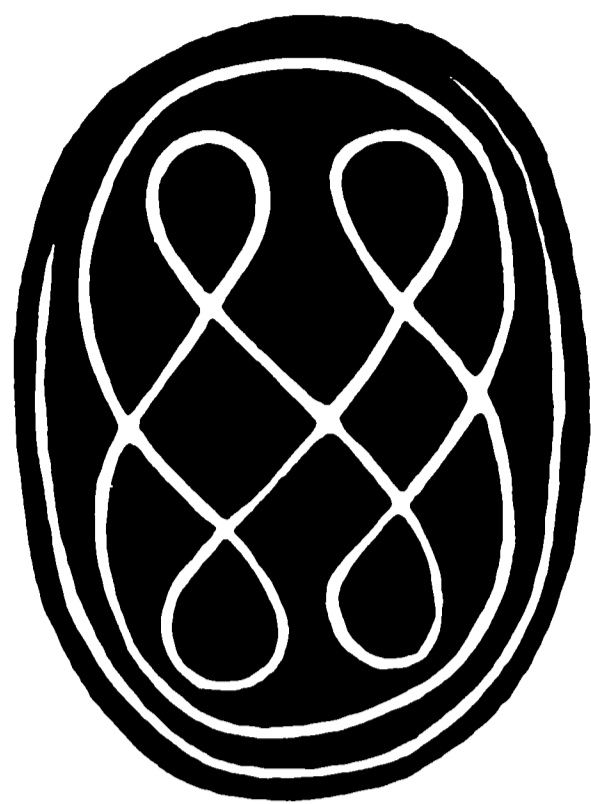


FIG. 15

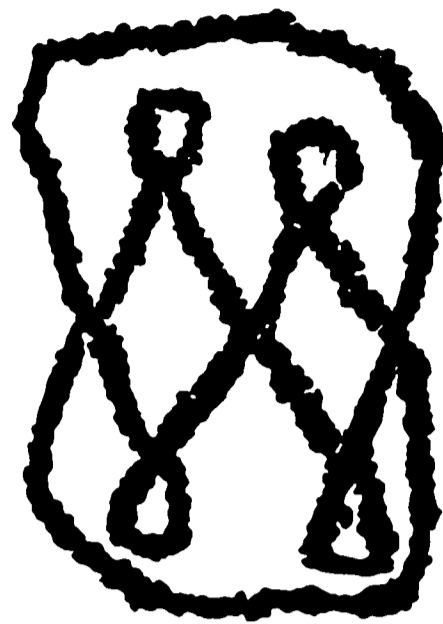


FIG. 16a

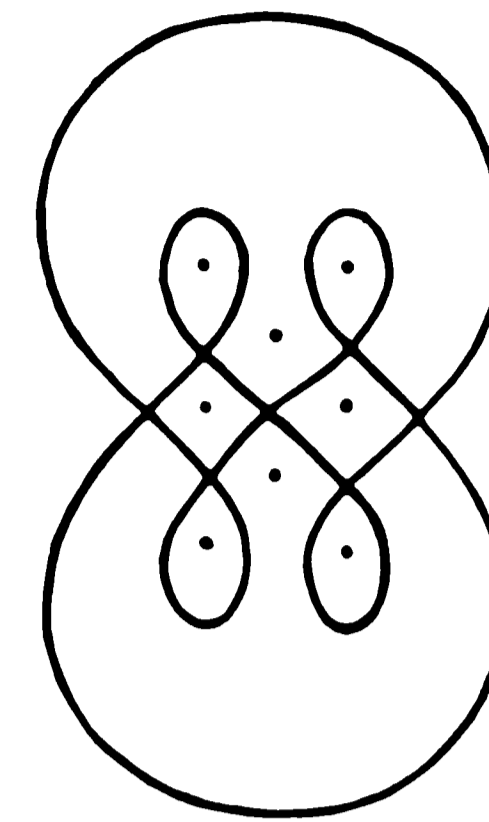


FIG. 16b



FIG. 16

FIG 15. Egyptian seal. 1800-1600 B.C.

FIG. 16. Egyptian hieroglyphic sign. After 2900 B.C.

FIG. 16a. Cameroons. Design on cloth.

FIG. 16b. Angola. Sand-tracing.

hand, may be emphasized by interrupting them to add the heads and tails of snakes; but in principle the lines coiled about the dots are endless. (The Indian turtle of Fig. 3, formed by connecting such dots, rather than by weaving loops around them, represents one sub-variety of this class, to which many Indian threshold designs belong, as do doubtless also several of the designs in Batak manuscripts). The principles embodied in the development of such "serpentine" designs have been ably characterized and classified by Layard²⁵. Since, as he has shown, certain designs from the Melanesian island of Malekula in the New Hebrides are closely related to Indian designs of the type of our Fig. 8, it can hardly surprise us to find the type represented also in the geographically intermediate island of Sumatra. However, in order to see these circumstances in their true perspective, we must take note of the fact that designs constructed according to the same principle (namely, endless "serpentine" lines laid out with reference to a prearranged system of dots, which may or may not be omitted as the performer develops skill) undoubtedly occur also in West Africa²⁶, and that there are indications of their existence likewise in pre-Columbian America²⁷, and possibly even in aboriginal Australia²⁸. So wide a geographical distribution implies a corresponding antiquity of origin²⁹. These considerations obviously transcend the framework of the present study; but they should nevertheless be cited in support of our general thesis that the Batak designs cannot have been simply invented by the Bataks, but represent merely twigs, as it were, upon an immensely ancient and very widespread family tree.

Though we do not know whether the design of Fig. 7 was used by the Bataks in the performance of any ritual, there is no doubt that the closely related Indian design of Fig. 8, or designs very much like it, were used ritually in South India. In his study of South Indian threshold designs, Layard³⁰ calls



FIG. 17

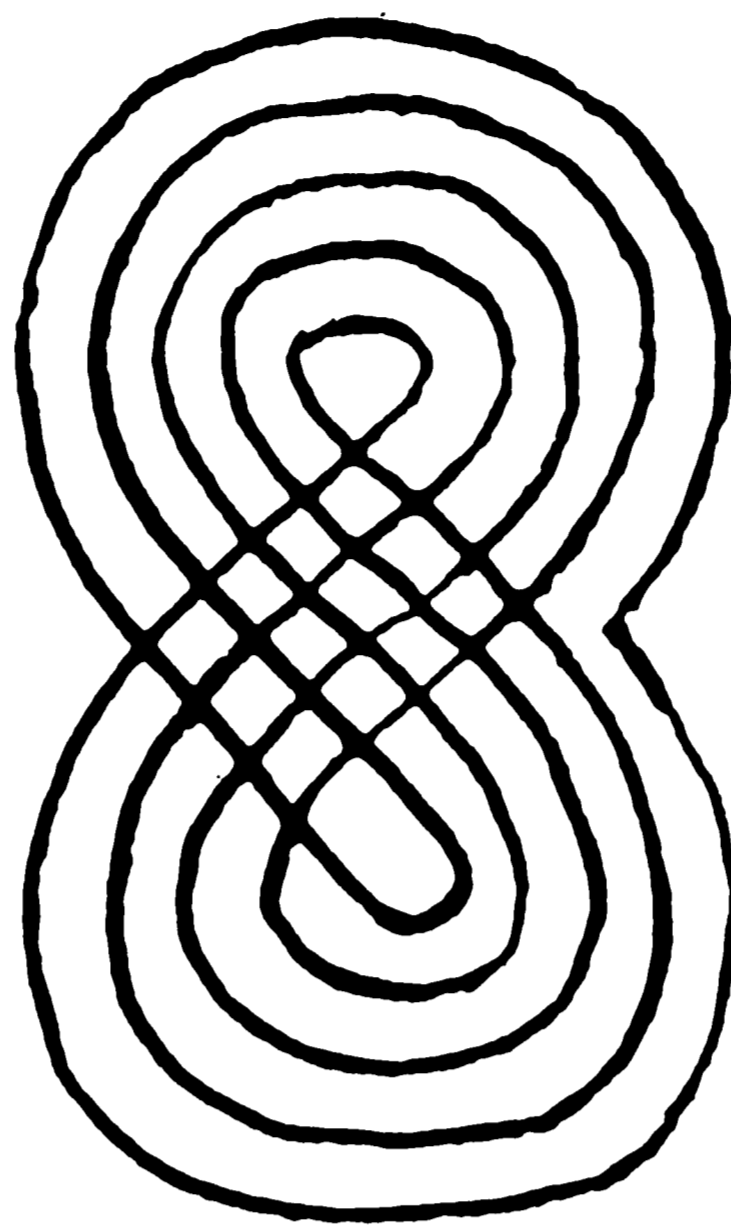


FIG. 18

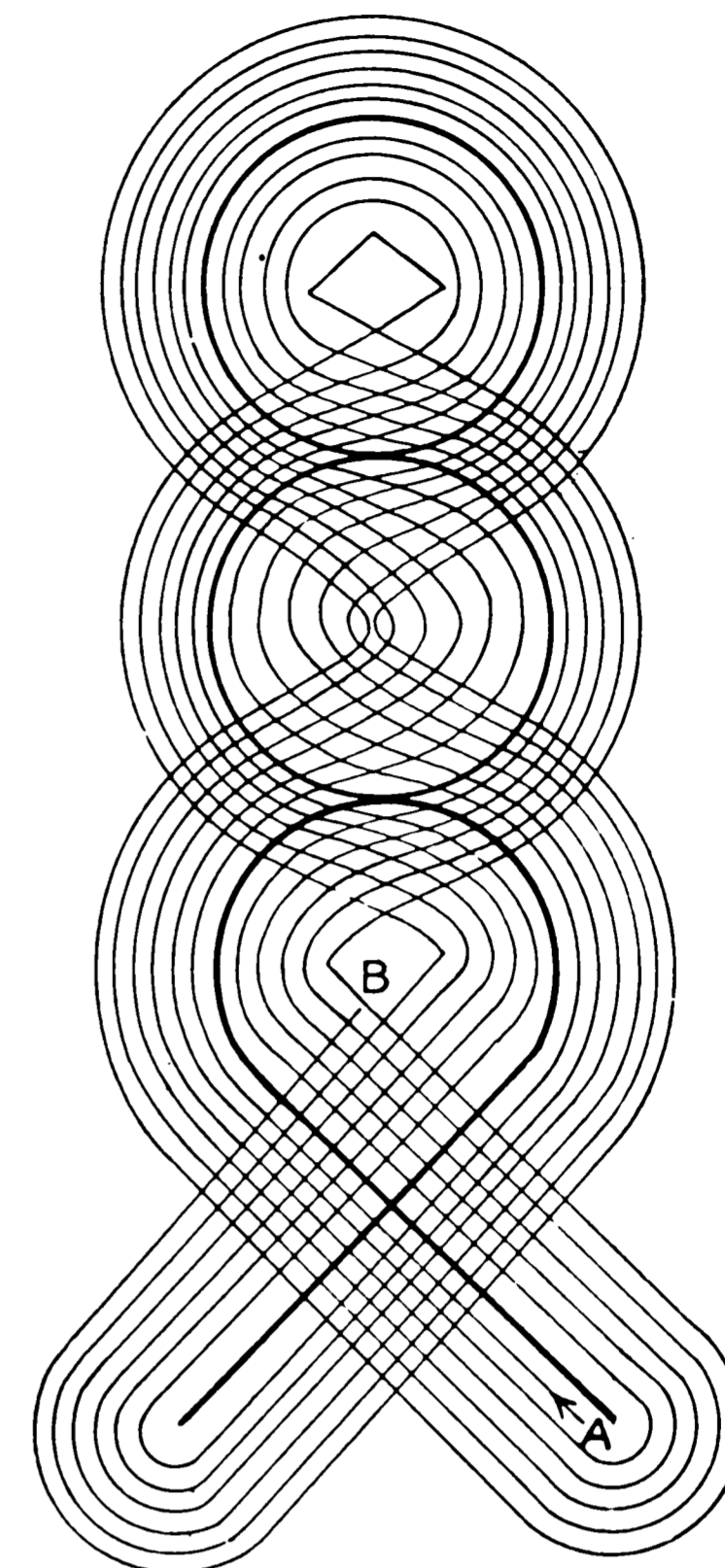


FIG. 19

FIG. 17. Drawing in a Batak manuscript.

FIG. 18. Painted motif on an Egyptian vase. Predynastic period.

FIG. 19. Sand-tracing. Malekula. New Hebrides.

attention to a passage from Thurston, including the illustration reproduced in our Plate 2, which reads as follows:

“When a family, in Malabar, is troubled by the presence of snakes on the premises, or when members thereof are suffering from cutaneous or other disorders, the aid of the astrologer is solicited, and, if the anger of a snake is believed to be the cause of the affliction, a ceremony called *pāmbantullel* (snake-jumping) or *nāgapattu* is performed. A Pulluvan, whose caste is said to be descended from the snake deity, acts as the *pūjāri* or officiating minister. On the day appointed he draws a geometrical design of a snake on the floor [our Plate 2]. The animal is represented in rice flour, and the spaces between the coils are filled in with burnt rice husk, turmeric powder, powdered green leaves, etc. Five colours are essential, to correspond with the colours which are visible on the necks of serpents. A female member of the afflicted family, who has fasted during the day, bathes, and sits on the floor at the head of the snake. Her hair is untied, and she holds in her hands a bunch of coconut flowers. The Pulluvan plays on his earthen pot-drum while a Pulluva woman keeps time with the music by striking a metal vessel. Both man and woman at the same time sing songs in honour of the serpent deity. Gradually the seated woman becomes possessed, and begins to quiver, while waving her dishevelled locks. Moving backwards and forwards, she rubs away the figure of the snake with the coconut flowers, and, rising up, bathes once more. It may be necessary to rub away the snake as many as a hundred times, in which case the ceremony is prolonged over several weeks. Each time that the snake design is destroyed, one or two men, with torches in their hands, perform a dance, keeping step to the Pulluvan’s music”³¹

Layard continues: “The nature of the rite, as well as the materials used to make the continuous-line design, both show the close connexion between this form of magic and the drawing of threshold designs. . . . The importance of rubbing out the design and the associated dancing recall the Malekulan evidence, as well as the fact that the South Indian threshold designs are no sooner made than they are walked on”³².

Whether a design of entwined snakes like that shown in Fig. 7 was actually drawn upon the ground

by the Batak *datu* (see Plate 1), or whether it was applied by the Bataks to thresholds and stepped upon or ritually rubbed out, or indeed what ideas, if any, were associated with it by the Bataks, this writer does not know^{32a}. But in view of the ritual associations of the corresponding South Indian design, and in view of the very wide geographical distribution of the type of continuous-line diagrams, the question may be asked whether we should not see, in the South Indian ritual, a survival of some of the basic notions associated with such designs from times antedating even the Sumerian design of Fig. 9. Such possibilities at least indicate the need for a careful study of the forms and uses of the designs laid out upon the ground by the Batak *datu*.



FIG. 20. Sassanian seal. Iran.

King Solomon's seal (looped string)

The third Batak design which we wish to consider is the so-called "female" *tapak radja Suleman*, or "King Solomon's seal, female", represented in Fig. 10³³. As can be seen at the left of Plate 1, this design is one of those "painted" or rather strewn on the ground in lines of white lime by the Batak *datu* or sorcerer. But apart from this usage (which is probably fundamental), the Bataks also apply the design generally as a talisman to objects of many different kinds. It is not surprising to learn that, in order to be magically effective, the figure must be drawn continuously, without a break and without hesitation³⁴. It is thus an example *par excellence* of the "continuous-line technique", which is also exemplified, in a modified form, by the motive of interlocking snakes just considered. The relation between these two kinds of looped designs appears in a Laotian version of the type here in question, Fig. 11, in which, as in the Indian design of Fig. 8, the dots are retained around which the endless line is looped. (The treatment of the upper part of the design as a Buddha's throne may be disregarded as a secondary elaboration).

Undoubtedly the tradition behind the modern Batak design of Fig. 10 is very old. Thus Hentze was struck by the resemblance between this Batak design and a certain Chinese pictograph of the Shang dynasty (dating presumably from between 1300 and 1200 B.C.) which is reproduced in our Fig. 12³⁵. Hentze's observation may turn out to be an exceptionally important one; for as he shows, the Chinese pictograph of Fig. 12 is in fact the archaic form of a later Chinese character, *hsi*, meaning "to bind", which is composed of two elements, a simplified hand (recognizable at the top of Fig. 12) holding a looped skein of silk thread. Another archaic Chinese pictograph shows two hands, one at the top and one at the bottom of a looped motive clearly equivalent to the lower element of our Fig. 12. The pictograph with two hands later developed, by the addition of an element designating "speech", into the modern Chinese character *luan*, "to bring into order"; and an analogous development led to another modern Chinese character, *tzũ*, meaning "concept, speech, expression, written composition". It thus appears, as Hentze shows, that the image of an endlessly looped cord was in ancient China somehow intimately associated with the idea of spoken and written communication. Hentze continues his observations as follows:



FIG. 21. Drawing in a Batak manuscript.



FIG. 22. Hindu-Javanese gold ring.

“Therefore, something must have been spoken while the skein of silk was brought into order; or else the putting into order of the skein was in itself an action somehow equivalent to a sign-language or the expression of a concept. This reminds us inevitably of the thread-games [‘string figures’ or ‘cats’ cradles’],³⁶ known to us especially from Polynesia, in which two hands evolve all kinds of figures through various loopings of an [endless] cord. . . . These thread-games—or more properly the figures evolved by their means—serve to express concepts. Indeed, the function of the thread-game is in a sense mnemonic, in so far as the production of each figure was accompanied by the recital of a specific chant or mythological story, which was then acted out. . . .³⁷ Today the thread-game is unknown in China. But was it unknown in ancient times? Here we must refer to a fact of special significance in relation to what has just been said, which shows that the ancient Chinese did have some means of communicating by looped or knotted cords. The *I-Ching* (Book of Changes) mentions a kind of ‘knot-writing’³⁸. That this implies a system of communication by means of knotted cords appears from a passage in the philosopher Chuang-tzū, praising the good old days when people lived simply and merely used knotted cords (instead of written texts)³⁹. Many attempts have been made to equate this ancient Chinese ‘knot-writing’ with the Peruvian *quipu*. But the *quipu* is by no means the only example of ‘knot-writing’ to be found in the Pacific area. In the Marquesas there was also a ‘knot-writing’, which served for the determination of genealogies⁴⁰, and which was used by persons especially initiated for this purpose⁴¹. Knot-writing is generally regarded as little more than a mnemonic device. But the same may be said of string-figures; and it seems very likely, thus, that ‘knot-writing’ is really related historically and conceptually to the custom of making string-figures. The Marquesans knew both. It should be recalled in passing that the Marquesans are Polynesians, who presumably migrated eastward through Indonesia. But many cultural elements undoubtedly reached Indonesia from Southeast Asia, among them knowledge of the culture of silk, strands or skeins of which are represented in the above-mentioned ancient Chinese pictographs. It goes without saying that wherever silk was not cultivated, it would be replaced by fibre cords for the purpose of making mnemonic knots or string-figures.”⁴²

That the device of an endless looped cord, or a symbol derived from it, may indeed have something fundamental to do with the very origins of writing, not only in China, as Hentze has so well suggested, but also elsewhere, appears from the circumstance that precisely the same looped design as that used by the Bataks for their magic purposes is incised on two copper plates found in the upper levels of Mohenjo-Daro: Figs. 13 and 14. These plates, which bear identical inscriptions in the Indus Valley script on their other sides, may be dated approximately between 1300 and 1200 B.C.⁴³ It must also be observed that the same looped sign appears on seals of a slightly earlier period in Egypt, that of the Hyksos invasions, between about 1800 and 1600 B.C., as shown by the example reproduced in Fig. 15. Like the Chinese looped design, the Egyptian one, slightly simplified, was also used as a pictograph,

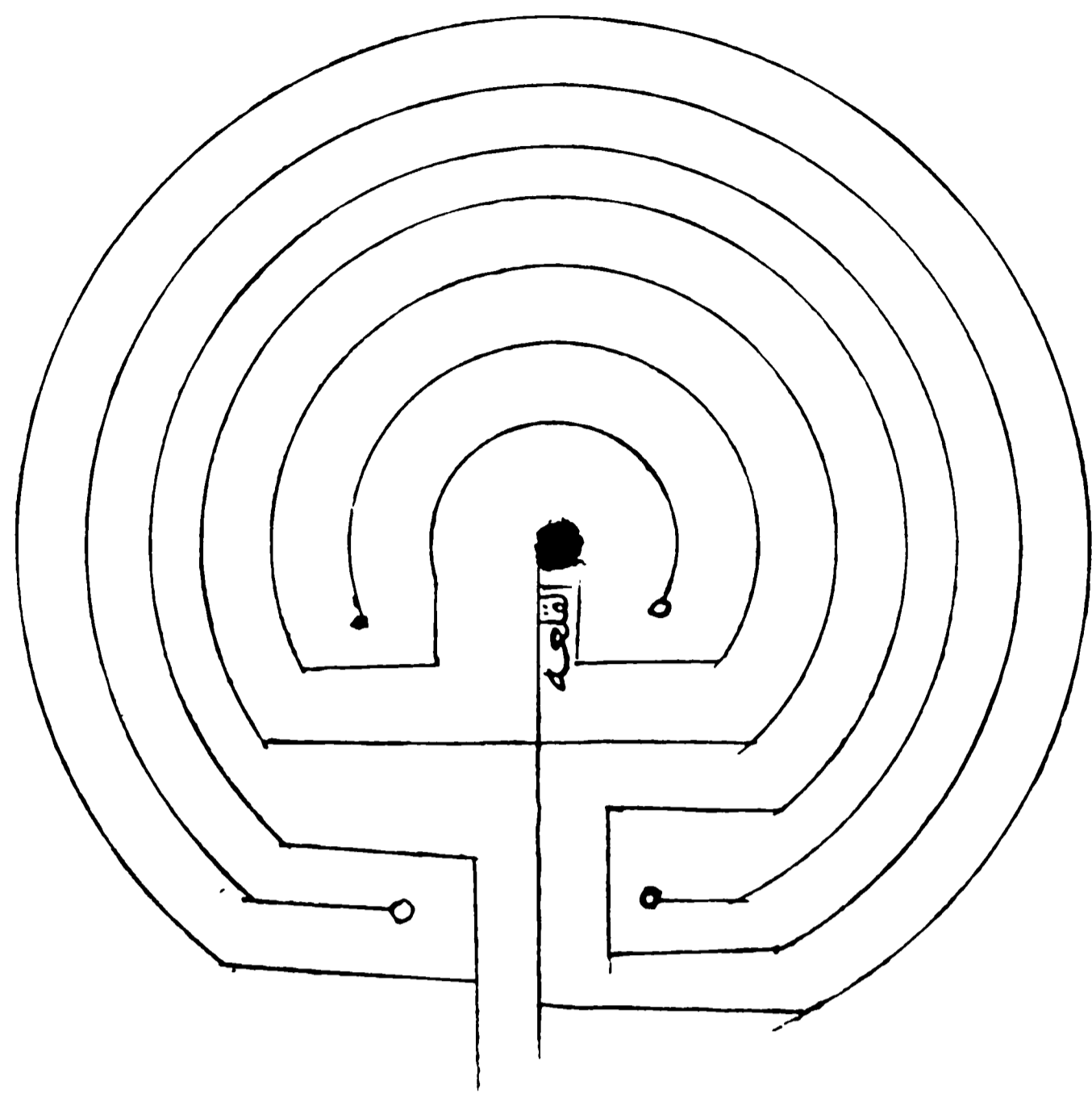


FIG. 23. Indian "labyrinth" recorded in an Arabic manuscript. A.D. 1030.

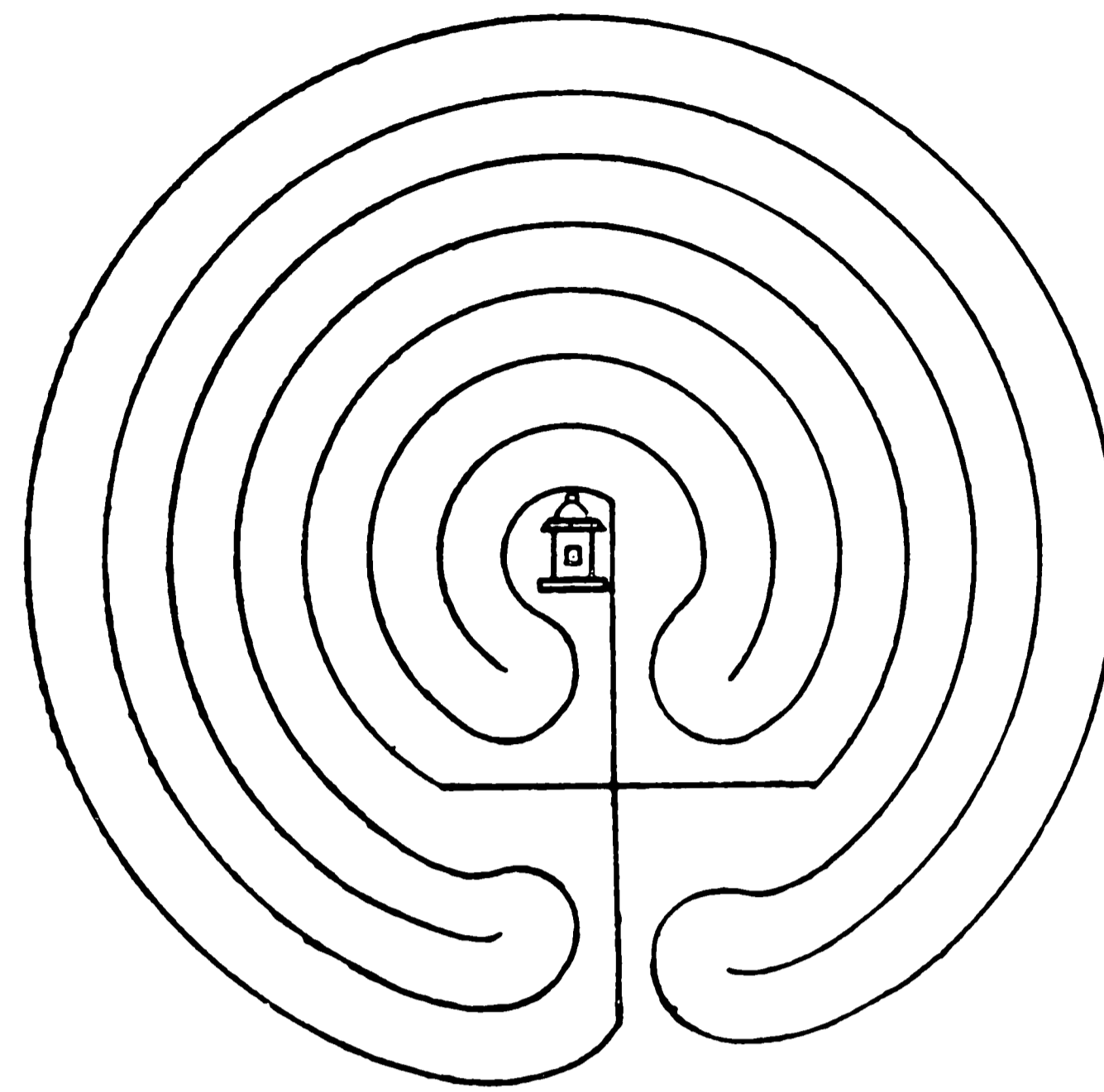


FIG. 24. Threshold-designing from an Indian pattern-book.

from much earlier times. Fig. 16 shows the sign for "looped rope" as it occurs in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing from the times of the pyramid texts of the fifth or sixth dynasties, between 2500 and 2400 B. C.; and the same sign was known in Egypt at least as early as 2900 B. C.⁴⁴ Perhaps this means that the design on the seal of the Hyksos period, Fig. 15, represents a survival of the full and original form of a device which had been earlier simplified for the purpose of writing. The circumstance that motives identical or closely similar to that of the Egyptian seal, Fig. 15, appear at a slightly subsequent period (roughly the 13th century B. C.) in the primitive writing of both the Indus Valley and China is obviously of interest in connection with the history of writing, and it might be significant also for the eventual reconstruction of cultural or ethnic movements across Asia in the protohistoric period. Here we are interested primarily in the meaning of such looped motives⁴⁵, and in the fact that an example of the type is included in the repertory of designs which the modern Batak sorcerers trace upon the ground. For we surmise that this Batak usage reflects the ritual context in which such designs were first conceived⁴⁶. The fact that the Bataks trace this figure on the ground is not necessarily at variance with Hentze's theory that such "continuous-line" designs represent string-figures. Perhaps the two modes of execution are historically conterminous—the dots of the ground-figures corresponding to the fingers around which the string-figures are looped. If the modern children's game of making string-figures indeed represents the survival of an ancient ritual practice, this is, then, equally true of the modern practice of tracing continuous-line designs upon the ground. In most parts of the world where the latter practice persists, it has the character of a game. The fact that among the Bataks the tracing of such designs has ritual and magic associations suggests a survival of its original character. All the more reason for a serious study of the ideas associated with the making of such diagrams by the Bataks.

Because of the great antiquity of this motive in China, India and Egypt, and its survival into modern times in Southeast Asia and among the Bataks of Sumatra, it is perhaps not surprising to find evidence

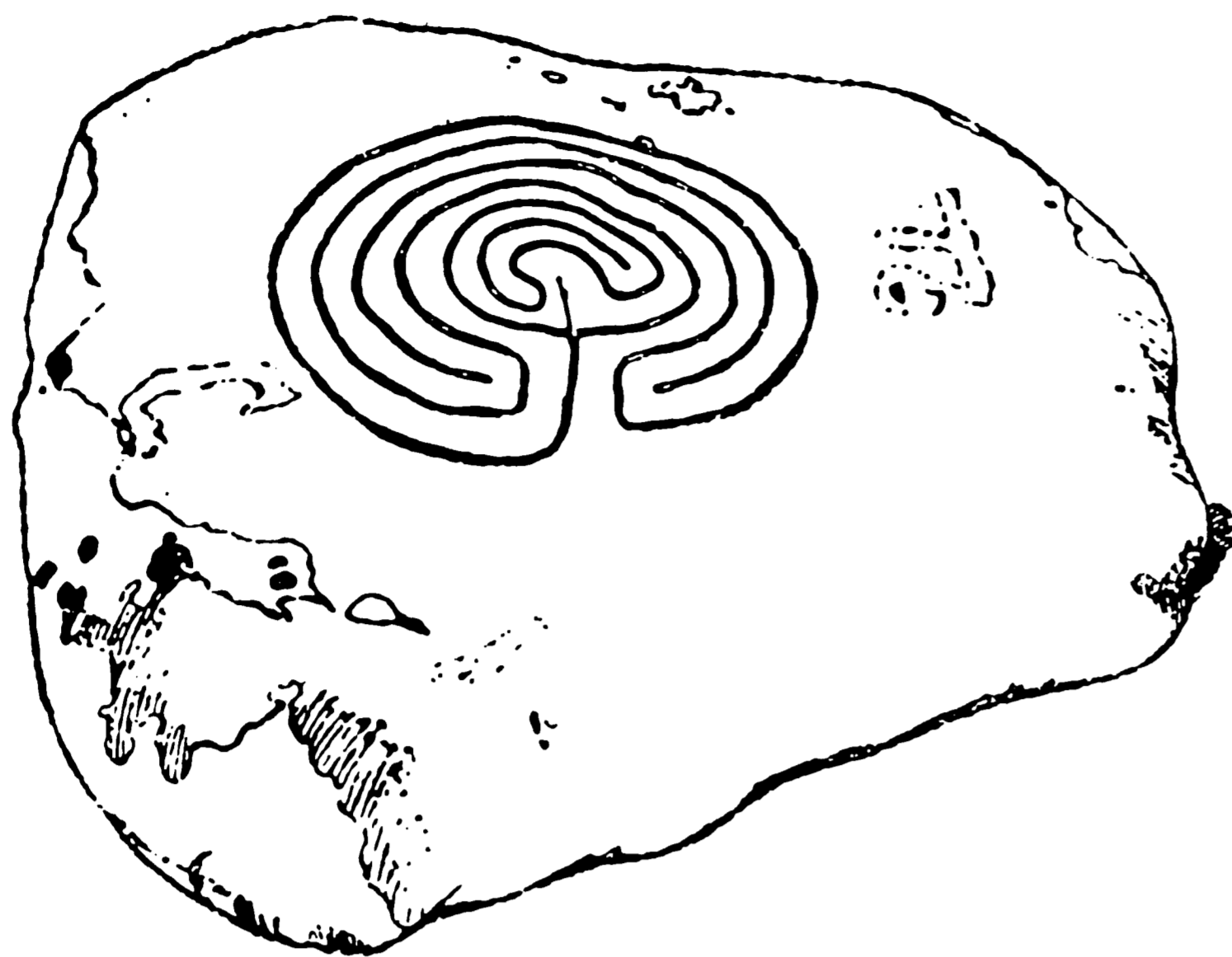


FIG. 25. Labyrinth carved on a boulder. Northern Caucasus.



FIG. 26. Design on an Etruscan vase of the late 7th century B.C.

of its survival also in modern Negro Africa. In Figs. 16 *a* and *b* are reproduced two designs of this type, the former from a *batik* cloth of the Gashaka tribe in the Cameroons, the latter being again, as among the Bataks, a design traced on the ground. The design of Fig. 16 *b* is only one of many different ground or sand-drawings practiced by the Quioco of Angola, in which a continuous line is traced with the index finger around a preliminary framework of dots or pits made in the ground with the same finger—these then forming part of the finished design, like the dots in the Laotian motive of Figure 11. Perhaps the chief interest of this motive is that its occurrence in modern Negro Africa suggests, together with the occurrence of the identical design among the Batak (from which the Quioco design differs only in that it was apparently drawn as a pastime, not as part of a ritual) the periphery of a vast area of diffusion from an ancient center lying somewhere in the Near East or Egypt.

In view of the correspondences just adduced, we may equate, at least tentatively, a looped design of the modern Bataks, Fig. 17, with a design on an Egyptian vase of the predynastic period, Fig. 18, and a modern design from Malekula in the New Hebrides, Fig. 19. Of these, only the Egyptian design is formed of a single continuous line. Its Batak counterpart, contrived out of four concentric figures "8", obviously violates that principle, which is most clearly stated in the remote "peripheral" area of the New Hebrides, in so far as there the continuous line, though not actually endless, has a prescribed beginning ("A") and a prescribed ending ("B")⁴⁷.

Looped designs of the endless type doubtless survive in many different cultures and epochs. In Fig. 20 a seal of the Sassanian period from Iran bearing such a design is reproduced, for the first time, by the courtesy of the excavator.

Labyrinth

Probably related historically to the motive of the endless loop is another motive frequently found in Batak manuscripts, as represented in Fig. 21. For want of a better name, we follow the custom of referring to this motive (the fourth in our series) as a "labyrinth"; though it hardly exemplifies the



FIG. 27. Cretan coin. 3rd century B.C.



FIG. 28. Labyrinth carved on rock. North-western Spain. Bronze age.

meaning classically associated with that term, since one cannot get lost in it. Probably the design is to be conceived rather as an exercise in which two pairs of points or dots must be connected simultaneously by two lines in such a way that the lines cross at only one point, one pair of dots representing the two points of departure, and the other pair of dots representing the two points of arrival⁴⁸. The Bataks explain their version of this design as the refuge of a rogue, Si Djonaha, whose pranks largely parallel those of the European Till Eulenspiegel⁴⁹. Whatever may be the merits of the Batak explanation, it must be said at once that the design of Fig. 21 can hardly be understood except with reference to phenomena outside the Bataklands. Accordingly, we have assembled, in Figs. 22–32, and on Plates 7–11, a number of “labyrinths” from various times and places, which are structurally identical with the Batak design of Fig. 21.

The Hindu-Javanese gold ring, Fig. 22, shows that this motive was already known in Indonesia in the mediaeval period, at some time between the 9th and 15th centuries⁵⁰. Like many other motives in the Batak *pustahas*, it was probably from India that this motive found its way to Indonesia. At any rate, it was known in India at least as early as the 11th century, when the Arabic writer Alberuni incorporated a drawing of it, Fig. 23, in his treatise on “India”. According to Alberuni, the Indians of his day regarded the central point within the diagram as the “castle” in which the demon Rāvaṇa fortified himself in Laṅkā after carrying off the wife of Rāma, as told in the Rāmāyaṇa⁵¹. Still today in India the innermost area of the labyrinth, when it is drawn as a threshold design, Fig. 24, may be occupied by the representation of a structure which is sometimes regarded as a “fort”⁵². The fact that in modern India this motive is commonly included among the designs laid out in lime before thresholds is of interest in several respects; in the first place because this usage confirms the special symbolical association, or indeed identity, of the labyrinth with the Threshold or Door, in a metaphysical or eschatological sense⁵³; secondly, because it tends to confirm our belief that this “labyrinth” is fundamentally related to the class of “continuous-line” designs which in India are laid out before thresholds generally in

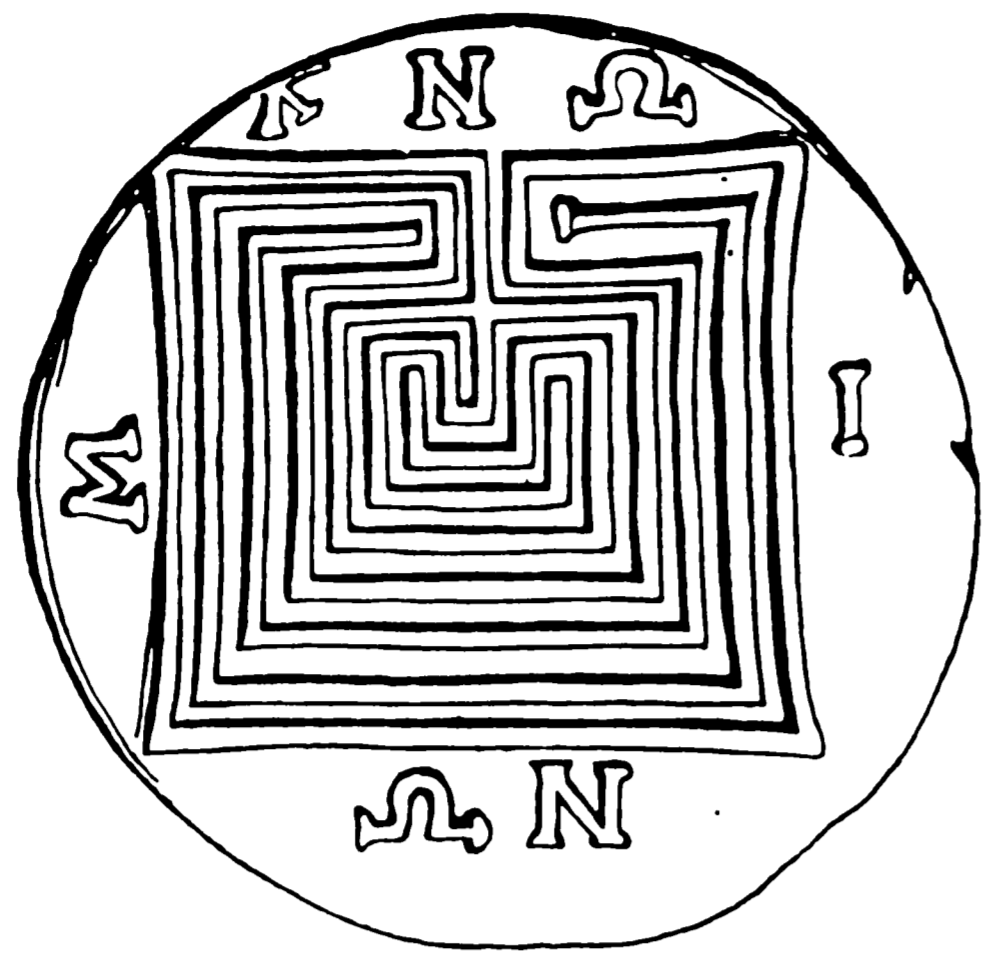


FIG. 29. Cretan coin. 3rd century B.C.



FIG. 30. Graffito from Pompeii. About A.D. 79.

relation to a prearranged scheme of dots; and thirdly, because the fact that this design is drawn upon the earth in India gives us reason to expect that the same design may have been laid out upon the earth also in the Bataklands—a surmise perhaps not wholly unfounded⁵⁴.

Though our first historical record of the occurrence of the “labyrinth” in India is that of the eleventh century already mentioned, there is some evidence that the motive probably reached India much earlier (see our remarks about Plate 7 below), and probably from the west. A hint of this western origin may be seen in a rock-cut labyrinth from the Central Caucasus reproduced in Fig. 25 and Plate 11. Recently Krupnov assigned a place to this monument in his reconstruction of the protohistory of the Caucasus: he would associate it with a wave of cultural influences which reached the Colchian coast of Transcaucasia from the Aegean area of the eastern Mediterranean around the end of the second millennium B. C.⁵⁵ Though it remains impossible to reconstruct precisely the early history, or prehistory, of the “labyrinth” motive as such, certain occurrences of the motive in classical and even pre-classical times in the Mediterranean area are probably to be understood as survivals from still earlier traditions, either in that region, or perhaps in the Ancient Orient. The pre-classical period in the Mediterranean is represented by the well-known drawing of a labyrinth, inscribed “TRVIA”, on an Etruscan vase of the late seventh century B. C., shown in Fig. 26⁵⁶; and the classical period by the round and square “labyrinths” found on Cretan coins of the third century B. C., as shown in Figs. 27 and 29 (where the motive is used to commemorate the legendary labyrinth of the Cretan King Minos). Far more ancient, and thus bearing more directly on Krupnov’s dating of the Caucasian labyrinth, are two examples of the same motive carved upon rocks in the northwest Spanish province of Galicia, Fig. 28 and Plate 8, which may be regarded as dating from the second phase of the earlier Spanish bronze age—the so-called “Mediterranean Bronze Age” which Professor Santa-Olalla assigns to the period from 1500 to 1200 B. C.; or at the latest (and less probably) from the early phase of the succeeding “Atlantic Bronze Age”, between 1200 and 900 B. C.⁵⁷

It is probably from Spain that this motive found its way (with other motives) to Ireland and Cornwall, where it was cut in rocks at about the same time: Plates 9 and 10⁵⁸. So far as we now know, the Spanish petroglyphs of Fig. 28 and Plate 8 are the earliest examples of the “labyrinth” to be found any-

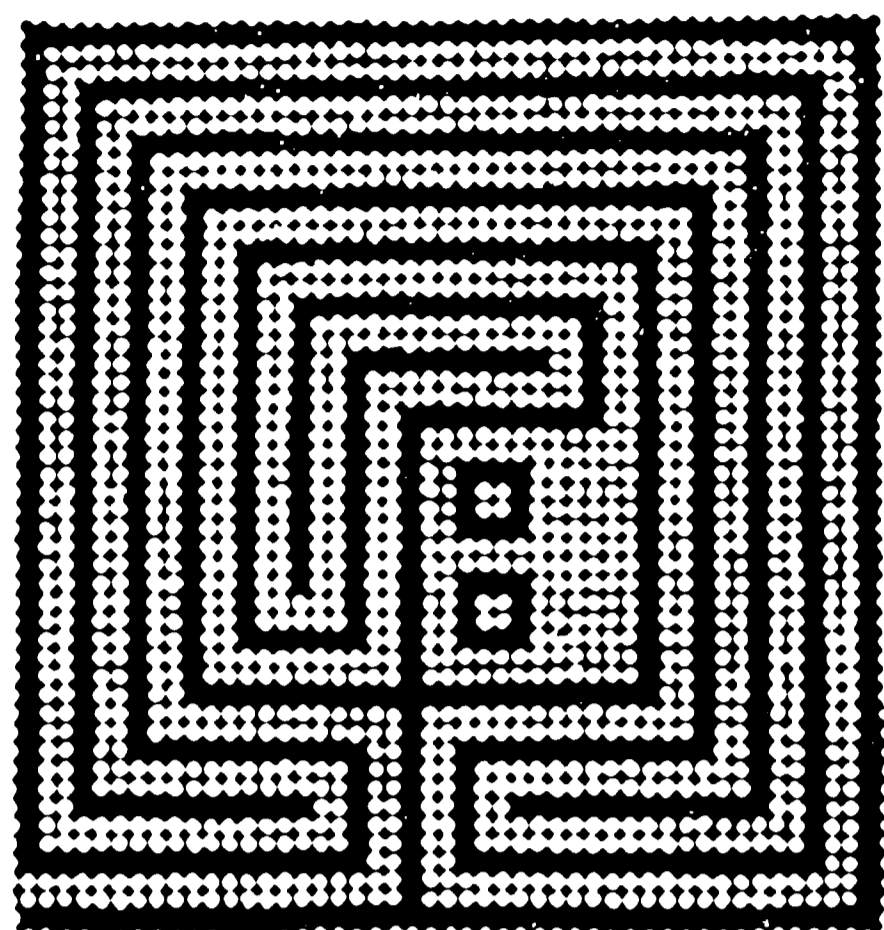


FIG. 31

FIG. 31. Design woven in a grass mat. Ceylon.
 FIG. 32. Drawing in a Batak manuscript.

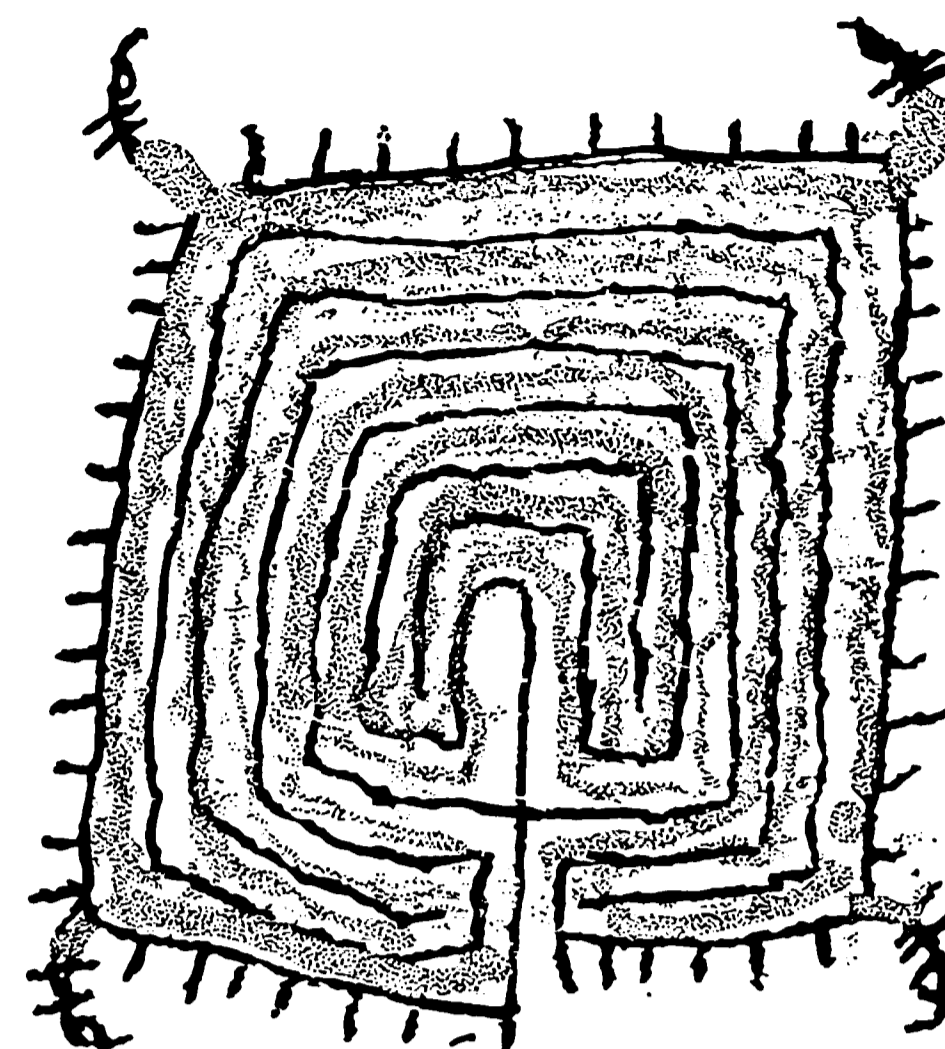


FIG. 32

where; but this does not mean that the motive must have been invented in Spain. On the contrary, it seems safe to assume that it was invented elsewhere (and probably only once), by a stroke of graphic genius, at a point in time and space which we may never know, but which probably lies to the east of Spain, perhaps in the Aegean, or, not improbably, in the Ancient Orient, which was in so many respects the cradle of later cultures of the east and west⁵⁹. It is perhaps best to admit that the origin and, to a large extent, the prehistory of this motive remain, for the present, largely a matter of guesswork. It may only be added (in support of Krupnov's view) that the way in which the Caucasian labyrinth is carved on an outcropping of rock seems to reflect the petroglyphic traditions of the Western European bronze age, rather than the artistic habits of the Ancient Orient.

This brief review may suffice to suggest the scope of the study required for a proper understanding of the "labyrinth" as it occurs in the modern manuscripts of the Bataks of Sumatra. Enough has been said to show, at least, that the history and prehistory of this motive are far from simple. Actually, as the writer has indicated elsewhere⁶⁰, the Bataklands do not represent the eastern terminus of its migration. In curious disguises and contexts the "labyrinth" can be found much farther to the east, in quite "primitive" cultures of Papua, and even in the Marquesan Islands of Eastern Polynesia. There is, moreover, strong presumptive evidence that the motive found its way, probably at a relatively early prehistoric period, into the New World⁶¹.

Doubtless important for our understanding of the actual history of the labyrinth among the Bataks is the presumed (but as yet unverified) occurrence of "turf labyrinths" in the Bataklands, referred to above⁶², in conjunction with the fact that so-called "boulder labyrinths" occur in India, as shown in Plate 7. For such Indian labyrinths a dating in the third or second century B.C. has been tentatively suggested⁶³. It seems to the writer reasonable to assume that the Indian boulder labyrinths represent an eastern point on the expanding periphery of the same cultural wave which brought boulder- and turf-labyrinths to Northwestern Europe from a focus of diffusion presumably lying in the general area of the Eastern Mediterranean (or perhaps ultimately in the Ancient Orient). Thus far it has proved impossible to date the boulder labyrinths of Northwestern Europe by archaeological means, or to establish the antiquity of the custom of making such labyrinths in that region⁶⁴; but it may be that the history of

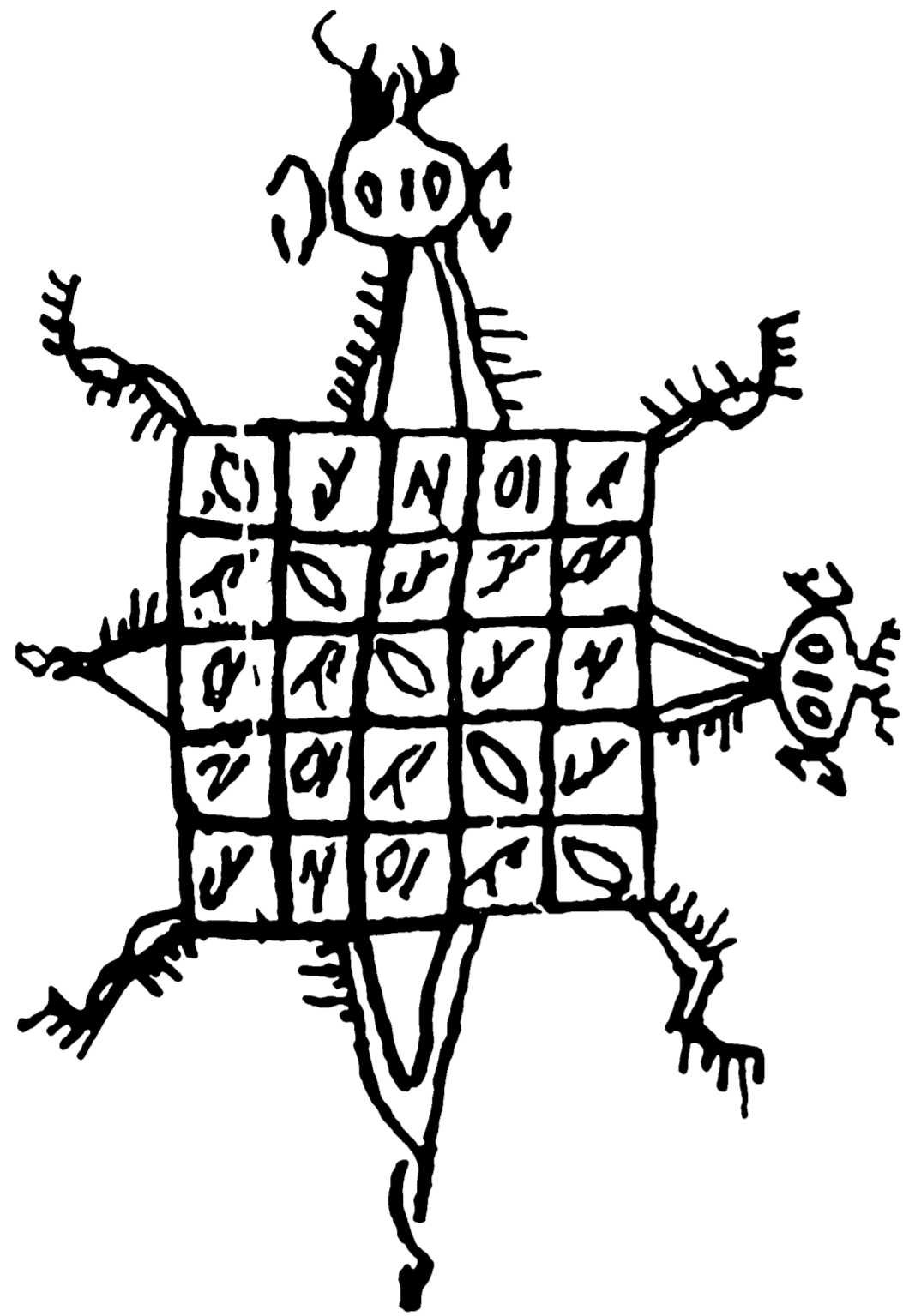


FIG. 33

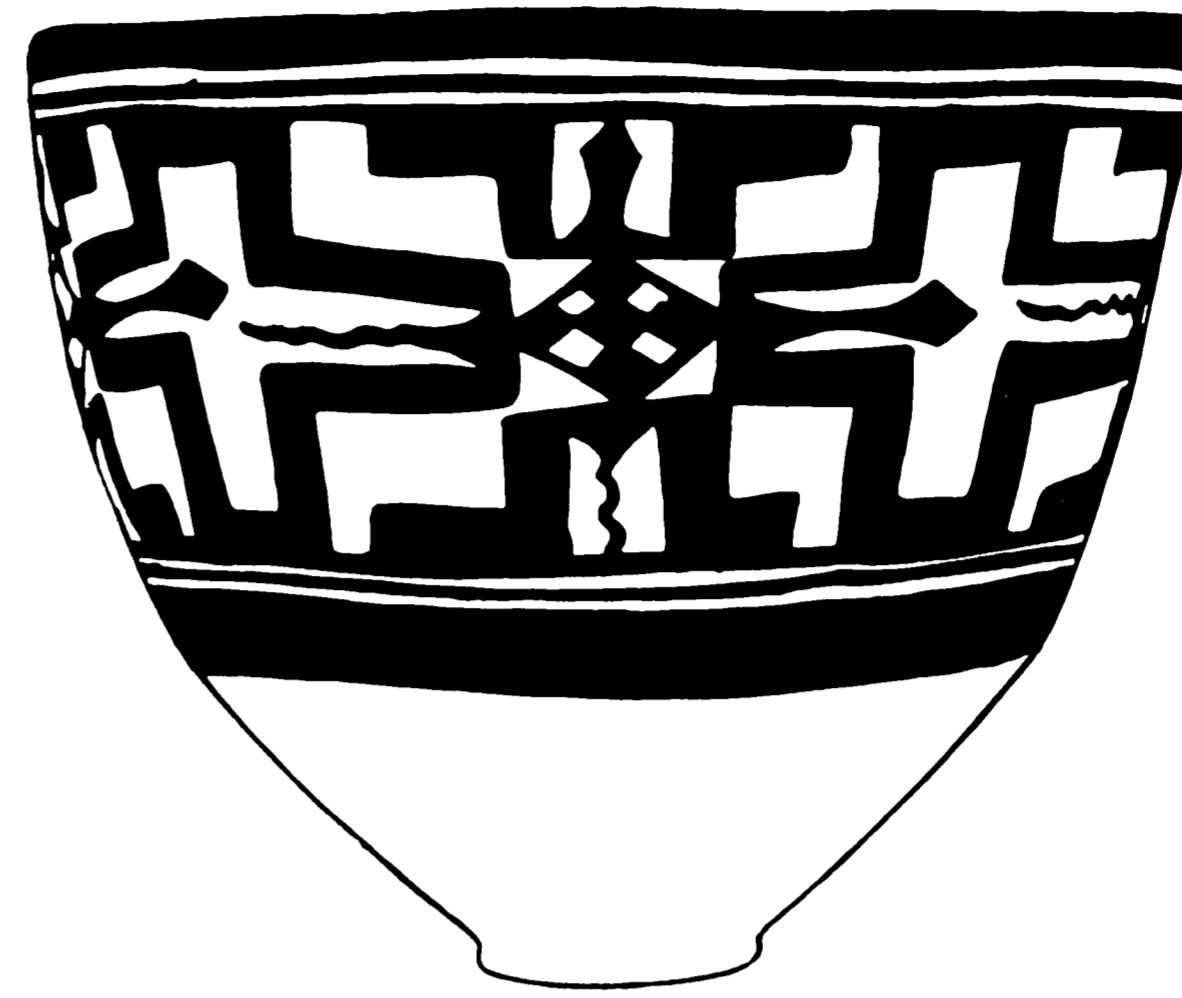


FIG. 34

FIG. 33. Batak divination chart inscribed on bamboo.

FIG. 34. Pottery bowl with painted decoration. Iran. Middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.

turf- and boulder-labyrinths will in the end be determined less by archaeology than by a study of their distribution, which includes Northwestern Europe, India, perhaps Sumatra, and certainly the New World. The relation of these "monuments" to local archaeology may remain elusive, for they were probably renewed repeatedly over long periods⁶⁵. It is only their form which tells a tale; and this tale will become coherent only when it is pieced together by the still vastly immature science of cultural history. Though these considerations may seem, at first, to have but little bearing upon the occurrence of the labyrinth as a design in Batak manuscripts, it is perhaps only in terms of such considerations that we may hope eventually to understand in what way, at what time, and in association with what ideas this motive found its way to the Bataklands.

That the scheme of the labyrinth may be laid out in the form of a square, as well as in the "round" or kidney-shape characteristic of the examples considered heretofore, is indicated by the designs of Figs. 29 to 32, representing respectively a Cretan coin of the third century B.C., a Pompeian *graffito* of the seventh decade after Christ (both referring to the mythical labyrinth of King Minos of Crete), a design on a recent Sinhalese mat, and a drawing in a modern Batak manuscript. As might be expected, the square form of the labyrinth occurs also in the New World⁶⁶.

Crossed lizards

A fifth motive commonly encountered in Batak writings is that reproduced in Fig. 33, from the inscribed bamboo BAT. 57. The square forming the center of this motive, with its twenty-five subdivisions, is the *pormamis na lima*, a chart inscribed with the Sanskrit names of five deities (four of which were used to designate the cardinal directions)^{66a}. To two adjoining sides of this square are attached two conventionalized heads of animals, and to the opposite sides, two triangles, evidently representing the

tails of these animals, whose legs are attached to the corners of the square, thus completing the image of two quadrupeds lying crosswise on top of each other, or fused in such a way that the crossing of their bodies forms a square, on which the divinatory formula is inscribed.

This image of crossed creatures is of extraordinary interest, both historically and symbolically. The fact that an identically conceived motive is painted on a chalcolithic pottery vessel of the second half of the fourth pre-Christian millennium in Iran, as shown in Fig. 34, gives us a clue to the antiquity of the type. Such antiquity need not surprise us; for we have already seen that several other Batak motives have almost equally ancient antecedents. One might even be tempted to surmise a relationship between the checkerboard forming the common body of the crossed lizards in the ancient Iranian design and the subdivision of the corresponding square of the Batak motive into smaller squares. How does it happen that the names of gods (including those of the four directions) are inscribed within the twenty-five compartments of the Batak design? Could it be that the Bataks inherited not only the design but also the custom of using it for astrology or divination ultimately from an early culture of the Ancient Orient? As we have already suggested⁶⁷, the practice of divination could, and probably did, precede the invention of writing, perhaps by millennia; and though writing is by no means necessary for the practice of divination, divination may well have furnished an impetus to the development of writing. Perhaps it is for this reason that we still find the two associated in an old-fashioned tradition like that of the modern Bataks.

A curious and unexpected light is cast upon the whole problem of the modern Batak divinatory diagram, Fig. 33, and its ancient Iranian analogue, Fig. 34, by the occurrence of a similar motive of two crossed creatures (lizards or crocodiles), with more or less clearly indicated astrological associations, in the traditional folk-art of modern Ghana (the Gold Coast) in West Africa. Two examples of the African motive are reproduced in Figs. 35 and 36; the former representing a brass weight used for weighing gold dust, the latter a medallion incised on the bottom of a calabash. In view of the two preceding illustrations, we must inevitably ask whether there is any significance in the subdivision of the area formed by the crossed bodies of the creatures in these African designs into smaller

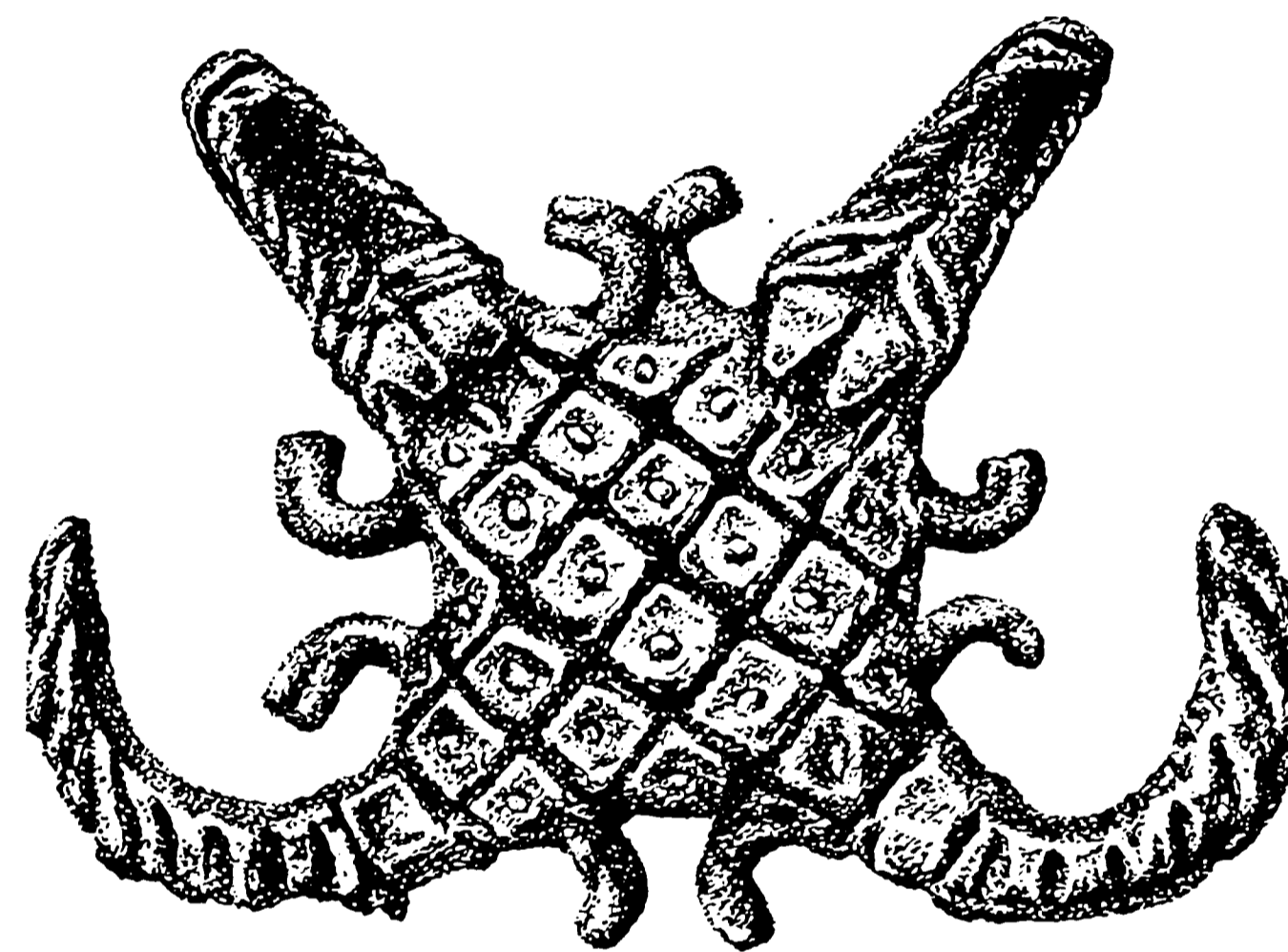


FIG. 35

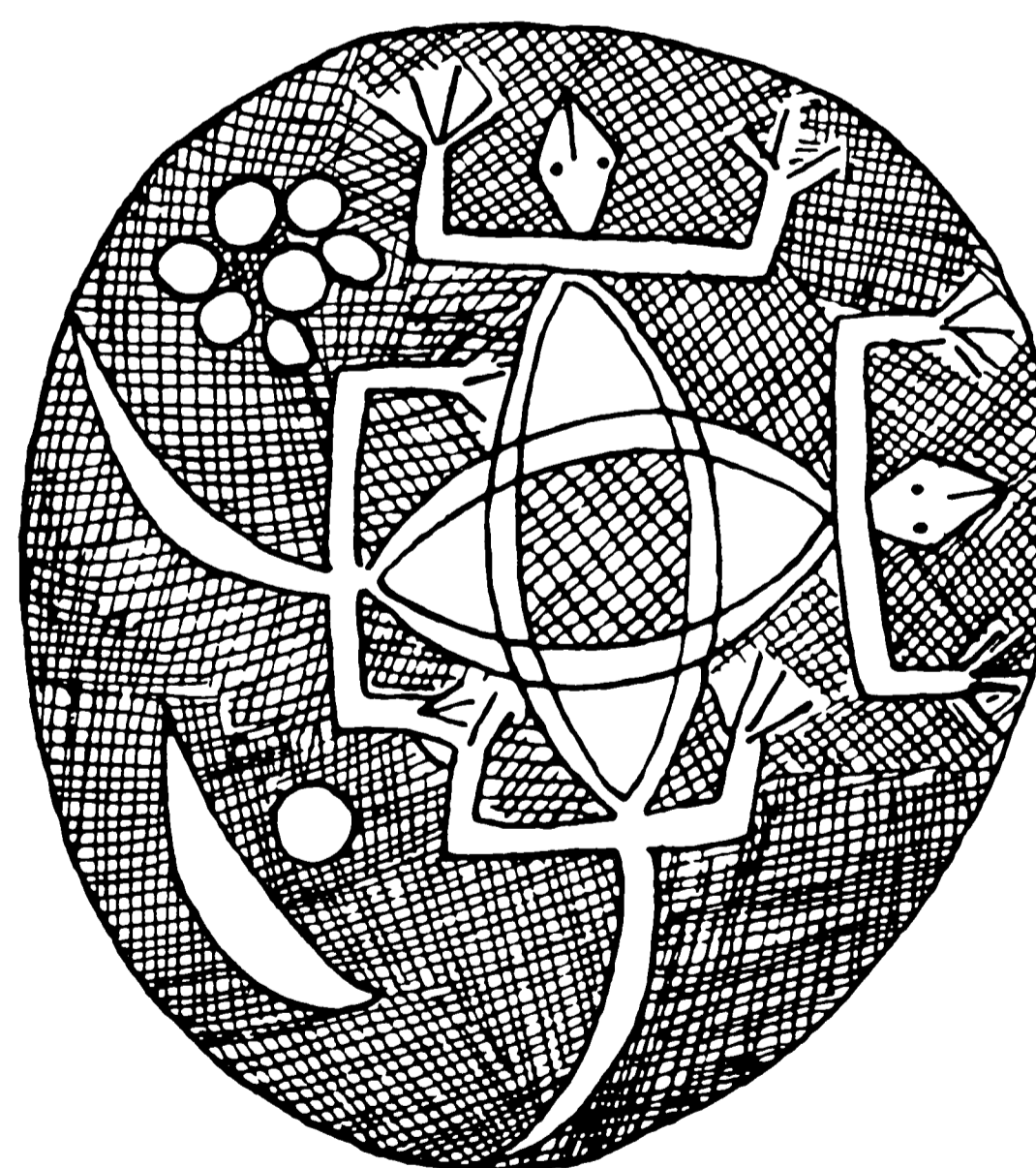


FIG. 36

FIG. 35. Brass weight for gold-dust. West Africa.

FIG. 36. Design on the bottom of a calabash-bowl. West Africa.

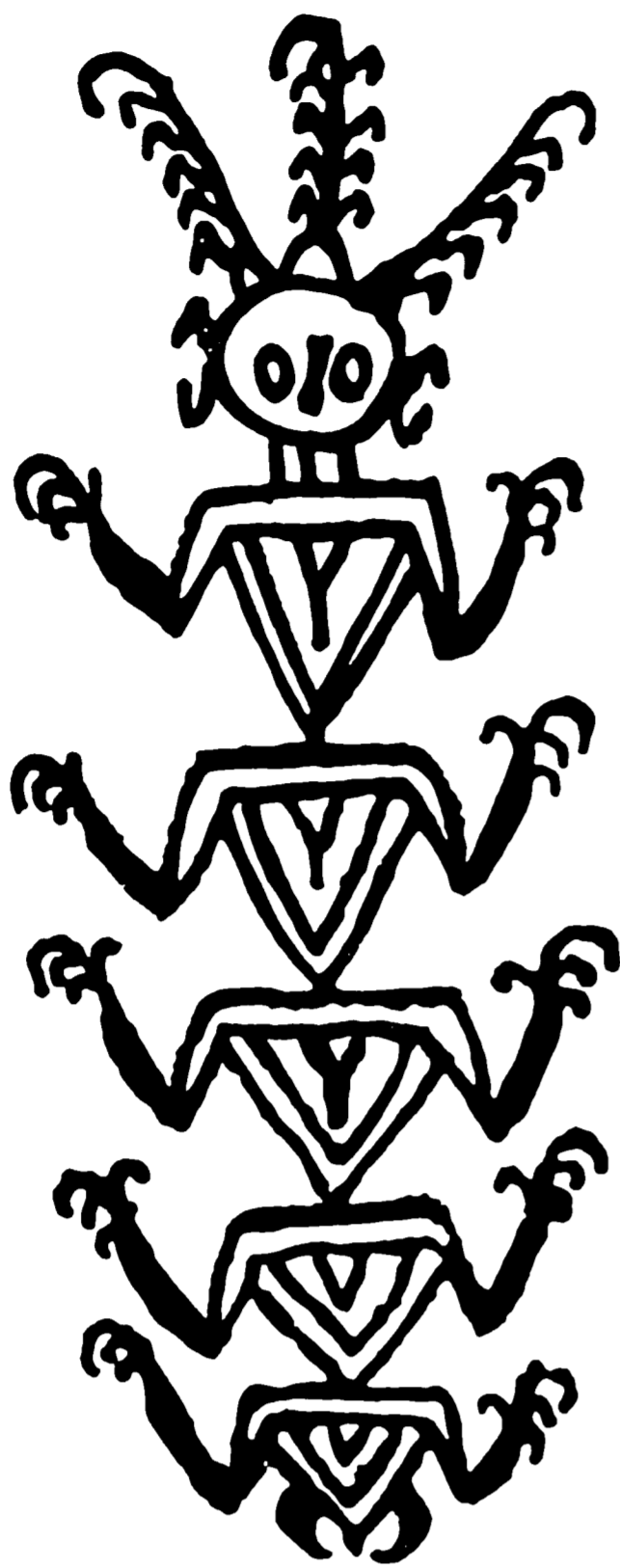


FIG. 37

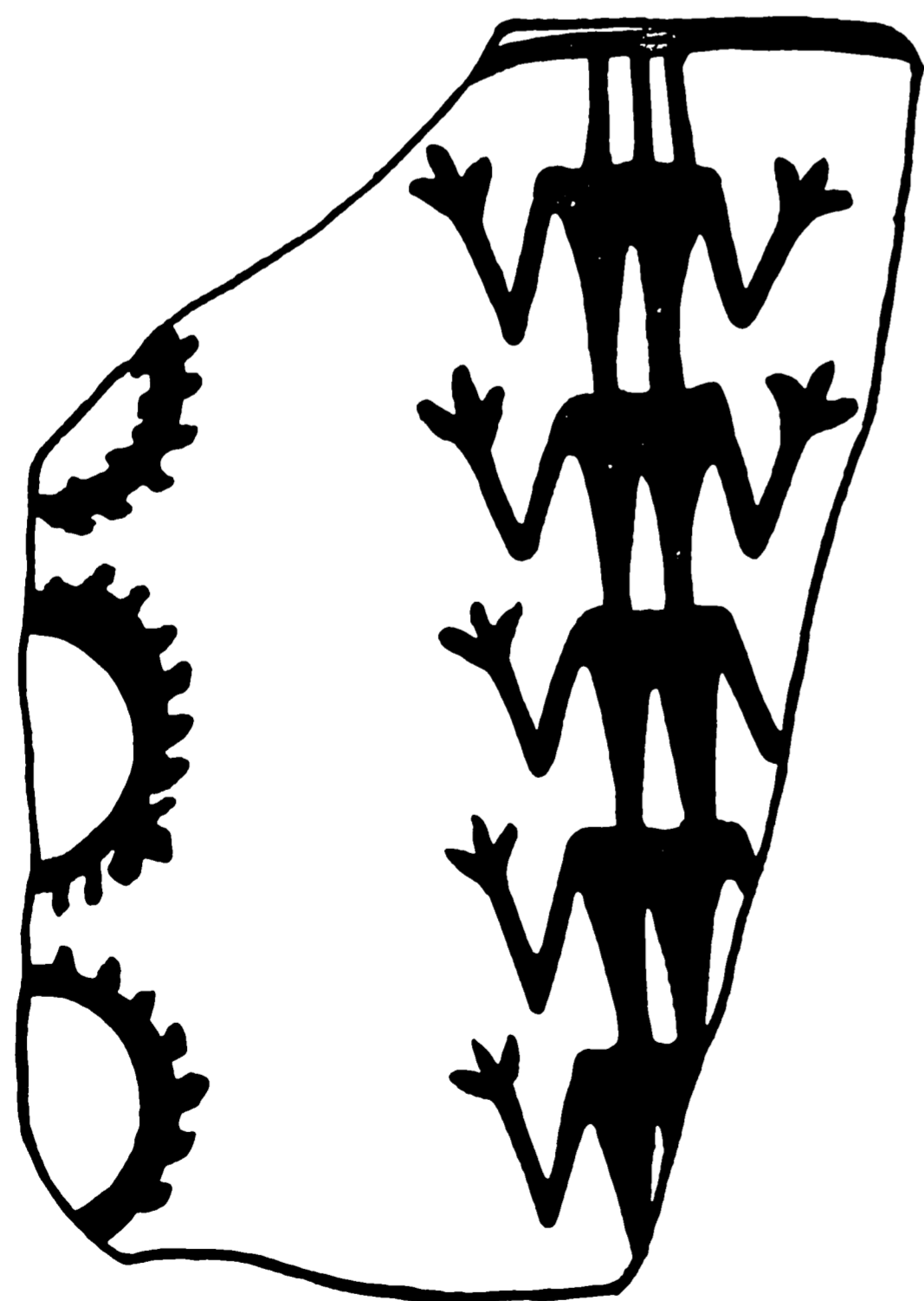


FIG. 38

squares. Even though it must be admitted that not all West African designs of this type show compartmentation of the crossed bodies, and that in Fig. 35, at least, the squares could be plausibly explained (and were perhaps even understood by the people themselves) as representing the scuti of the crocodile's hide, while the cross-hatching on the bodies of Fig. 36 might be taken for continuation of the cross-hatched background of the medallion, still we are by no means convinced that the analogy of this feature with the corresponding compartmentation of Figs. 33 and 34 should be dismissed as fortuitous. Besides the calabash from which our Fig. 36 is taken, Dahse illustrates another one⁶⁸, in which the square formed by the crossed bodies of the two lizards is filled by a very regular cross-hatching, which is *not* repeated in the background. This alone suggests that compartmentation of the bodies of the crossed creatures in West Africa is in fact based on ancient tradition and that it is related ultimately to the similar treatment of the bodily square in Figs. 33 and 34. Needless to say, this West African motive should be investigated further in Ghana itself, with a view to determining its characteristic forms and usages, and especially with reference to the comparative data represented by our Figs. 33 and 34. Chief among the questions to which an answer should be sought is whether and in what way the motive of crossed lizards or crossed crocodiles still plays a role in West African practices of divination or astrology⁶⁹.

As a matter of fact, the design of Fig. 36 itself shows evidence of astrological associations. As Dahse pointed out when he first published the calabash from which our drawing is taken, the lunar crescent with a disk (doubtless representing Venus) and the group of seven disks (the Pleiades) accompanying the crossed lizards in Fig. 36, together with a wheel-like solar disk which lies outside the limits of our medallion but is doubtless associated with it, constitute a group of celestial symbols which has its precise counterpart on ancient Babylonian boundary-stones, royal stelae, and house-doors⁷⁰. Dahse took this circumstance as an indication, among many others, of the survival in West Africa of cultural influences

FIG. 37. Drawing in a Batak manuscript.

FIG. 38. Neolithic sherd from Tepe Moussian, Iran. Middle of the 4th millennium B.C.

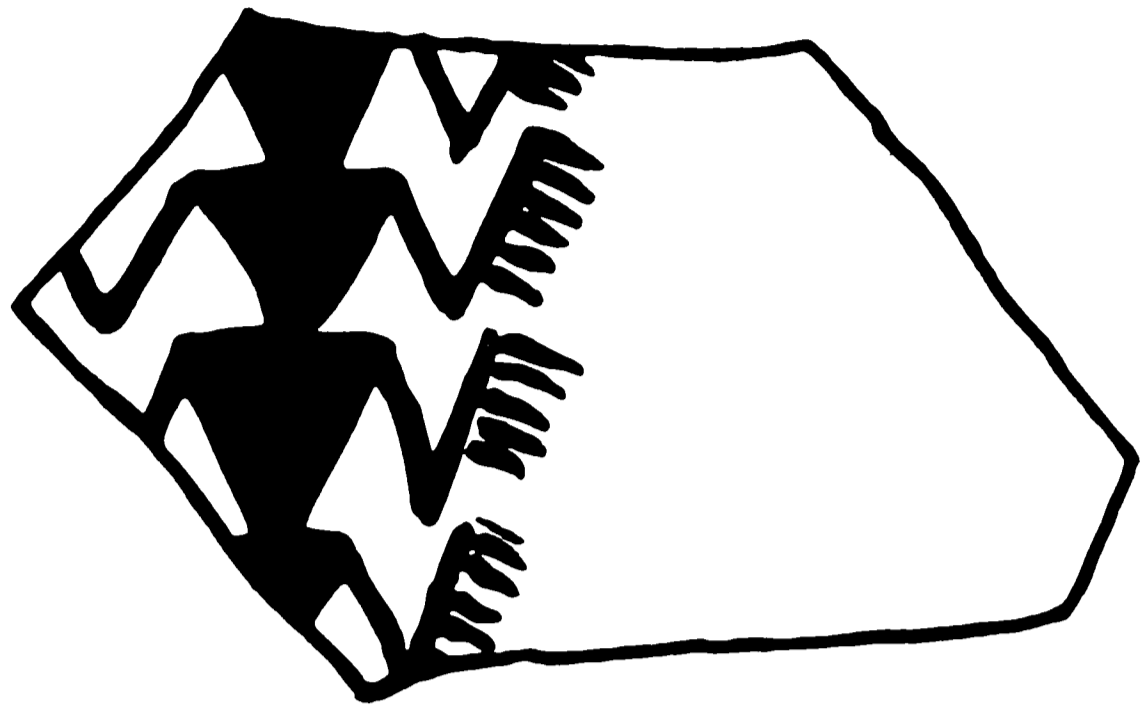


FIG. 39

FIG. 39. Neolithic sherd from Tepe Giyan, Iran. Middle of the 4th millennium B.C.

FIG. 40. Painted design on a vase from Petreny, Bessarabia. Early 2nd millennium B.C.

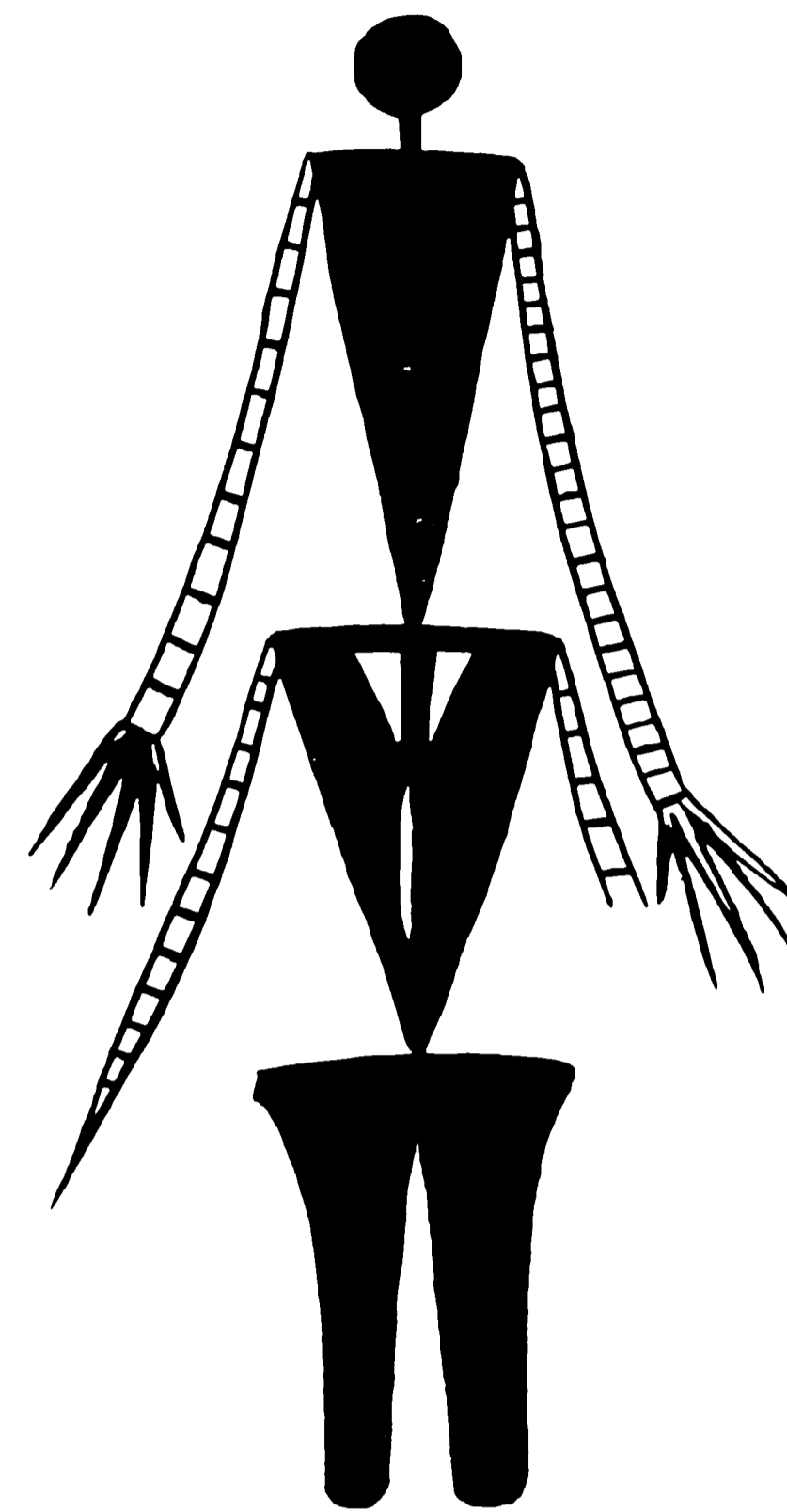


FIG. 40

from the Ancient Orient. And we believe that in this instance, at least, he was certainly right; for we now know, as he could not know in 1911, that not only the group of celestial symbols on his West African calabashes, but also the motive of crossed lizards with which they are so closely associated, was already established in very early times in the Near East. In view of the fact that the motive of crossed lizards survives with astrological-divinatory connotations in the modern culture of the Bataks on the one hand, and with astrological connotations in Ghana on the west coast of Africa on the other hand, it seems reasonable to conclude that the ancient Iranian motive of Fig. 34 represents, at least in a rough way, the apex of a triangle of diffusion, of which Sumatra and West Africa, as points of destination and survival, form the base. Needless to say, this is but a working hypothesis. Much remains to be explained. For example, it is obvious that the crossed lizards on the Iranian vessel, Fig. 34, are used as mere ornament, being repeated in a frieze around its periphery, without any apparent reference to heavenly bodies or cosmic directions (unless such a reference is implicit in the central checkerboard itself). Moreover, the vessel so decorated dates from a period at least two millennia earlier than the Babylonian monuments mentioned above (which do not themselves carry the motive of the crossed lizards). Our surmise is that the motive of crossed lizards did, nevertheless, already have a divinatory or at least an astrological connotation by the fourth millennium in Iran, or perhaps in contemporary Mesopotamia, before it was adopted as decoration by the Iranian potters. As we have shown elsewhere, the motive of crossed creatures may very well go back to still earlier, mesolithic, times⁷¹. We surmise that the basic meaning of the motive is that of a *primordial copulation*. This idea might account for its central position on the hemisphere of the African calabash vessels (as representing the beginning of life and thus of the world), and also its role in astrology and divination among the Bataks. For divination on the crossed

lizards would then be like divination on the carapace of the Turtle who supports the world. The only difference between these two bases for divination is that the turtle as the First Being was conceived as having begotten himself asexually (*svayambhu*), while the crossed creatures represent Creation by means of a sexual union.

Column of human torsos

The sixth and last Batak motive about which we wish to make some comparative observations is that represented in Fig. 37. This motive, which may be described as a column of triangular human torsos surmounted by a head, occurs with great frequency in Batak manuscripts; and like so many other Batak motives, it is hardly to be regarded as an invention of the Bataks. In order to determine the antecedents and explore the relationships of this Batak motive, it would be necessary to embark upon an extensive comparative study of certain human effigies on notched pedestals and certain "human ladders" occurring in the Bataklands and elsewhere in Indonesia, and in fact in the whole Southeast Asiatic area in a larger sense, and even beyond it, and, on the other hand, an extensive consideration of the forms and meanings of certain more or less obviously analogous motives in various phases of prehistoric graphic art in the West—some of them very early. Though such a study is impossible here, we venture, nevertheless, to reproduce by the side of the Batak motive, Fig. 37, three manifestly similar motives from three different classes of Western neolithic pottery: Figs. 38, 39 and 40.

In 1906 Breuil took cognizance of the multiplication of the human torso in the painted decoration of

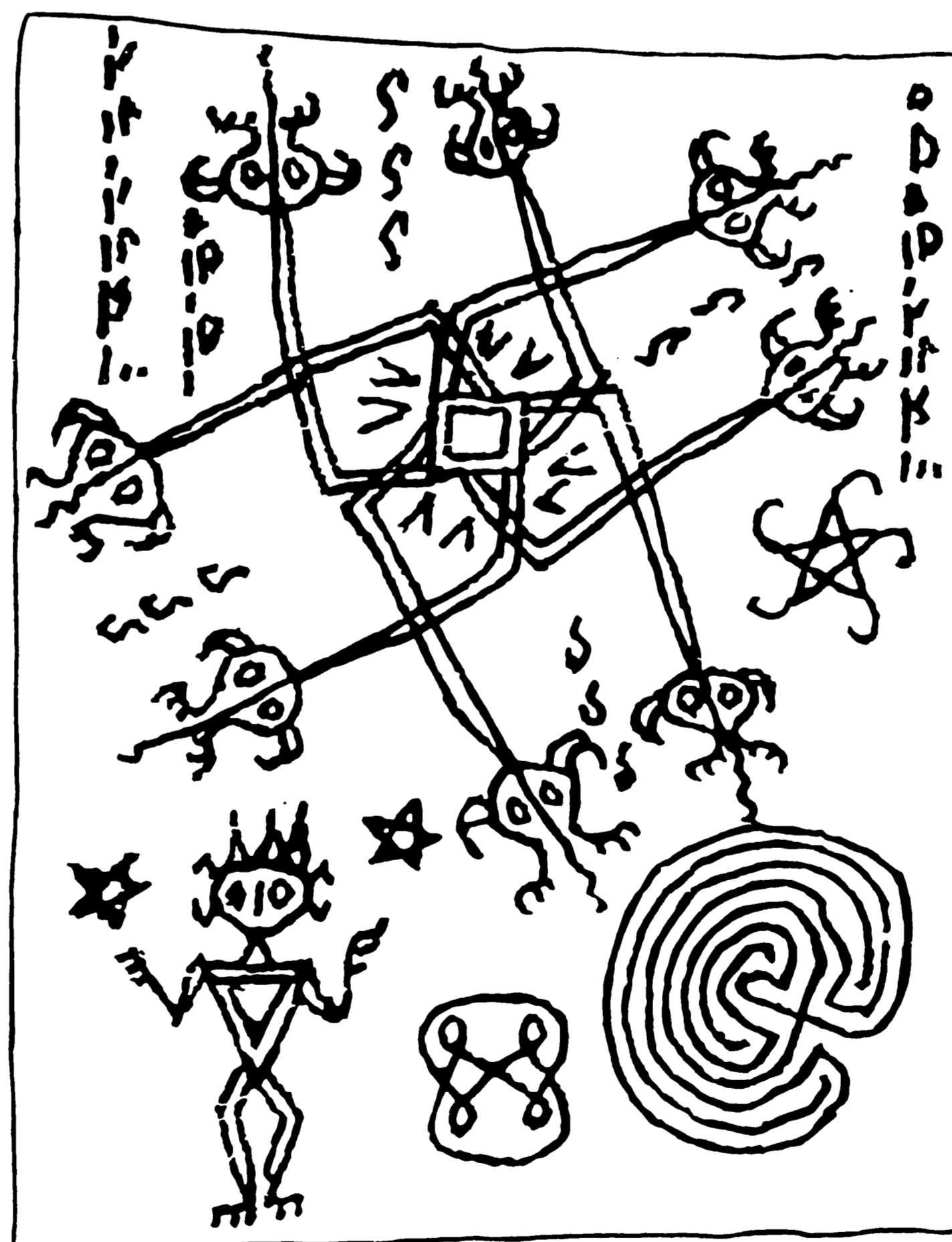


FIG. 41. Page from a Batak manuscript.

pottery from the Iranian neolithic sites of Tepe Moussian and Susa, as represented in our Fig. 38⁷². His study was purely morphological; and he made no attempt to explain *why* the torsos were stacked upon each other in the first place. We believe that this development is not at all accidental, playful or mechanical, but that it reflects an idea of basic importance; probably, in the first place, the idea of *genealogy*; and that it is this idea which led, in the cliff- and cave-paintings of a contemporary or slightly earlier period in Spain, to various multiple elaborations of the human form, to which Breuil aptly applied such terms as "phytomorphic human figures", or "tree of Jesse"⁷³. We do not believe that these elaborations took place independently of each other in the Near East and in Spain in about the fourth millennium, but rather that both phenomena are rooted in a genealogical symbolism which was already established in antecedent mesolithic times, and probably had its beginnings in still earlier, palaeolithic, times. Keys to the idea underlying this development may be found in the occurrence of "ramiforms" or tree-like designs in upper palaeolithic art; also in an early conceptual association of the branching of families (i. e., genealogies) with the branching of trees, attested by certain etymologies in Indo-European, and perhaps also in other, languages⁷⁴; and, as we have shown elsewhere, in the age-old practice of finger-mutilation as a token of mourning for deceased relatives⁷⁵.

An adequate presentation of a theme of such magnitude would obviously far exceed the limits generously provided by the editors of this catalogue for the present comparative study of Batak motives; but it seems to us worth alluding to some of the problems involved in a comparative study of the Batak design of Fig. 37, simply in order to emphasize by one more example that the Batak motives (probably most, if not all of them) were hardly invented by the Bataks, but were simply inherited by them from a long tradition, which is itself part of a much larger and infinitely complex tradition of human culture.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

¹ These are the Toba Batak terms. See, for example, Winkler, 1925, p. 117. *Matoga* is said to mean "possessing power on which one may rely"; *matogu*, "firm; to be strong".

² In Plate 12 and some other examples the diagram is enclosed within the body or coils of a single snake.

³ Leiden, University Library, Ms. Or. 3472. [A similar drawing in Ms. Amsterdam 1772/158 is accompanied by the text: *Ahu debata ni naga sang palibuan dohot naga hurma djati daradjahon di simbora sibagandingta lapik ni lataringta lapik ni borotan pe maul(i) di bisara na gojang*. In the drawing the *bindu matoga*, encircled by two snakes, is combined with the 'Hanumān Yantram' (see p. 51). P.V.]

⁴ For the Indian myth about the Churning of the Ocean, see Zimmer, 1936, chapter 4; 1946, p. 105; and for the Cambodian iconography, especially Auboyer, 1949, pp. 96–103.

On the identity of the central creature in our Fig. 1 as a turtle, see Voorhoeve, 1956, p. 39, citing the similar conclusion of Korn, 1953, p. 121, note 82. Dr. Voorhoeve wrote me on Feb. 13, 1955, that a Batak chief who had such a quadruped painted inside a *bindu* on his house once told Korn that the creature represented "a lizard, or sometimes a turtle". Otherwise it seems that the Bataks are not generally aware of the identity of the creature within the diagram.

For calling my attention to the equivalence of Batak *Basuhi* with Sanskrit *Vāsuki* and the analogy with the myth of the Churning of the Ocean, I am also indebted to Dr. Voorhoeve—who added, in a letter of March 11, 1955, that he could not explain the term *palibuwan* in the Batak text, but surmised that it might be a Batak corruption of another Sanskrit word. The writer finds quite plausible Dr. Voorhoeve's suggestion (1956, p. 39) that the *bindu matoga-matogu* represents the four cardinal and four intermediate directions, and that it is, thus, a symbol of the earth. This view is confirmed, as Dr. Voorhoeve pointed out to the writer in a letter of May 18, 1957, by the use of the Batak word *desa*, meaning the eight directions, in conjunction with two drawings of the *bindu* in Ms. Or. 3429

of the Leiden University Library. Each of these two diagrams is surrounded by eight human figures, which are designated, in one instance, *batara siponggol desa*, "the gods who 'break' the directions"; and in the other instance, *batara sigomgom desa*, "the gods who rule over the directions". (Cf. Sanskrit *lokapāla?*).

⁵ Cf. Auboyer, 1949, p. 97 f.

⁶ The writer is indebted to Dr. Voorhoeve for calling to his attention the Batak conception of the "golden ladder", which is evidently represented at the bottom of Fig. 1. As suggested in the text, ladder and sacrificial post are logically one: how they came to be separated in Batak usage would have to be investigated. It seems obvious that the sacrificial buffalo is supposed to "climb" the ladder into a higher world, as spiritual representative of the sacrificer. Compare the impaling of a sacrificial horse on a pole (presumably the *axis mundi*) in the Altai: Radloff, 1884, ii, p. 25 f, and Eliade, 1951, p. 177. Auboyer, *loc. cit.*, recognizes the function of the world-tree as a climbing-pole (*mât de cocagne*). Evidently we must equate Viṣṇu as climber on this pole with the modern shaman, who climbs a pole representing the world-tree in order to penetrate the supra-mundane world of spirits. The metaphysical implications of such climbing rites, ancient and modern, have been explored especially by Coomaraswamy, 1939, pp. 7 and 13 f (partially cited below in our text at note 9). Cf. also Eliade, 1951, pp. 175–184. On the climbing Viṣṇu of our Fig. 2, cf. note 19 a.

⁷ See Korn, 1953, p. 120 f; and Voorhoeve, 1956, p. 39, who refers to an illustration of this procedure in a Batak manuscript, Leiden University Library, Ms. Or. 3429. Korn actually witnessed the erection of a Batak sacrificial pole.

⁸ Korn, 1953, p. 120 f.

⁹ Coomaraswamy, 1939, pp. 7–10. Cf. also Coomaraswamy, 1938, *passim*, and Auboyer, 1949, pp. 96 ff. It should be observed that when Coomaraswamy speaks of "the literature", he does not necessarily refer exclusively to the Vedas, but rather to all traditional literature, of which the Vedic literature is but a branch. Similarly, "the ritual" refers only in part, or primarily,

to Vedic ritual, but actually to all traditional ritual, which is basically one.

¹⁰ Cf. Coedès, 1911, pp. 195 and 175; also Coedès, 1913; and especially Auboyer, 1949, p. 101. On the function of the lotus as *axis mundi* see Bosch, 1948, p. 102.

¹¹ For India see Thurston, plate xi, near the bottom (a Telugu ground-painting). In his partial translation of a Sinhalese version of the *Mâyāmataya*, a Sanskrit architectural treatise of astrological character, Coomaraswamy, 1908, fig. 153, reproduces a diagram identical with the Batak *bindu*, except in that it lacks the loops on the upended square: it is called in Sinhalese *aṭmagala* (Sanskrit *aṣṭamaṅgala*), and has eight "auspicious objects" associated with the respective corners. The same motive is evidently well known as a magic device in Siam (Coedès, 1941); and in Indonesia it is by no means restricted to the Bataks of Sumatra, since it occurs as a tabu sign in Ceram at the opposite end of the archipelago (Riedel, 1886, p. 115).

The motive of two overlapping squares with loops at their corners is also known in Europe. It occurs, for example, among the Finns of northern Norway (Skullerud, 1942, fig. 83); and as a blazon, made of ropes (Rietstap, 1857, pl. v). In the second post-Christian century the same motive occurs repeatedly as a *graffito* on the walls of the Roman-Syrian stronghold of Dura Europos (Pfister, 1937, fig. 6, citing also Cumont, 1926, atlas, pl. lii, fig. 1, and liii, figs. 1, 2). These *graffiti* are drawn with three roughly parallel lines. The use of parallel lines is a widespread characteristic of continuous-line drawings, as Layard showed in his comparative study of such designs in South India and Malekula (Layard, 1937); and the multiplication of parallel lines is probably to be explained by the circumstance that the designs were originally drawn on the ground with the fingers of one hand. The earliest example known to us of the motive of two overlapping squares with eight loops at the corners (the *bindu matogu-matoga* of the Bataks) is a single-line example engraved on an amulet found in the upper levels of Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus Valley (Mackay, 1938, pl. lxxxii, fig. 3), and thus dating presumably not later than about 1300 B.C. (For the dating, cf. note 43).

However, according to the *Mâyāmataya* (see the last note), translated by Coomaraswamy, 1908, p. 125, virtually the same diagram (*op. cit.*, fig. 153) was drawn on the ground at the base of a tree before it

was felled for the making of an "auspicious post". Though it is not explicitly stated that the diagram was drawn *around* the base of the tree, it seems reasonable to assume that it was; and if so, we would have a fairly close analogy in India or Ceylon for the *bindu matoga-matogu* drawn on the ground around the base of the Batak sacrificial post.

¹³ Cf. Coomaraswamy, 1939, p. 6 f; and 1938, p. 14.

¹⁴ Macdonnel, 1897, p. 41: "In the ŚB Prajāpati about to create offspring becomes a tortoise moving in the primeval waters. In the Purāṇas this tortoise is an avatār of Viṣṇu" *Op. cit.*, p. 151: "In the later Saṃhitās the tortoise is raised to a semi-divine position as 'lord of waters' . . . or, as Kaśyapa, often appears beside or identical with Prajāpati [the creator], where he receives the epithet *svayambhu*, 'self-existent'". Cf. also *op. cit.*, p. 153, and Keith, 1917, p. 75.

¹⁵ This legend was mentioned to the writer by Dr. V. Raghavan in a conversation in Madras in May, 1956. The source is unknown to the writer.

¹⁶ Majumder, 1939, pp. 41, 45; 1940, p. 37 f.

¹⁷ Oral communication of Charles Archambault in Philadelphia, September, 1956. For the turtle as pedestal under stone tablets bearing Turkish inscriptions in Central Asia, see Holmberg, 1928, p. 337 f. This usage might have been inspired from China, where inscribed tablets are often set up on stone turtles. For the association of the turtle with writing, see note 20.

¹⁸ Cf. Coomaraswamy, 1938, p. 18.

¹⁹ S. Thompson, 1929, p. 14 f.

^{19a} On the other hand, the posture of *Tintiya* suggests relation to the figure of Viṣṇu climbing the world-axis in the Cambodian scene of Fig. 2.

²⁰ Crucq, 1933, p. 157 (who does not say how the stone was used: could it have been a boundary-stone?). The fact that numerals indicating a date (in the Old Javanese script) are distributed on scales of the turtle's carapace, with the character for *om* in the center, suggests an allusion to the function of the turtle in astrology and divination, as we know it especially from ancient China. It is perhaps no accident that oracles inscribed on the plastra of turtles are among the earliest known records of Chinese writing. (Cf. also the Chinese legend of the "divine tortoise" which presented to the gaze of the Great Yü "a scroll upon its back bearing the mystic writing of the river Loh", as recounted by Mayers, 1924, pp. 61, 100).

Something may be said here about an eventual relation

between the twirling of the "churning pole" on the turtle's back in the Indian cosmogonic myth and the circumstance that in ancient China the plastra of turtles were prepared for divination by having series of grooves drilled or ground into them (ostensibly in order to weaken the material so that tell-tale cracks would develop between the grooves when the plastron was heated). Strangely enough, rattles made from turtle-shells perforated by drill-holes are found among various North American Indian tribes, both archaeologically and in current usage. This need not mean that we should expect to find the turtle's shell used for divination among the American Indians; but it does suggest a basic relation to the Purānic conception of twirling a "churning" stick on the turtle's back, which, as a glance at Fig. 2 will show, is tantamount to the act of drilling. We surmise that the use of the turtle for divination by the Chinese is directly related to its function as foundation and progenitor, evidently in accordance with the principle that whatever preceded all life must be omniscient. The drilling or grinding of pits into the plastra of turtles preparatory to divination, which in itself perhaps seems superfluous, might be explained as the recapitulation of a cosmic process (evidently analogous or allusive to the production of fire, to which the plastron is then exposed in order to produce the cracks from which omens are read).

The association of the turtle with writing in China is playfully reflected in many ink-dishes surviving from the Han dynasty, which have the form of a turtle, in the shallow depression of whose body the scholar rubs the ink-stick, in a process obviously analogous to the "Churning of the Ocean". At least one of these ink-dishes (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1952, no. 64) has for its cover an imitation of the turtle's carapace, carrying the "eight mystic trigrams" used in later Chinese divination. These circumstances suggest an allusive association between the action of grinding or drilling on the one hand and the acts of divination and of writing on the other. They also suggest (to the present writer) the possibility that a quest for supernatural knowledge may have provided an early impetus to the development of writing. (Cf. note 46). For the turtle as foundation of tablets bearing inscriptions, see note 17.

That drilling or grinding on a turtle's carapace is something ancient and significant is suggested not only by the occurrence of rattles of turtle-shell with drilled perforations among the American Indians (who

presumably brought the idea of making such rattles from the Old World, along with myths in which the turtle plays a cosmogonic role), but also by the survival, in a wide variety of Old-World cultures, of turtle-designs composed of endless meandering lines (of approximately the type shown in our Figs. 10-16), often with "magic" letters inscribed in the intervals between their coils (cf. Fig. 5). In modern "primitive" cultures and in preliterate cultures of antiquity, it may be supposed that the meandering trace of the diviner's finger (like that of the Chinese scholar's ink-stone) was itself regarded as a kind of "writing". Needless to say, the motive of divination could, and doubtless did, in many cultures, atrophy (as it apparently did among the American Indians), leaving only the design of a turtle, which might then be regarded as amuletic in itself. The multiple drill-pits or drill-holes on the turtle's carapace (or plastron) must be regarded as ultimately equivalent to the framework of dots or pits made in the earth, around which endless lines were looped to form magical diagrams (as in Fig. 8 and Plate 2). The fact that the turtle symbolizes the earth may explain the application of such pit-and-line designs to its shell.

²¹ For the Chinese traditions about this pair of creatures, who are together designated as the "sombre warrior" of the north, see Yetts, 1939, pp. 144-148, especially p. 145; and Mayers, 1924, p. 100 f. In view of the New-World analogies for Old-World ideas about the cosmic function of the turtle touched upon in the preceding note, it is interesting to observe that, among the Maya Indians, according to J. E. Thompson, 1950, p. 116, "The turtle shell is also the insigne of one of the four Bacabs [mythical beings at the Creation] set at the cardinal points to sustain the heavens, although there is no information on which point of the compass was assigned to the Bacab who wears that costume".

²² Thus in the Atharvaveda, *kaśyapa*, the turtle, is identified with the creator, Prajāpati, and receives the epithet *svayambhu*, "self-existent". See note 14. For corresponding ideas about the turtle in ancient and modern Chinese folklore, see Yetts and Mayers as cited in note 21.

²³ On the other hand, the idea of a copulation between snake and turtle might have evolved from, or been modeled upon, that of a "primordial copulation", which we shall discuss below in connection with the motive of "crossed lizards".

²⁴ The juxtaposition of entwined snakes with a pair of human "wrestlers" on this seal may have been suggested by structural analogy. Similar juxtapositions occur in the traditional arts of later times and other places; for example in a 13th-century gothic architectural treatise of Villard de Honnecourt, and in a modern Chinese almanac (Schuster, 1948, figs. 1 and 2), even though the "entwined" creatures (respectively three fish and four human figures) are there somewhat differently arranged.

²⁵ Layard, 1937.

²⁶ See Redinha, 1948, figs. 19–21, 27–29, and pl. iii, figs. 3–5; also 1953, figs. 40–46, 61, and *passim* in the color-plates; also Baumann, 1935, fig. 80 and pl. 44, upper right.

²⁷ Lothrop, 1926, i, p. 94 and fig. 13, *c* and *d*, and possibly pl. viii, *c*. These are Nicaraguan petroglyphs, which, Professor Lothrop has assured me, must be pre-Spanish in date. The two former are bird-effigies, contrived more or less successfully out of continuous lines; and though no dots are shown, the effigies are so much like South Indian and West African (Angolan) effigies of birds composed of continuous lines looped around dots that there can hardly be any doubt of their having been similarly constructed. Other traces of the existence of such continuous-line effigies in the New World (for example in pre-Columbian Florida and Argentina, and possibly as ritual drawings in modern Haiti, etc.) may yet be found, once their entity is recognized. Much investigation remains to be done into such designs, which in the end will probably prove to be connected with the occurrence of the "labyrinth" (our fourth Batak motive) in the New World.

²⁸ Mathews, 1895, fig. 8.

²⁹ Though we cannot venture an estimate of this antiquity, it may be suggested, tentatively, that evidence of the principle of composition by means of lines connecting a prearranged system of dots may perhaps be found in the "Bandkeramik" of neolithic Europe. If the Australian motive cited in the preceding note does indeed represent this principle, it is not inconceivable that it will be found to have been known already in mesolithic times in Europe. The existence of such motives in America just cited seems to point to the same conclusion.

³⁰ Layard, 1937, pp. 156–158.

³¹ Thurston, 1906, pp. 290–291.

³² Layard, 1937, p. 158; and see the next note.

^{32a} It should be mentioned, however, that in at least one Batak ceremony, the *bindu matogu-matoga* (the motive of two overlapping squares with loops at the corners, included in our Fig. 1, which, as we have seen, is probably related ultimately to the motive of entwined snakes here under consideration) *was* used as a threshold-design, and *was* ritually effaced. See Tichelman in Schnitger, 1939, pp. 128–131. This circumstance is important, for it indicates a close conceptual relationship between the Batak earth-drawings generally and the "threshold-designs" of South India and Malekula, as elucidated by Layard, 1937. For another instance of the ritual effacement of the *bindu matoga-matogu*, see Tobing, 1956, p. 173 and fig. 17.

³³ There is also a "male" variety, which differs somewhat in the arrangement of the loops. See Tichelman, 1939, and 1947, fig. 1, as reproduced by Hentze, 1939, fig. 1. We do not reproduce the "male" form because it does not seem to have so many relatives outside the Bataklands as the "female" form. The design of our Fig. 10 has, of course, nothing to do with the six-pointed star which generally goes by the name of "Solomon's seal" (e.g., at the top of Fig. 5). See the discussion of these names and motives in Tichelman, 1939.

³⁴ Tichelman, 1939, p. 330 f.

³⁵ Hentze, 1939.

³⁶ For a general treatise on string-figures, see Haddon, 1930. Cf. also the next note.

³⁷ Hentze here quotes Handy, 1925, p. 7, and Hornell, 1927, p. 5.

³⁸ Hentze cites the *I-Ching*, chapter Hsi tzü.

³⁹ Hentze cites Chuang-tzū, chapter 10, and Wieger, 1950, p. 279 ff; also Giles, 1889, p. 116.

⁴⁰ Hentze cites Buck, 1938, p. 153. Dr. Voorhoeve calls my attention to the circumstance that the two meanings "knot" and "term, appointment" associated with the Batak word *pudun* indicates a similar mnemonic use of knots among the Batak.

⁴¹ On the genealogical significance of knots and interlaces in ancient China and the New World (and its occurrence in European heraldry) see the discussion of fig. 35 (a Chinese textile of the Han dynasty) and fig. 34 (Caduveo body-painting) in Schuster, 1956. The conception of genealogy led to various types of nodular, netted, or overlapping patterns also in other parts of the world (e.g., in Northeastern Asia and even in Australia). (See also what is said about Plate 5 in the list of Illustrations).

⁴² The above passage is translated by the writer from Hentze, 1939, pp. 316–318.

⁴³ For the 13th century B.C. as terminus of the Harappan civilization, see Heine-Geldern, 1956, and Fairervis, 1956. The fact that the signs at the two ends of the inscriptions on the other sides of these plaques resemble “hands” suggests analogy with the “hands” so closely associated with the looped designs of the Shang inscriptions. Could this circumstance have a bearing on the question of kinship between early systems of writing in the Indus Valley and in China? May it not at least serve to identify the signs at both ends of these Indus Valley inscriptions as being pictographic representations of hands? Can any further inferences be drawn from the Chinese analogy (if it is an analogy?) for the designs and the inscriptions on the two sides of these plaques which might eventually help in the decipherment of the Indus Valley script? For a possible use of these plaques, compare the metal plaque bearing a *yantra* which serves as foundation under the Batak sacrificial post discussed above. For another Batak looped design in ancient Sind, see note 11.

⁴⁴ It occurs, for example, on an archaic seal of the second Egyptian dynasty in the Brooklyn Museum: 44.123.20 (apparently unpublished).

⁴⁵ For insight into some of the basic meanings of knots and looped designs, see Coomaraswamy, 1944.

⁴⁶ The possibility should be kept in mind that such looped designs were developed in connection with the practice of divination. See note 20, especially the third paragraph.

⁴⁷ The Melanesian design of Fig. 19 may, in turn, be plausibly compared with a Nicaraguan petroglyph, Lothrop, 1926, i, pl. viii, c, which is similarly inscribed around a prearranged linear framework. This petroglyph belongs to the same class as those mentioned in our note 27.

⁴⁸ The structure of this design implies a puzzle. Petrikovits, 1939 and 1952, showed that it represents the courses of two teams of horsemen in the so-called *lusus Troiae*, best known from its performance in the funeral games for Anchises described in Virgil's *Aeneid*, 5, 545–603. As a guide for interpreting the Virgilian text Petrikovits used the representation of a “labyrinth” on an Etruscan vase of the late seventh century B.C., shown in our Fig. 26. In the light of this custom from classical (and doubtless pre-classical) antiquity, it may be concluded that the “labyrinth” was origi-

nally conceived as an exercise in which two movements proceeded simultaneously from two points of departure toward two points of arrival.

In actual fact, however, as the writer showed in a communication read at the IVth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Vienna in 1952 (unpublished), the motive of the labyrinth seems to have been *drawn* everywhere and always by another method; namely, by first projecting a cross with four concave arcs between its arms and four dots as their foci, and then connecting the dots with the ends of the arcs and the ends of the cross in a regular progression. We surmise that even in ancient Rome the figure was first laid out on the ground by this easy discontinuous means, perhaps with white lime, to serve as a guide or route for the equestrian exercise to follow.

No matter by which of these two methods the design was originally conceived, it seems clear that the four dots are indispensable to its evolution, and that accordingly it belongs to the class of designs built up by means of loops related to a prearranged system of dots. In any event, we must accept the design as a distinctive entity, whose inner complexity and wide peregrinations give it a special value for the tracing of cultural migrations.

⁴⁹ Tichelman, 1937.

⁵⁰ This ring, in which the labyrinth is slightly misdrawn, is one of several embodying variants of the motive, most of them preserved in the Djakarta Museum. The proposal of Bosch, 1927, that these labyrinths were evolved from the Javanese monogram for *Çri* is clearly untenable, even though there appears to be a transition between the two motives in some cases. Incidentally, it should be noted that the execution of the labyrinths on these gold rings is invariably far below the *finesse* of most Hindu-Javanese metal-work. Could such crudity mean that these rings, though found in Java came from elsewhere (Sumatra?), or that they are the work of some other social or ethnic group than that which generally gave employment to the highly skilled Javanese goldsmiths?

⁵¹ See Alberuni, 1910, i, p. 306. On a South Indian temple of the 12th or 13th century in Halebid, a modified “labyrinth” is carved on a frieze illustrating another episode from the epics, that in which the Pāṇḍava hero Abhimanyu penetrates a military formation of the Kaurava enemy. See Brooke, 1953, who points out that this Indian representation of the design

as a tactical device has a certain analogy in the military "game of Troy" known to us from Roman and pre-Roman Italy. (See Fig. 26 and note 48). It is perhaps this Indian legend about the "labyrinth" as a tactical device which accounts for the name *cakra-vyūha*, or "battle-array of the wheel", by which the motive is commonly known in India today.

⁵² See Layard, 1937, p. 174, and figs. 36, *a, b*, 37, *a*.

⁵³ Cf. Deedes, 1935, and Knight, 1936, as cited by Layard, 1937, p. 174; also Coomaraswamy, 1938 and 1939, as cited in our note 9; and 1944, p. 118.

⁵⁴ Mr. G. L. Tichelman, who in 1947, p. 72, wrote: "The remarkable and enigmatic grooves [ontgravingen] symmetrically excavated on the tops of hillocks in the Bataklands are [regarded as] the work of Djonaha", has assured the writer that these "grooves", which he observed some years ago near Dolok [perhaps Dolok Simardjarungjung?] in the Batak principality of Panei, north of Lake Toba, and which he remembers as seeming to have been excavated or possibly trodden until they formed shallow channels, like those of the English "turf labyrinths" illustrated, for example, by Matthews, 1922, fig. 67, were in fact "labyrinths" of just the type here under consideration. Efforts made subsequently by Mr. Tichelman in Holland and by myself, through various intermediaries, to secure actual records of these configurations in the Bataklands have thus far remained futile.

It may be added here parenthetically that if these Batak arrangements are true "turf-labyrinths" like the English example cited above, such turf-labyrinths may have to be regarded as antecedent in evolution to the boulder-labyrinths; for a figure laid out in grooves can be easily trodden by two individuals following the course of the *lusus Troiae* (see note 48), whereas the same design laid out in stones (i.e., a "boulder labyrinth") would not be practical for such a purpose, but would lead to a relatively meaningless "threading" of the maze in the intervals between the rows of stones, by one individual rather than by two. It might be surmised, thus, that "boulder labyrinths" represent an attempt (perhaps in an age dominated by megalithic ideas) to perpetuate a motive whose real meaning and use had been forgotten.

⁵⁵ Krupnov, 1951, p. 64 f. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Karl Jettmar of Vienna for calling my attention to the existence of this monument in the first place, and for a summary and evaluation of Krupnov's views about it. The "labyrinth", incidentally, still

plays an important role in the modern folk-art of Daghestan in the eastern Caucasus: see Miller, 1927, pl. i and fig. 10.

⁵⁶ The motive reproduced in our Fig. 26 represents only part of an elaborate composition in two tiers (see Giglioli, 1929, pl. xxvi, *b, c*), which we cannot attempt to consider here (see the interpretations of Knight, 1936, chapter v, "Truia"). As for the word "TRVIA", which is inscribed backwards on the labyrinth of Fig. 26, Kerényi, 1950, p. 41, cites authority for regarding it as cognate with an Old Italic stem which seems to mean "dancing in a circle", or possibly "churning". (In this case, the common mediaeval and modern association of this design in Western Europe with the legendary city of Troy may rest upon an early rationalization or popular etymology: cf. Böhl, 1935, p. 13). If TRVIA means "churn-dance", we might see a conceptual analogy between the *lusus Troiae* and the meandering or labyrinthoid designs developed on the carapace of a turtle (see note 20, second paragraph) by the act of "churning", for which this creature serves as a pivot (cf. Fig. 2).

⁵⁷ This dating of the northwest Spanish rock-cut labyrinths was proposed to the writer by Dr. B. Sáez Martín of the Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre in Madrid, in a letter of April 30, 1952, as follows: "The historical and archaeological reasons for including these engravings in the Mediterranean Bronze or in the beginning of the Atlantic bronze—but then with their origins in the Mediterranean—are multiplying from day to day." For the archaeological characterization and absolute dating of these periods, see Santa-Olalla, 1946, pp. 61–66.

⁵⁸ For the Irish labyrinth of our Plate 9, see Mac-White, 1951, fig. 2, no. 5, 1946, fig. 1, no. 5; and Breuil, 1934, fig. 40, no. 65. For the Cornish labyrinth of our Plate 10, see Gibson, 1954. In Ireland, but more especially in Northumberland and Scotland, as well as in northwestern Spain, there are many labyrinthoid rock-carvings, which cannot be considered here, though some of them have a special importance (as shown in my Vienna paper, cited in note 48) for the later history of the "labyrinth" among modern "primitive" peoples, including the Bataks. The most extensive publication of the northwest Spanish (Galician) petroglyphs, including many labyrinthoid types, is that of Sobrino, 1935.

⁵⁹ Though the writer does not know of any "true" example of our motive among the cultures of the An-

cient Orient, there are some indications that it could have evolved there. See Böhl, 1935, and Kerényi, 1950.

⁶⁰ See the Vienna communication mentioned in the second paragraph of note 48.

⁶¹ Some of this evidence was presented in the Vienna paper just mentioned, and more of it in Schuster, 1956, fig. 38; but new clues have subsequently come to the writer's attention (for some of these, see Menghin, 1956), which tend to confirm his belief in the early entry of this motive into the New World. Undoubtedly more evidence will eventually come to light; especially when it is better understood to what class of motives the "labyrinth" basically belongs.

⁶² See note 54.

⁶³ This dating was suggested to the writer by Prof. H. D. Sankalia of Poona in May, 1956, evidently on the assumption that this boulder labyrinth, and another one reported in the Salem District of the former Madras Presidency (Āndhra) in South India (Layard, 1937, fig. 37, *b*), belong to the class of Indian megalithic monuments. Prof. Sankalia has informed the writer that he hopes soon to conduct archaeological investigations at the site of the Sitimani labyrinth (Plate 7).

⁶⁴ The writer believes that the northwest European bolder labyrinths, or at least the custom of making them, may very well go back to the time of the Scandinavian "spectacle fibulae" of the late bronze age. Some reasons for this belief were stated in his Vienna paper. (See note 48, second paragraph).

⁶⁵ See Layard, 1937, p. 177.

⁶⁶ E.g., Colton, 1944, fig. 7; and a number of other, unpublished, examples, known to the writer from the Navajo and the Hopi.

Mention may be made here, in passing, of what may be called the "double labyrinth"; namely a combination of two labyrinths, one arranged clockwise, the other counter-clockwise, facing each other and generally connected by a kind of "umbilicus". Motives of this type have an extraordinary wide distribution. In the Old World they occur, to the writer's knowledge, only in simplified forms: thus in the "spectacle fibulae" of bronze-age Scandinavia, and probably in bronze-age Ireland and Northumbria; then in the Bataklands, in certain Papuan areas, the New Hebrides, and the Marquesas. In the full form of two "true" labyrinths the motive occurs only, so far as the writer knows, in the New World. (See the Vienna paper mentioned in note 48). The duplication of the labyrinth is undoubted-

ly of great potential interest, not only historically but also symbolically.

^{66a} Dr. Voorhoeve has pointed out to the writer that the Batak *datu* may not be aware of the association of four of these Sanskrit names with the cardinal directions. Nevertheless, the use of these names in this context can hardly be accidental, since a cosmic and thus directional symbolism is implicit in the design. Our surmise is that the whole design, with the Sanskrit names of the directional gods, must once have existed in India, and been taken over by the Bataks, who could then have forgotten part of the symbolism, just as they have forgotten, or almost forgotten, the identity of the turtle in the middle of the *bindu*, Fig. 1, which survives in India, as we have seen, in Fig. 2.

⁶⁷ See note 20.

⁶⁸ Dahse, 1911, illustration on p. 68.

⁶⁹ A hint that the motive of crossed lizards has or had something to do with astrology in West Africa may be seen, as Dahse pointed out, in the circumstance that a crocodile is carved in the inner bottom of a wooden bowl found in Rhodesia which bears a kind of primitive zodiac around its rim: Dahse, 1911, p. 70 and fig. 4. In the Ethnographical Museum in Bern is a wooden implement (Goldk. 341) "of a fetish priest" from Nsuatere, Gold Coast, with a pair of crossed lizards carved in open-work upon it. In what sort of ritual was this object used by the "fetish priest"?

⁷⁰ Dahse, 1911, p. 68. The same group of celestial symbols is associated with the crossed lizards on Dahse's other calabash, mentioned in our note 68.

⁷¹ Schuster, 1956, in connection with fig. 43, *b*.

⁷² Breuil, 1908, pp. 333-336.

⁷³ See, for example, Breuil, 1933-35, iii, fig. 44, right; and iv, pl. xvii, 1, of which he says (iv, p. 21): ". . . une grande figure ramiforme à éléments latéraux fortement coudés en feuilles brisées Nous avons vu . . . de pareils motifs dérivés certainement de personnages assis à étages se multipliant; la tête de ce 'rameau' se termine en un bourgeon apical fusiforme". (These two motives are reproduced in Schuster, 1956, fig. 53, *d*, *e*). The term "hommes-sapins", which Breuil applies to *op. cit.*, ii, figs. 28, 29, and iii, figs. 23, 34, seems to us especially appropriate, in view of the survival of certain dendro-anthropomorphic symbols with genealogical connotation among modern palaeo-Siberian peoples. Characterizing other designs of this general type in *op. cit.*, iii, fig. 50, Breuil speaks of "évolutions diverses du personnage assis vers une complication phyto-

morphique ;” and of similar designs in his iii, fig. 52, as “figures humaines phytomorphes”. A similar thought is expressed in iv, p. 21.

As for the term “tree of Jesse”, Breuil used this expression in a letter addressed to the present writer from Paris, April 25, 1955, with reference to the two illustrations cited at the beginning of this note. Breuil then wrote that these designs, “if they are genealogical, would be of the order of the ‘tree of Jesse’, that is to say ‘masculine’—???” The italicized “if” and the three question-marks are Breuil’s. It should be added that two decades earlier Breuil had already identified as “des sortes d’arbres généalogiques” another design among Spanish rock-paintings of the neo-eneolithic period, which is *not* ramiform in character, but composed of groups of more or less obviously *female* figures connected by their limbs (Breuil, *op. cit.*, iv, fig. 5, reproduced by Schuster, 1956, fig. 51). We agree that the latter design is genealogical in import (there are many ethnographical survivals of the type, as shown in Schuster, 1956); but we believe that terms like “genealogical tree”, “Stammbaum”, or “tree of Jesse” would be more appropriately restricted to motives of “ramiform” or “phytomorphic” type, such as those for which Breuil suggested the term “tree of Jesse” in the more recent letter cited above. It thus appears that we have to do with two distinct types of genealogical pattern, differently composed of figures representing different sexes.

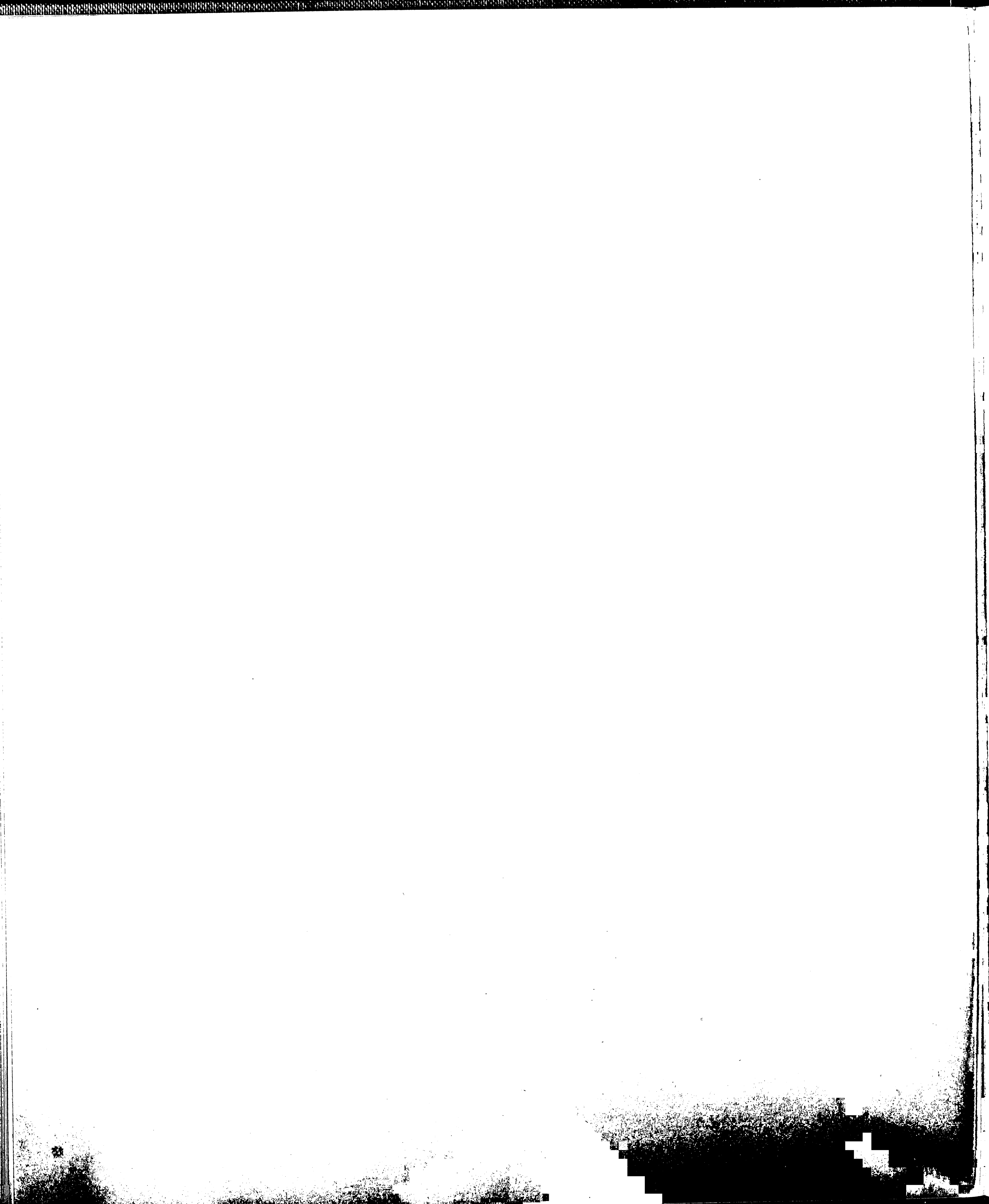
However cautiously and tentatively Breuil expressed his surmise about the masculinity of the “phytomorphic” figures comprising the “trees of Jesse” in Spanish eneolithic rock-paintings, we believe that his intuition is, in this instance, as so often in such matters, reliable. If so, we are immediately confronted with an interesting possibility; for the two types of genealogical symbolization, that of the “tree of Jesse” (highly simplified, it is true) and that of an all-over pattern of human figures connected by their limbs, are unmistakably associated or combined on one precious document of mesolithic art from Denmark, of probably the sixth millennium B.C. (Schuster, 1956, fig. 50); and the same association persists in several traditions of neolithic pottery decoration in the Near East of the fourth millennium B.C. and later. (That the band of spiraloid “ornament” of “Tripolye” type from which we have extracted the *motif* of Fig. 40 is, in fact, a genealogical pattern of our second type is, in our opinion, beyond question; but the demonstration of this thesis will

require an extensive morphological study. See preliminary observations in Schuster, 1958).

There is reason to believe that the figures comprising genealogical patterns of our second type (i.e., those connected in all directions by their limbs) were conceived as female already in mesolithic times: see Schuster, 1956, figs. 44 *a*, 46. And even among modern survivals of the type, there are a number of instances in which the sex of the component figures, if specified at all, is female: thus in two South American designs evidently representing the type (Schuster, 1955, figs. 5 and 7); in one especially significant Indonesian design, in which the common limbs form incipient spirals (Schuster, 1956, fig. 2); and perhaps most significantly of all in an Australian ritual, in which a genealogical pattern is, so to speak, enacted by a row of men lying on the ground with hands touching to symbolize the continuity of the generations, the central man being made to impersonate a woman (Schuster, 1956, note 110). Once we recognize the relation between prehistoric and modern genealogical patterns of the second type, and more especially the continuity between mesolithic and neolithic traditions in which “male” patterns of the first type are closely associated with “female” patterns of the second type, we may find the way open to the inference that systems of descent in the male and female lines were already recognized and represented schematically in quite early prehistoric times. Needless to say, a great deal of morphological and symbological study of the designs in various prehistoric traditions and of modern ethnographic survivals remains to be done before we can venture with reasonable security into the realm of what may be called palaeo-sociology. (Cf. note 75).

⁷⁴ Cf. Schuster, 1956, note 109.

⁷⁵ The practice of finger-mutilation, especially in mourning for dead relatives, as discussed in Schuster, 1956, text and notes 119 ff., is, in our opinion, to be explained as the lopping of “branches” or “twigs” off the genealogical “tree” represented by the human body itself (“figure humaine phytomorphique”). The practice was, of course, known already in palaeolithic times (e.g., in the Franco-Cantabrian cave of Gargas, as discussed in Schuster, 1956, note 122). Its meaning must be inferred from modern practices like that surviving, for example, among the Charrua of Uruguay, who progressively amputated the phalanges of the fingers, beginning with the little finger, one phalanx for the death of each relative. (Schuster, 1956, note 121).



CATALOGUE



MYTHOLOGY

Sirudang gara.

BAT. 1 (Nat. Mus. C. c. 531).

Bark book, probably incomplete. 30 leaves, c. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ cm. No wooden covers. Fols 1, 2 and 30 are damaged.

Written by two different hands. The earlier one has written pp. a1–3 and one line on a4, and pp. b1–17. The later hand has added some diagrams on pp. a4, 5, b24–29, some writing on p. a14 and a few words on pp. a4, 5. The remainder is blank. Many pages look as if they have been purposely smoked to make the book appear old. It is possible, however, that incense has been burnt over the book as an offering.

The spelling of both the earlier and the later text is Karo-Batak, with *sikurûn* for *u* and *ě*, but not for *o*; this vowel is expressed by the special Karo-Batak sign (*kětolongěn*). The dialect is that of Gunung-gunung, i. e. the western part of the Karo plateau, as appears from the use of several words marked G.g. in Neumann's dictionary. Moreover, in the introduction the village Měrtělu (in Gunung-gunung) is mentioned. The pronunciation of this dialect is unknown to me. One text from this region has been published, but it has only a few peculiarities of the dialect and on the whole its language is standard Karo-Batak (J. H. Neumann, Poestaka Ginting, in TBG 70 (1930) pp. 1–51). Consequently I do not know whether forms like *lěwět* (for *lět* or *lit*, 'is') and *suwun* (for *sun*, finished) are really dissyllabic or only meant to indicate that the vowel is long. Very particular forms are *mangan* for the preposition *man*, 'to', and *kingan* for the adverb *kin*, 'really'. I find

kingan also in a small Karo-Batak pustaha in Paris, Bibl. Nat. mal.-pol. 17, and *mangan* in MS. no. 56330 in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London; cf. Toba-Batak *musengan* in *poda*-language = *musean*, *muse*, 'again'. The late Mr. E. J. van den Berg, who was one of the first missionaries in the Karo-Batak country, rightly remarked that the lengthening of these words may be due to the singsong used in reading aloud.

Acquired in 1893.

Subject: The older text is one of the very rare instances of a mythological tale reduced to writing in a bark book. There are some other examples: the myth of the origin of the earth and of the sacrificial rice in some *porbuhitan* texts (BKI 114, pp. 242 et sqq.), the myth of the magic staff called *tunggal panaluan* in MS. Ch. B. 1101 (published in the Dublin catalogue and completed in the Supplement, BKI 124 (1968) p. 369 sq.) and the myth of the cock-oracle (see my *Volksverhalen* no. 9b). The text in this MS. is connected with the exorcism of *sirudang gara*, 'a ghost considered as dangerous as the *begu gandjang*' (Neumann). The numerous errors and emendations show that writing a tale was an unusual undertaking for the author and that he wrote from dictation or from memory, not from a written model. This also explains the clumsy way in which the beginning of the text is written at one end of the strip of bark and the continuation on the reverse at the other end. Page b1 is so blackened by smoke that only some lines can still be read. As the same proper names occur in a and b there can

be no doubt that both texts belong together, but there may be a lacuna between the two pieces. The strip of bark may have been much longer originally; certainly at least one leaf has been torn off at the end where b begins. All these circumstances cause great difficulty in the interpretation of the text. The only thing I can do is to give a preliminary transliteration and a partly hypothetical survey of the contents. The transliteration is not published here, but has been deposited in the library. The pages b2 and 3 are reproduced in Plate 13. The transliteration of these pages is:

b 2 *gělal ni dajang biga radja alo gëran/këmpuku
o ame o mama bagi lako k/ita tu ture nina anak
tuwan pust/ima kata si dajang subiga radja bitja¹/
ra nu kalak bada (or sa?) sibahan sahi sahi/nu
uwari ënggo kingan nibëre kam/u tu polana ëgo
kingan nibëre kam(u)/nakan ënggo ka nanga nange
lahang nina asa/nibetën minak dajang subiga
ra(dja)/minaki ku dajang subiga radja ënggo n(i)/
minaki ulang bagedi nidu radjanami/lahang dorëk
bagedi nina anak ni tu(wa)/n radja ni pustima kata
si dajang subi/ga radja di bagedi nidu radjanami
lukah ni(d)-*

b 3 *u adi eda këpe adjardu adi lajo (kë)/pe man-
djadi bunga bunga këpe mandjadik/ën mutik mutik
këpe mandjad(i)/kën buwahna mandjadikën minak/
edi ma pangadjardu adi dajang subiga (ra)/dja
patjik këmbalikën radja ulang bu/we kuwan-ku-
wanmu ari ko tu djeda mër/minak ma ko lëbe
nikire maku l/ëbe be ënggo nikirei maka tu pola
ma anak/na dami dajang sumbiga radja maka ni/
tjëptjëpi sule lasna kuakap e/di mangan ni dajang
gila gila edi bu. . ./u pëdah sakali nari nitjëptjëp*

In the introduction we find the names of some magicians of former times who have handed down the tale of the magic oil *Sirudang gara*, to be used if somebody is struck by *Sirudang gara*.

It appears then that the name of the dreaded ghost and of the medicine that cures its influence is the same: *sirudang gara*, Red Flower. The chain of transmission of the doctrine is partly illegible. It contains the names: Guru Pogul (or Ponggul, Pogël or Ponggël) and a *panawar Kaban* (a medicine-man of Kaban, the name of two villages) called Pa Lagu (father of Lagu). Probably the chain ends in the village of Mërtëlu; this name is repeated at the end of the text. Then the tale begins: two sons of the god of the upper world, Radja Binukum (Binungkum, Binëkëm, Binëngkëm?) and Radja Manuski (Manëski?) founded a village in the East. A marriage was arranged between a son of Radja Binukum and a daughter of the Lord of the West. The bride-price was received by her maternal uncle, si Adji Sindar Mata ni Ari of the North-East country. The next part of the story is very obscure. The chief character is a girl, si Dajang Sumbiga Radja. She has seven pots of medicine-oil, in which her six brothers (and herself?) are hidden (??). By means of this oil she has the power to make people ill and to cure them. The son of Radja Manuski boils the six brothers in an iron cauldron, whilst si Dajang Sumbiga Radja is away. When she comes back she looks in vain for her brothers; an old woman tells her that they are in the cauldron. She scatters magic earth over the cauldron. It melts; then she puts the contents in the medicine-pots again. After seven nights a flower grows on the spot under the house where the molten cauldron fell. An orphan brings the magic medicine from over the Ocean to Kaluwat (Achehnese pronunciation Kluët, situated between Tapa' Tuan and Singkel on the west-coast of Sumatra) and from there to Mërtëlu. The text written by a later hand gives the beginning of an incantation, in which the name of one of si Da-

jang Sumbiga Radja's brothers, si Radja Gumuruh-guruh, is mentioned.

I must repeat that this interpretation of the story is purely hypothetical. The meaning of the passage on the filling of the seven medicine-pots is especially doubtful. It seems that the children suck the breast of their mother; the taste of the milk is different for each child. Then either the milk or the child itself is put into the medicine-pot.

A study *in loco* of the Gunung-gunung dialect may lead to a better understanding of the text as it is handed down in this bark book. Its full meaning, however, will probably remain obscure, unless some parallel version should be found in writing or in oral tradition.

¶ ¹⁾ There is no difference between *sa* and *tja* in this script.

AGGRESSIVE MAGIC

Pangulubalang sitoba-toba.

BAT. 2 (Cod. Bat. 14).

Bark book. 69 leaves, 21–22 × 15 cm, some leaves smaller. A few leaves are missing at the beginning and at the end. Two wooden covers and a leather band are later additions. Near the edge of the bark and near the folds the writing is effaced in many places. The greater part of the writing in the middle of the pages with many illustrations (in black only) is well preserved. There are two different handwritings: a and the beginning of b were written by Guru Niapoan ni adji, the last part of b by his pupil Nantiradja, whose letters are a little smaller, but otherwise much like those of his master. Both use the southern *ta* with the upper line protruding to the left, but Nantiradja occasionally uses the northern *ta* in the syllable *tu*. Both use two or three oblique strokes of the pen as a punctuation mark. The villages of Guru Niapoan and his pupil are not named and I have not found any characteristic words of dialect in the text, but in the chains of transmission there are some indications that this book comes from the region south-west of Lake Toba. Bought in 1951 from Ing. E. A. Hagerup, who lived in Java and Su-

matra 1912–1918. In 1952 the book was very cleverly restored by Conservator Niels Gärtig. Tears and weak folds have been doubled with fine transparent silk gauze. Fol. 69 was left loose, and the joint between fols. 1 and 2 is nearly broken.

This manuscript is connected by its chains of transmission with MS. Leiden Or. 3435, and by its subject-matter with MS. Leiden Or. 3436, both collected by Van der Tuuk in Barus c. 1853. Or. 3435 has the same chain of transmission as the chapter on *pagar subutan* (a20–38) in our pustaha. It was written by the same Guru Niapoan ni adji or by his pupil Maol ni adji; the handwritings of the two manuscripts are indeed very much alike. Or. 3436 has in common with our manuscript the chapter on *pangulubalang sitangkup pinggan* and the main text on *pangulubalang sitoba-toba*. In the Leiden copy the beginning of the text, with the chain of transmission, is missing, and the text on *pangulubalang sitoba-toba* fills the whole of side a; it is followed by *pangulubalang sitangkup pinggan* and *si tapi sindar* on b 2–8. These texts are closely related to our MS.; many details are found in both manuscripts, and they

also have many illustrations in common, but those in the Copenhagen copy are much better done than the drawings in the Leiden manuscript. Guru Niapoan's marga was *Sihombing*. His teacher belonged to the marga *Sitorang na bolon* and lived in the village Ajok na Uli. He learned part of the instructions from a man in the same village who belonged to the marga *Simanullang*, another part from a datu of the marga *Simatupang*, whose village is not named, a third part from a teacher who belonged to the Dairi-Batak marga *Mungkur* and lived in Sibulaoan; the main text was taught to him by a wandering *datu*. Though there are many villages called Ajok na Uli or Aeknauli, the names of the margas mentioned and the fact that one of Guru Niapoan's pustahas was acquired by Van der Tuuk in Barus clearly indicate that here Aeknauli south-west of Lake Toba (no. 27 in Ypes, *Bijdrage*, p. 545) is meant.

Subject: *Pangulubalang* (aggressive magic), *pagar* (protective magic), and some kinds of divination.

a 1-20 No title, as the beginning is missing. It seems to be: *Poda ni pangulubalang sitangkup pinggan*. This *pangulubalang* is also the subject of the MSS. Amsterdam A 4170d and Barmen, Museum of the Rhenish Missionary Society, Batak Book No. 1.

The making of a *pangulubalang*, for which a child is killed to make its ghost subservient to the owner of the *pangulubalang*, has often been described; most clearly by Winkler, *Toba-Batak*, pp. 170-176.

Our text describes only the preparing of the aggressive magic on an earthenware dish (*pinggan*); its name *sitangkup pinggan* means Dish-Catcher. The figure on p. a 3 should be drawn

on the dish, that on p. a 4 on a kind of tuber. On p. a 4 there is a new title: *Poda ni hatotoganta boru-boru ni sitangkup pinggan ma inon na morgoar si tapi sindar ni sitoba-toba*. These are instructions about our support, the female of *sitangkup pinggan*, whose name is si Tapi Sinar ni sitoba-toba, Lady Brightness of *sitoba-toba*. The last addition probably means that this magic is derived from the *pangulubalang sitoba-toba*, which is the subject of the last part of the manuscript. A female buffalo is the fee for the teacher of this magic. The magic substance is put into a stone jar, which is then buried until the time one may need it. When this moment has come one makes a human figure out of the stem of a banana tree, adds some of the magic substance to it, and sends it to the village of the enemy, where it will cause damage. It must be fed with toadstools. Several methods of applying this magic are enumerated, each one with the appropriate incantation and magical drawing.

a 20-38. The subject of this chapter is *pagar subutan*, charms, and *taoar*, medicine. The instructions come from a teacher living in the village Sibulaoan (once spelt Sibolaon), Ompun Desa, who is mentioned on pp. a 20 and a 38. On p. a 27 he is called Datu Porhas Muda. He taught it to Guru Manondong ni adji, and he to Datu Niapoan ni adji, the writer of our pustaha. The text contains many Malay words and some Muslim expressions such as *dikabulkon angla*, accepted by Allah.

The titles and sub-titles in this part of the text are:

a 20 *Poda ni pagarta di adji ni halak ... na morgoar subutan uhum na bolon*. He who knows this *pagar* (protective magic) has nothing to fear from the enemy's magic. The fee due to the teacher is a large buffalo or 44 dirhams in gold (*doraham*,

a small Achehnese gold coin). On p. a 25 there is a human figure that must be drawn on a piece of lead.

a 25 *Poda ni pagarta di adji ni halak.*

a 26 *Poda ni mintora ni pangampun*, to ask the forgiveness of various *tuanku* (a Malay title).

a 27 *Poda ni taoarta di adji ni halak ... na morgoar taoar bolon.*

a 29 *Poda ni taoar ulubalang na pitu.*

a 30 *Poda ni panaek bisa ni taoar bolon.*

a 31 *Poda ni pangihot ni taoar bolon.*

a 32 *Poda ni pangalaho ni pagar subutan.*

a 33 *Poda ni pagar subutan*, to be drawn on the finger-nails if one has to pass a dangerous holy place.

a 34 *Poda ni taoar bolon simardung ni pagar subutan.*

a 36 *Poda ni porsuro ni gading*, almost illegible, so that it is not clear what *porsuro* means here.

a 37 *Poda ni pagar subutan.*

According to a text written for Van der Tuuk (Leiden Or. 3402 p. 151) *subutan* is used as a protection against poison.

Other texts on *pagar subutan* are BAT. 34 b 7-14; BAT. 49; Amsterdam 932/8; Leiden Or. 3443; Manchester 14; München Cod. Or. mixt. 99; Rotterdam 11722.

a 38-44 On the protective magic *pagar naga hurma djati*. This *pagar* is mentioned in Van der Tuuk's dictionary s.v. *hurma* (which is Skr. *kūrma*, turtle). Elaborate drawings on pp. a 43 and a 44.

a 45-52 *Poda ni pandjahai ni pormuni-munijan ni halak*, ominous signs, as mentioned below in the description of the first part of BAT. 44. The drawing on p. a 52 is to counteract the ill effects of such a sign.

a 52-69 Another piece of aggressive magic: *pangulubalang sipordjandjijan*, from Guru Soiloan

namora Simatupang (a Toba-Batak *marga*) to Datu Panondong ni adji to Guru Niapoan ni adji. With drawings and many incantations. On p. a 64 a drawing in a different style has been added on a small piece of bark which is pasted on a spot where the original bark has some tears.

a 69, though written upon, is glued to the cover. b 1-15 *Poda ni ari rodjang*, see BAT. 48. From Ompu ni Parogung Namora Simanullang (a Toba-Batak *marga*) in Ajok na Uli to Guru Manondong ni adji to Guru Niapoan ni adji. Here ends the part of the text written by Guru Niapoan ni adji with the words: *asa ulang ma ho magolut mida pormangsi ni Guru Niapoan ni adji ale amang na torop e*, do not be contemptuous when you see how Guru Niapoan ni adji has written this, O my readers.

b 16-69 Smaller writing. *Poda ni hatotoganta di bisara na godang beja hita morsaingkon datu na guwak morhata di hita beja di hasuhuton na godang beja hita lumompas hasuhuton asa dapadabu ma adjinta inon na morgoar pangulubalang sitobato-toba na mortuwa situmpur na hilang siturut na toga ija ma inon na toding guru agak na mijan di tano haro asa ro ma di hamu ompu radja so torlindang ni adji asa ro ma di guru marulam adji asa ro ma di ho guru somahap ni adji datu portandang asa ro ma di ho anggi guru niapoan ni adji na hurang pangguru di hadatuwon asa ro ma di ho lae nantiradja namora sinaga anak na di lantungon namora sitabarupar ma inon dipodahon hamu lae guru niapoan ni adji so ma ho lupa di poda ni pangulubalang sitobato-toba ma inon (s)i pintor ni bilang aloi lae nantiradja namora sinaga oi (b)arang hita mortaru-taruhon pangulubalangta inon beja hita paturun gar... tu huta ni musunta beja hita mamadjok pangulubalang di hutanta barang (hi?)ta bisara dibagassuta ulang ma dalompas pangulubalangta inon ningon di huta ni*

musunta pe asa dalompas adjinta inon ija ma inon na toding guru agak na mijan di haban djulu ma inon ale da(tu) | ija pusuk ni sitoba-toba asa dapa-tortor ma radja manggele (datu?) asa da(bu)wat ma hasaja ni pangulubalangta inon...

Instructions about our support in magic warfare, (to be used) if a *datu* tells a lie about us, or in war, or if we start a war; then we shall apply our magic called Pangulubalang sitoba-toba, the holy one, who defies the unrighteous and follows the trustworthy. It comes from Guru Agak in Karo; through the intermediary of three other teachers (Ompu Radja So Torlindang ni adji, Guru Marulam Adji, Guru So Mahap ni adji) it has reached Guru Niapoan ni adji. That it may come to you, my brother-in-law Nantiradja, namora Sinaga, of the tribe of Lontung, namora Sitabar Upar (a sub-clan of Sinaga). You have taught it to me, brother-in-law Guru Niapoan ni adji! Do not forget the instructions. It is the Pangulubalang sitoba-toba who ensures success in the ordeal of war, O brother-in-law Nantiradja namora Sinaga. Whether we bet on our *pangulubalang*, or make (coals of fire?) come down on our enemy's village, or if we erect a *pangulubalang* (-image) for our village, or if we have an internal dispute(?), never shall we let loose our *pangulubalang* in our own village; only in the enemy's villages shall we let loose this magic. It comes from Guru Agak in Kaban Djulu (a village on the Karo plateau), O *datu*. As to the sprouts (? *pusuk*; one would rather expect *pupuk*, magical substance) of *sitoba-toba*: let the *radja manggele* dance, O *datu*, then take the ingredients for our *pangulubalang*...—*Radja manggele* is another name for the Batak marionette *sigale-gale* (Cf. TBG 79, pp. 179 et sqq.).

The *pangulubalang sitoba-toba* is also the subject of MS. London, School of Oriental and African

Studies, no. 41836. Its name may mean that a child of the Toba-toba (Karo-Batak Těba-těba, i.e. the people on the northern shore of Lake Toba) was killed to make its ghost a champion in magical warfare, and it seems quite appropriate to summon such a ghost by the typical Toba-Batak burial-dance of the *sigale-gale*. In the main part of our text nothing is said about the killing of a child, though this is mentioned in connection with one of the secondary *pangulubalangs*. We may suppose that some of the original *pupuk* was brought from Kaban Djulu until it reached, together with the instructions about its use, the Toba-Batak *datu* who wrote this book. All the remainder of the text contains various applications of the *pangulubalang*: the ingredients, the incantations, and the magical figures that should be drawn on some of the ingredients. Among these ingredients are seven human heads; they are portrayed on p. b 59. An illustration showing the rainbow, sucking water with its two heads (*halibutongan mangonsop*) is found on p. b 29. On p. b 40 there is a curious portrait of the ghost of a child, represented as the usual conventionalized human figure falling apart into loose lines (Plate 28). The text in this Plate reads as follows: *Ahu ma debata ni sibijangsa ni pangulubalang sitoba-toba na lumong/(long)kon huta ni musunta asa hita manumpa djolma anak ni djol(ma) |(man)isija dohot ajok ni suhat sihurhuran ija panopuni aj(ok)/(n)i bira ija dung do botinon asa dadoding-doding ma anak ni djol(ma)|(man)isija di harangan na beguon ma hita mandoding-doding boli ma (i)/(n)o(n) asa ulang ma hita lupa di poda ni gurunta na djolo inon datunam(i)/(ra)dja ni tare-tare ma inon di bulung ni pangulubalang. Radja ni sibijangsa ma inon.*

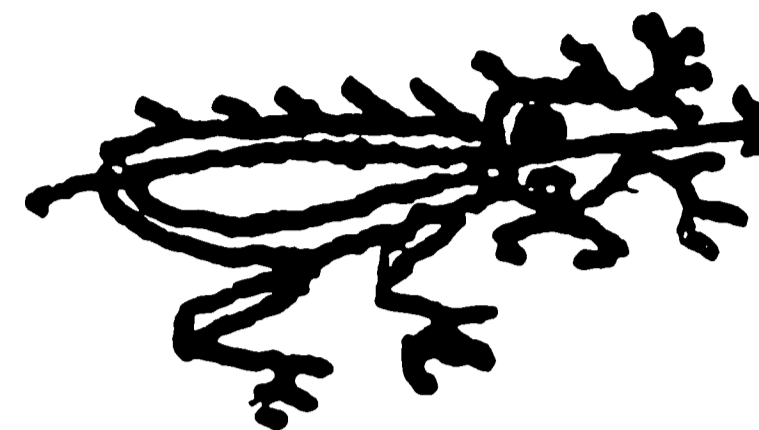
Translation: "This is the ghost of *sibijangsa*, the most powerful part of *pangulubalang sitoba-toba*,

which destroys the village of our enemies. We should kill a human being, a young child of the human species, by pouring juice of a certain variety of *Colocasia esculenta* down its throat. Some juice of *Alocasia macrorrhiza* should be added to it. After that we should sing a lullaby for that child, in the solitude of the jungle we should sing a lullaby for it. That is the teaching of the Masters of yore, don't forget it, O magician. This drawing should be made on *pangulubalang* leaves and put on the touch-hole of a gun. It is the drawing of *sibijangsa*."

The two round figures are called *radja ni hundulan ni djolma inon*, i.e. the figures that should be drawn on the base of (the jar containing) the human being.

Naga padoha, the dragon who carries the earth on his head, is seen on p. b 44. On this page there begins a paragraph describing how we can make the *sanggapati* of our enemy harmless. *Sanggapati* is the name of a very dangerous *pangulubalang*, closely connected with the magic staff (*tunggal panaluan*); see MS. Ch. B. 1102 (*Cat. Dublin* pp. 32 et sq.). Our text mentions that various parts of the body of the *sanggapati* are 'planted' and so become all kinds of plants, which the *datu* uses for magical purposes, e.g. the heart of the *sanggapati* is planted and becomes the heart-shaped blossom of the banana called *gaol sitabar*, which is used in ceremonies to drive away evilspirits. On pp. b 55 et sqq. something more is said about the preparation of the *pangulubalang sitoba-toba*, but this part of the text is badly damaged, so that only disconnected fragments can be read. b 69, which contains the continuation of a large drawing that begins on p. b 66 and extends over pp. b 67 and b 68, is glued to the cover, and the last part of the text is missing. *Radja manggele* and *sanggapati* are also mentioned in the Leiden man-

uscript Or. 3436. In the London MS. the origin of the *pangulubalang* is derived from Simalungun.



Pohung; pangulubalang.

BAT. 3 (Nat. Mus. C 2294).

Bark book. 36 leaves, 18 × 10 cm. Broken into many pieces. When the order of the leaves was restored it appeared that one leaf in the middle of the book was missing. A piece of cardboard has been substituted for it. At the end of side a (the beginning of b) some leaves are missing. There are two loose wooden covers. One of them, which is decorated with a carved geometrical motif, is broken in two. One plaited rattan band. Somewhat damaged, but most parts are quite legible. Both sides are carefully written, (a) by Guru Badia, (b) by his pupil Namora Soalon. The *na* often has the old form; *ta* has the northern form; final *-ng* is often omitted. There are a few drawings, carefully done.

The language is *poda*-language and has few dialectal words. Such words as *gorar*, name, and *timan*, from, might seem to indicate a Mandailing origin, but this would be at variance with the style of the writing. Moreover, *goran* (as in Simalungun) is also found for name. One of the most characteristic dialectal forms is the prefix *si-* in the first person inclusive of the verb; this clearly points to a dialect near the Dairi or the Karo region, which would be in accordance with the style of the writing. Some words, e.g. *gaganonkon*, to be used, and *na borit pinangindo*, of ill fortune, sound very much like Simalungun Batak. Perhaps

the isle of Samosir in Lake Toba is the most likely place of origin of a text with all these peculiarities of dialect.

Acquired in 1919, "from Toba".

Subject: Various kinds of protective and aggressive magic.

a 1 some writing exercises.

a 2-8 *Poda ni pohu(ng)ta di sinuwanta barang mamundjung pa(ga)ranta*, instructions about our *pohung* for our plantation, or for the protection of an isolated newly founded village. Magical crop-protectors against thieves, called *pohung*, have been described by Winkler (*Toba-Batak*, p. 174) and Tichelman (*Cultureel Indië*, I, 186 et sqq.). In both cases the seat of the magic substance is a statue made of wood, clay or stone. No mention is made of a statue here. Two magical drawings are found on pp. 7 and 8. They show the spirit of the *pohung* in the shape of biting snakes, assailing the hands and feet of the thieves. These figures should be copied on a piece of lead, and this should be put into an unripe calabash. One of the incantations is as follows: *Suru(ng) ma ho batara pangulubalang ni pohungku ama ni pungpung djari-djari ina ni pungpung djari-djari batara sipungpu(ng) djari su(rung) pamu(ng)pung ma djari-djari ni sita(ng)ko sinuwanku onon suru(ng) bunu porlobas porsuwagehon*, i. e.: Up! you Lord *pangulubalang* of my *pohung*, Father of Mutilated fingers, Mother of Mutilated fingers, Lord with Mutilated Fingers, up! mutilate the fingers of the thief of this crop of mine, kill! finish!! The word *onon* which occurs several times in these incantations, is remarkable, as it proves that Van der Tuuk's etymology of the *poda*-language pronoun *inon* (as a compound of the pronouns *i* and *on*, *Tob. Spr.* p. 227, *Grammar* p. 221) cannot be right. I think that the final *on*

in these words is more probably the suffix *-on*. a 9-13 *Poda ni hatotoganta di hasuhuton na godang beja di bisara na bolon beja panongtonginta di halak na mapas di hita asa dadabuhon ma hatotoganta i na morgoran sitanggungan ija hita umbahon pangulubalangta inon morsahan do hita bosur hita mangan mangan asu do hita na bara beja manuk na bara hapilinni ija hita dumabu pangulubalang sitanggungan morpantang do hita ulang hita mortinggil ija ma inon pamunu pulas mortangke samosir do hita ija ma inon pamununta di halak djadi pamunu pulas mago ma na mamula(10)si hita dibahon pangulubalangta inon ulang dapadjihon di halak ija suwada dilehon pangadjini di hita ulang barang-barangsi dapaguruhon di halak i ma tabas ni pangulubalang sitanggungan*, instructions about our support that can be used in a great dispute or in an important litigation or as secret magic against people who despise us. In these cases we shall apply our support who is called Hog's fodder-bucket. When we make this *pangulubalang* we shall drink palm-wine from a drinking-horn and eat our fill, meat of a dog we shall eat, of a red one, or, as a substitute, of a red fowl. When we apply the Hog's fodder-bucket *pangulubalang* we should keep the taboo, we should not quarrel. This is a deadly weapon against an incendiary letter. We shall use a hatchet from the isle of Samosir. This is our deadly weapon against people, it serves as a deadly weapon against incendiary letters, people who send us incendiary letters will be destroyed by our *pangulubalang*. One should not teach it to anyone unless he pays us the proper fee. One should not teach it indiscriminately. This is the incantation of the Hog's fodder-bucket *pangulubalang*.—The peculiar name of this *pangulubalang* is taken from the *tanggungan*, a large bucket made of bamboo or wood, in which food for the pigs is prepared;

from the *tanggungan* the food is poured into the *palangka*, a wooden or stone trough. A remarkable word is *barang-barangsi*. The Toba-Batak dictionaries translate *barangsi* as 'indecent'. From the duplicated form we see that it is derived from *barang*, 'or', '...ever'. There is no suffix *-si* in Toba-Batak, but from Simalungun we know this as an alternative form of *-sa*, a pronominal suffix of the third person. So *barang-barangsi* may be translated: whatever, whoever, and the above sentence means: one should not teach it just to any person, i.e. indiscriminately (Cf. Djakarta Malay *sembarang orang*). After the incantation the ingredients of the *pangulubalang* are enumerated. Among these are a toad, a chameleon and a lizard. Everything is put into the bucket, on which the alphabet is written (without *ga*, which is omitted or forgotten by the copyist): *hala ama naba tara sadja danga waja panja i u*. This inscription is accompanied by the drawing found on p. a 13. After an offering of pork, lead is poured into the mouths of the animals and the bucket is buried. The origin of these instructions is mentioned as follows: *Ija ma inon na todi(ng) datu masipari* (l. *sapari*?) *asa ro ma di datu sajur barita asa ro ma di guru babujut ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru badija ni adji asa ro ma di ho namora soalon asa ulang lupa di poda ale*, this is from a *datu* of the days of yore, to *Datu Sajur Barita*, to *Guru Babujut ni adji*, to *Guru Badija ni adji* (who has written this copy for his pupil) *Namora Soalon*. Do not forget it!—The name *Babujut ni adji* means: Tiger of magic. According to Van der Tuuk *babujut* is a euphemism for the common Toba-Batak word for tiger *babiat*. It seems more probable to me that *babujut* is the older form and that it is originally an honorific name of the tiger, meaning: great-grandfather (cf. Javanese *kaki bujut*, Sundanese *aki bujut*, great-grandfather).

A short paragraph on *pangulubalang sitanggungan* is found in MS. Amsterdam 1430/1.

a 13–25 *Poda ni guro-gurowanta di na mapas di hita*, on a magical device against people who despise us. The principal ingredient of this magic is: three pulverized bumble-bees (the large black species which bores holes in wood). P. a 15 is badly damaged, 16 is missing. On p. a 22 we find: *Poda ni suman-suman ni siborong-borong ma inon. Aha do baritamu inang nang birong-birong? Amon ma niontangku tuwannami o na morsintahon ari golap potong, hapotongan ma ho ate-ate ni siju!* This is the allegory of the black bumble-bee. What news do you bring, Mother of the Black one? Be careful, my invited guest, my lord, who craves for a pitch-dark day, be darkened, you liver of N.N.! On p. a 24 the word *punsi* is used for banana. This word was only known to me from Siantar in Simalungun, where it is used as a taboo substitute, as both the Malay word *pisang* and the Batak word *galuh* were tabooed because of their likeness to the name of a former *radja* Sangnauuluh. This text ends with a magical design on p. a 25.

a 26–37 A prescription for a *pangulubalang* called: *Pangulubalang sirumbak batar-batar, sabungan mandjadi boru boru mandjadi sabungan*, i.e. *pangulubalang* who overturns watchtowers; male becomes female, female becomes male. The origin is given as follows: *Ija ma inon na toding Tuwan Sabungan ni adji asa ro ma di ho hamang* (? l. *amang*, father, or *hahang*, elder brother) *Radja Patar ni adji, asa ro ma di ho amantuwa Nalunta, asa ro ma di ho lae Guru Badija ni adji anak na di Taburon na borit pinangindo na so dapotan omas simagorsing di huta ni halak na songon anduhur na so hataun-taunan bagi ma inon asa ulang ma ho magolut ale Namora Soalon di pormangsi ni Guru Badija, lungun ni atehu do inon*

asa hubahon di lapijanmu inon. Here Guru Badia tells us that he got these instructions from his brother-in-law and he continues to describe himself as *anak na di Taburon*, a man of ill fortune, who does not earn gold in foreign villages, who is like a wild dove, which never finds constant prosperity. 'Do not despise my writing, O Namora Soalon! Because my heart is feeling lonely I write this in your bark book'. Concerning the expression *anak na di Taburon*, cf. the Introduction, p. 48. The principal ingredients of this *pangulubalang* are a kind of arum called *hisik* and various kinds of earth which are put into a bag plaited by a virgin. It is kept in the loft of the house, ready for use in various concoctions.

There is one passage in the prescription which I shall transcribe here, as it may throw some light on the meaning of the word *ijoga* (cf. p. 51). Here we find: *Asa daijoga ma bona ni hisik inon, ulang lobi ulang hurang atas ni hisik inon sasta do atasni, asa dabadjai ma dadaupa ma daminahi ma hisik inon, djolo dadaupa asa daminahi bona ni hisik inon, asa damintorai ma pitu hali, ganup desa hita mortunggalingan, ganup desa hita martu(ng)-kol isang. Du(ng) do hita mangijoga asa daumpat ma hisik inon*, the arum plant should be *ijoga*-ed; its height should be exactly one cubit; then lamp-black should be put on it, incense burnt over it, oil smeared on it; first the incense and after that the oil; then incantations should be uttered over it, seven times; we should tumble backwards in every one of the eight directions (east, south-east, etc.); we should sit with our heads on our hands in every one of the eight directions. When we have finished the *ijoga*-ceremony the arum should be pulled out.—It seems to me that there can be no doubt that *ijoga* is the Sanskrit word *yoga*. Here we find certain positions of the body prescribed in connection with the

uttering of incantations, just as in Indian yoga-exercises (Cf. Cat. Dublin pp. 30, 64). In Mandailing the word is *ajoga*, and Heyting (TKNAG 2nd series, XIV (1897) p. 316) translates it as 'pantomime'; this is confirmed by a Mandailing *pustaka* in the Leiden Museum of Ethnography (no. 741/7), where we find *ajogai* together with *saramai* (jumping), said of the *datu* who imitates the movements of various animals.

The incantation (*mintora*, Skr. *mantra*) beginning with *ung* (Skr. *om*) is written on p. a 37; it is only partly legible, as this leaf (the last one) is badly damaged. The gods (*debata*, Skr. *devatā*) of the eight points of the compass (*desa*, Skr. *deśa*), called *purba* (Skr. *pūrvā*), *agoni* (Skr. *agni*), etc. are invoked in it. The text breaks off here.

b 1–26 On this side the beginning is missing, so that we do not know the title of this part of the text. It seems to be about a *pangulubalang* called *Sidangbela so hadangdangan*. *Sidangbela* is the name of several ghosts, among them the much feared ghost of a woman who died in child-birth. An image of the *sidangbela* with a long tail is thrown down on the ground, and from the position it assumes omens are then taken. By drawing a puppet on a person's footprint or the image of a buffalo on a buffalo's footprint (as shown on p. b 26), and making the *sidangbela* 'bite' at them, we may harm the person or the buffalo. The chain of transmission at the end of this paragraph is: Guru so Imbangon—Bintora Bulan—Sajur Barita ni adji—Guru Babujut ni adji—Guru Badija ni adji—Namora Soalon.

b 26–32 *Poda ni dormanta di anakboru na (ma)-pas di hita datu*, instructions about a love-philtre for a girl who despises the *datu*. With two black and red drawings on pp. b 30 and 31. Cf. BAT. 4 and Leiden Cod. Or. 3436 and 3564.

b 32–35 Two sets of instructions about devices for sowing discord among one's enemies (*sabung-sabung*). At the end Namora Soalon mentions his name as copyist of this part of the text.

b 36–37 blank.

Another bark book containing prescriptions for *pangulubalang sirumpak batar-batar* (*rumpak* has nearly the same meaning as *rumbak*) and *sabung-sabungan* is in the Museum of the Royal Institute for the Tropics, Amsterdam (no. 153/3).



Songon, pangulubalang, etc.

BAT. 4 (Nat. Mus. C 6735).

Bark book. 55 leaves, c. 21 × 16 cm. Two wooden covers, one plaited rattan band. Torn and stained in places. At the edges the writing is obscured by smoke, but on the whole this specimen is well preserved.

The southern *ta* and the old form of *na* are used. The language is *poda*-language. No names of places are mentioned, but the word *porlobe* points to a dialect adjoining Dairi or more probably Simalungun (perhaps Samosir). There are several chains of transmission, all ending in Namora Pudjion, the pupil by or for whom this copy was written. On p. a 7 we find: Datu Adong—Guru Badija ni adji—Ompu ni Poldung—Namora Pudjion. On p. a 26 we learn that Ompu ni Poldung was the maternal uncle (*tulang*) of Namora Pudjion. On p. a 31: Guru Tinating ni adji—Ompu ni Poldung ni adji—si Pudjion. On p. a 33: Guru Sungkunan ni adji—Guru Tinating ni adji—to his *lae* (brother-in-law) Ompu ni Poldung ni

adji—Namora Pudjion. On p. b 7: Guru So Ma-laing—Ompu ni Poldung in Lobu Goti—Namora Pudjion. On p. b 18: Guru Hatahutan ni adji, a travelling *datu*, called *anak na di lantungan* (see the Introduction, p. 47)—Radja Halijongsu—Guru Tinating, etc.

Acquired in 1952, said to be from Toba.

Subject: Various kinds of aggressive magic.

a 1 blank.

a 2–6 Prescription for *adji punuk*, a magic that wrings the enemy's neck: *hosaja* (ingredients), *tabas* (incantation beginning: *surung ma ho*) and a small *radja* (drawing). Cf. MS. Amsterdam 1628/1.

a 7–8 *Pamusatan ni punuk*, quintessence of the neck-wrangling magic, with a drawing (human figures).

a 8–16 *Poda ni songonta di panangko b(o)ndanta*, instructions about our *songon* against people who steal from us (lit.: thieves of our possessions). The word *bonda* is here spelt *banda*, but further on the correct spelling is found. It is Malay *benda* (from Skr.). *Songon* corresponds with Karo-Batak *səngən*, which is explained in Neumann's dictionary: name of a charm which is suspended in a plantation to keep out thieves (also called *pəngian*); there are several kinds with names such as *piluk-piluk* (causing blindness) and *pəngkajah* (causing dropsy). The *piluk-piluk* is described by Neumann as: a kind of defensive magic in a plantation, composed of images carved out of the stem of a tree-fern (*tənggiang begu*), a *sagak-sagak* (a kind of basket made from a split bamboo, illustr.: Modigliani, *Fra i Batacchi indipendenti*, p. 96), a new cooking-pot and feathers of a red hen. From this description we see that *songon* must be about the same as *pohung* (cf.

BAT. 3). The same subject is treated in the *pustaha* Manchester no. 12; see my article in *Bulletin John Rylands Library*, 33, p. 294 (I was not aware at that time of this explanation). The *songon* in our text has the special name *silongonon*, the lonesome one. On the following pages we find the *hosaja*, *tabas* (there are special *tabas* for some ingredients, e.g. a *borong-borong*, a black bumblebee, and *bunga-bunga*, a hibiscus-flower), and a small *radja*, to be drawn on fallen-off fruits of the sugar-palm. Cf. also BAT. 41, and MS. Ch. B. 1113 (*Cat. Dublin* p. 45).

a 16–18 Another *songon*; many *tabas* beginning with *surung*.

a 19–21 A third *songon*: *hosaja*, *tabas*, and a *radja* in the shape of a human figure attacked by snakes from all sides.

a 21–22 *Poda ni hatotoganta di hasuhuton na bolon barang hita morsajingkon datu na begu beja porlobe ni songonta inon beja hita disongon halak ija arini di tula asa daradjahon ma di pagar burukta inon asa damintorai ma pitu hali: ung ...* etc. Instructions about our support in a great controversy, or if we rival a mighty *datu*, or as an introduction to our *songon*, or if people make a *songon* against us; on the fifteenth day of the month it should be drawn on our *pagar buruk*, and the following incantation should be uttered over it seven times: *ung ...* etc.

a 22–24 *Poda ni pagar burukta*, on a kind of defensive magic called *pagar buruk*. In the Leiden MS. Or. 6246 there is a list of days on which the *pagar buruk* 'eats'; if used on these days the *pagar* will have an effect contrary to our aims. In MS. 769/35 of the Ethn. Mus., Leiden, we find a more elaborate treatment of this *pagar* and the days on which it 'goes to the enemy'. Both these MSS. are from Mandailing. Our text has 6 drawings, each of them with a legend beginning *ahu*

debata ..., I am the deity, i. e. the *pangulubalang ...*
 a 24–27 *Poda ni pilokta di panangko bondanta*. This may be the Karo-Batak *piluk-piluk* just mentioned. Cf. MS. Ch. B. 1113 (*Cat. Dublin* p. 45). Many *tabas*; a *radja* to be drawn on a wind-egg (here called *bajuhan* or *bajukan* as in Simalungun and Angkola; Toba *beuhan*, sub-Toba *bojukan*). The end is: *andima datu* (another form of the word found elsewhere as *andiba*, *andibah* or *bah* only) *ulang ma ho lupa ale Pudjion di poda ni songonta inon ninni tulangmu bajo Ompu ni Poldung ma inon*, O *datu*! do not forget, O Pudjion, the instructions about our *songon* (so *pilok* must be a kind of *songon*); these are the words of your uncle Ompu ni Poldung. A drawing of a human figure attacked by 7 snakes belongs to this text.
 a 27–29 About a 'support' called *sidjonggi mangarobut*, 'snatching bull', cf. BAT. 33. Prescriptions for preparing this magic are given, and a *mangmang*, incantation, beginning: *mari ma hamu ...*, come here you... There is a drawing of five men with swords and lances and three severed heads. A similar text is found in a MS. of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, Or. 190.

a 29–32 Another 'support' called *sidjonggi humakor*, 'disturbing bull', with *tabas* and a drawing of 7 human figures.

a 33–34 Instructions about *pangulubalang sipunpun sorimunggu*, that spreads death in front and behind; with *tabas* and drawing.

a 34–40 Instructions about *sidangbela humahak*, female ghosts screaming with laughter. *Tabas* beginning with *surung*; 2 drawings.

a 40–44 Another application of the *sidangbela humahak*, with two small drawings.

a 44–48 A 'support' (*hatotoga*) without specific name, with *tabas* and drawing.

a 48–51 *pangulubalang silantik na hira*, (?).

a 51–52 *Poda ni sipatulpakta di anakboru na mapas di hita*, a charm against a girl who despises us. Incantations (*mintora*) beginning: *ung...*, and a small drawing.

a 52–54 Another nameless 'support' with a small drawing.

a 55 Glued to the cover.

b 1 Some writing exercises.

On this side we find several paragraphs on *pangulubalang*. All the instructions are of the same model: *hosaja*, *tabas* and *radja*.

b 2–3 *pangulubalang sibuta djalan*.

b 3–4 *pangulubalang sidjuwang di langit*.

b 4–8 *pangulubalang adji sarat (?)*.

b 8–12 *pangulubalang satimbangkon nagori sidabu rudji-rudji adji malim harondar*, see Plate 21.

Malformed Batak letters form part of the illustrations on p. 12 and further on.

b 12–14 Another application of this same *pangulubalang*.

b 14–16 *idem*, with drawing on p. 16.

b 16 *idem*, with drawing on pp. 16/17.

b 16–17 *idem*, with drawing on pp. 17/18.

b 17–18 *idem*, with drawing on p. 18.

b 18–19 About *pangulubalang sidabu rudji-rudji satimbangkon nagori* which we should leave behind if people despise us, do not give us (*dipole*) the piece of meat we are entitled to, or do not invite us.

b 19–27 About *pangulubalang sitapi sindar di mata ni ari di mata ni bulan* with a drawing of 7 human figures on pp. 26/27. Cf. MS. Utrecht Univ. Libr. 1 D 14; Amsterdam 795/3.

b 27–33 *Ahu ma debata ni siporhas manoro*, I am the deity of the striking thunderbolt. This magic consists in the letters of the alphabet written on a tiger's skin. The drawing, announced on p. 27 by the words *radja ni ma inon*, this is the drawing,

is finally given on p. 31; the *tabas* follows on p. 32, with another figure on p. 33.

b 33–34 *pangulubalang pabungkar ni sitapi sindar di mata ni ari*, with a drawing on p. 34.

b 34–35 *pangulubalang siponggol dolok-dolok*, with a drawing.

b 35–36 *debata ni sisarahon (ba)nuwa*, with a drawing.

b 36–37 *pangulubalang siponggol tulan* ('bone-breaker'), with a drawing.

b 37–40 (title illegible) with a large drawing on pp. 38–40.

b 40–41 *pangulubalang sibiangsa*, with a small drawing.

b 41–42 *pangulubalang siparege-rege ni sibijangsa ni sitapi sindar di mata ni ari*, with a drawing.

b 42 *debata ni sipungalhon banuwa* with a very small drawing.

b 42–44 *pangulubalang sasuwangkon banuwa*, without a drawing.

b 45–49 *adji dolos* (suicide-magic?).

b 49–52 *Poda ni dormanta di anakboru hinasiholan*, a love-philtre. Cf. BAT. 3.

b 54–53 a text written in the opposite direction, which has become illegible.

b 55 glued to the cover.

Rambu siporhas; panungkuni tahal-tahal.

BAT. 5 (Cod. Bat. 2).

Bark book. 30 leaves, c. 18 × 15 cm. At least one leaf is missing at each end. Two pieces of the stiff outer bark of a tree are used as covers; they are sewn to the last leaves (like MS. BAT. 66). One plaited rattan band.

Good, somewhat cursive writing. Southern form of *ta*, the upper line projecting to the left. *Poda*-language with only a few characteristic dialectal

words (see below). Some parts of the text have become illegible through dirt and the crumbling of the surface of the bark.

Acquired in 1911 from a Dane Hjalmar Jensen.

Subject: the string-oracle (*rambu siporhas*), see BAT. 35; on the reverse are various kinds of magic and divination, and the last part is head-hunters' magic.

a 1 Introduction. The title and the beginning of the chain of transmission are lacking. After an illegible first line the text continues: *datu portandang na morhutahon di tano nai(ng)golan turpuk si ruma hombar ma inon asa ro ma di ho simatua na poso tuwan ni adji goar maramani guru so dumpangon ni adji goar hadatuon di tano huta pajung anak nai manik(??) ma inon ale amang pinadjingdjing ni damang bajo guru so mahap ma inon anak namora manik ma inon.*

By this fragment we are informed that the last teacher in the chain of transmission was a vagrant *datu*, whose dwelling-place was the part of Nainggolan (on the isle of Samosir) that belongs to the *marga* Ruma Hombar (Ypes, *Bijdrage*, p. 537 no. 8a). He was the *amangboru* (father's sister's husband) of his pupil, whose conversational name (*goar maramani*) is illegible (Tuwan ni adji) and whose ceremonial name was Guru So Dumpangon ni adji. His father, Guru So Mahap, had enabled him to study the science of the *datu*. I am not quite sure that the reading *anak nai manik*, which indicates the clan to which the pupil belonged is correct, but it seems to be so, as his father is called *anak namora manik*. Guru So Dumpangon ni adji lived in Huta Pajung. As Manik is a *marga* mostly found in the Pakpak country, one is tempted to look for Huta Pajung in that region. This is confirmed by the fact that MS. Rotterdam, Ethn. Mus. 17578/19372

(see below, p. 210 MS. C) was also written in Huta Pajung (Dairi Batak: Kuta Pajung). Its writer was a man of the *Simsim marga* Boangmanalu, whose mother-tongue was Dairi-Batak, as appears from the language of that text. The language of our *pustaka* shows only a few traces of the Dairi dialect, e.g. *pane bolon* for *pane na bolon* and *pangidahan*, derived from *idah*, to see (Toba *ida*), and especially *takal-takal*, the severed head (of an enemy), for Toba *ulu-ulu*. For consistency's sake I have transliterated this word *tahal-tahal*, but it seems unlikely that it should have been pronounced in this way anywhere. On a 10-11 there are a few paragraphs written by another hand, using another form of *na*, and sometimes the northern (Dairi) form of *ta*; they are apparently written by a beginner. Probably this part was written by the pupil, and the fine regular handwriting of the main part of the text is that of the teacher who lived in Nainggolan.

a 1-3 After the introduction the text begins: *Asa dabuwat ma hosaja ni rambu siporhas*, take the ingredients for the oracle-strings. The first of these materials is *rimpusu ni na haoloan na haturutan*, pieces of thread left over by a weaver employed in the service of a commanding and respected person. Various kinds of strong and harmful objects, such as the tusks of wild animals, etc., reduced to ashes or ground to dust, are used to invigorate 'our' string, that is called *rambu siporhas*, the thunderbolt-string.

a 3-4 *Ija sihat ni rambu sibutbut*, the animating substance of the enemy's string, here called *rambu sibutbut*, 'the extracting string', but mostly (also in this text) *rambu sibangke*, corpse-string. The idea is, of course, that we shall be like a striking thunderbolt, whereas the enemy's soul will be extracted and he will become a corpse. The first constituent of this string is *bonang ni na pitu hali*

mabalu, thread of a woman who was widowed seven times.

a 4–5 *Ija hita manali rambu siporhas*, on the twining of the *rambu siporhas*.

a 5–7 *Ija hita manali rambu sibangke*, on the twining of the *rambu sibangke*. In both cases the head of the string is made of a bead (*simata*) and two *husip*, apparently the small beads used as eyes. For the *rambu siporhas* the bead is a *simata torus tali*, a transparent bead (?), for *rambu sibangke* a *simata napuwan*, a dark blue bead. To shape the heads, some *panihat* (animating substance) is kneaded (*dapulihon*). See the illustration in BKI 110, fig. 2 (facing p. 340), which reproduces a photograph by R. J. Mellema of a set of oracle-strings in the collection of the Royal Institute for the Tropics, Amsterdam.

a 7–11 *Poda ni pangarumai ni rambu siporhas*, about the table of 'houses' of the *rambu siporhas*. In this table certain positions on the *rambu siporhas* are assigned to various persons, e.g.: *ruma ni ulubalang pordjolo-djolo di munsung ni rambu siporhas, ija pandondonini asu na bara; dapot ma ulubalang pordjolo-djolo di musunta, morpangir ulubalang pordjolo-djolo di hita*, the 'house' of the foremost champion is on the muzzle of the *rambu siporhas*; a red dog should be eaten to consolidate the luck; we shall take captive the foremost champion of our enemy; our own foremost champion should perform a ritual hairwashing. One of the houses is located *di husip di toru ni torus tali*, on the *husip* below the transparent(?) bead; it is the house of the *datu* who serves his apprenticeship. Cf. Winkler, BKI 110, p. 348. Dr. Winkler translated *husip* by 'the coral-bead through which the oracle-string passes at the place where the head is fastened to it', but in our text this bead is called *simata torus tali* and the (two) *husip* are said to be below this bead (i.e. on the head).

a 11–15 Another *pangarumai ni rambu siporhas*, which could be more appropriately called *pan-djahai*, as each paragraph begins, not with *ruma ni...*, but with *djaha rambu siporhas*, if the thunderbolt-string (does, or is, as follows, it is lucky, or unlucky).

a 15–19 *Poda ni susuranta*, about our instrument of divination. This mentions some cases in which the double string as a whole takes a certain position, e.g. so that there is a space of two inches between the two strings.

a 19–27 *Poda ni pangarumai ni rambu siporhas* again, illustrated by schematic drawings of the positions of the strings. One page (a 23) is reproduced in Plate 14. It has the following text:

ma musunta ale datunami ma inon ale

* *ruma ni rambu pintu talak soada ul/i soada gora ma inon ale datunami ma ino(n)*

* *ruma ni rambu taroak tortading ma/paranganta tu musunta torlumba ma hita/ulang be hita laho mago ma halak na laho ino(n)*

* *ruma ni rambu djandji balik bal/ik ma djandjinta tu musunta tor/lumba ma hita hapilinni ale datu*

* *ruma ni rambu musu ro tu hita bingkas/dasuru ma donganta mangadang tu ladang ma inon*

* *ruma ni musu ro di aropan tor/lumba ma hita djumpang di dalan ma h/ita dohot musunta ulang be hita laho*

* *ruma ni rambu hapuloan hapuloa(n)*

a 27–30 *Poda ni pangarumai ni napuran patudjolo ni rambu siporhas*, table of the 'houses' of the betel, to be consulted before the *rambu siporhas*, with drawings showing the positions of the leaves of betel in front of the strings. Most paragraphs begin: *djaha napuran*, if the betel-leaves (are in such and such a position, the omen is so and so). In this text the northern *ta* is sometimes used, though the handwriting has not changed.

In the second *pangarumai* mention is made of a *bunga-bunga*, a hibiscus-flower, whose position with regard to the strings is observed. This reminds us of the *pormanuhon*, divination by means of a fowl under a basket. Another paragraph shows some likeness to the buffalo-oracle (*porbuhitan*), as it uses the word *tilahannja* preceded by a technical term for a bad omen: *Djaha rambu siporhas haru polut toding tanganta datu sitompo langit tilahannja*, if the *rambu siporhas* flies from the hand of the *datu*, it is a bad omen called *sitompo langit* (sky-obstructor). The last pages are almost wholly illegible, and the end is missing.

b 1-2 The end of a table of *porsili* (magical substitutes for the warriors) for the 12 months, with black and red drawings. P. 1 is illegible, pp. 2 and 3 are badly damaged.

b 2-5 A list of *porsili* for the seven days of the week, likewise with coloured drawings. These *porsili* consist chiefly of (drawings of) shields (*rangin*) and daggers; probably in the illegible or lost part of the text *buntal*, the thorn of a box-fish, was also mentioned, for the colophon says: *ija hita laho morparang anggo ihut do buntal palait pangulunta laho morparang ale guru so dumpangon ni adji ulang ma ho lupa di poda ni panorbiti ni porsili ni panuruni ulang ho malosok um..... inon tu porparangan sasa..... i do ulaonta asa ulang ma ho lupa di poda ni amangborumu bajo datu radja ni adji*, i.e. if we go to war (*morparang* in this text for *porang*), if there is a *buntal* with it (i.e. if according to the preceding table of months and days a *buntal* should be one of the ingredients of the *porsili*), a barbed lance should be our first weapon in that war. The name of Guru So Dumpangon's teacher, which was missing at the beginning of the text, is here given as *Datu Radja ni adji*. A similar list of *porsili* is found in BAT.

47, q. v. I do not know the meaning of the word *panorbiti* in *poda ni panorbiti ni porsili*. The reading is correct, as it is also found in a fragmentary text in MS. Amsterdam 2761/270.

b 5-7 *Poda ni porbagi bugang ni paranganta barang mabugang ma ninni rambu siporhas dohot didok adji nangka piring dohot adji pajung dohot gorak-gorahan ni manuk ma inon*, about a medicine used with invocation of the masters (*guru*) of the eight points of the compass. With this medicine dots are made (*ditulbuhon*) on the bodies of the warriors if an oracle predicts that they will be wounded. The oracles enumerated here are: *rambu siporhas*, *adji nangka piring* (the cock under the basket), *adji pajung* (the pig who's head is cut off), and *gorak-gorahan ni manuk* (the signs inside a fowl).

b 7-8 Another *poda ni porbagi bugang*, prescription for a poultice of rice, to be applied to wounded warriors; also those who have no wounds should be treated.

b 8-12 *Poda ni hatotoganta di halak na mapas di hita beja sabung-sabungta di halak na mapas di hita*, on our support against people who despise us, or an expedient to sow dissension among them. The ingredients are enumerated; the concoction should be strewn in the village of the enemy with an incantation (p. 10) and accompanied by an elaborate drawing on a potsherd (pp. 11, 12).

b 12 Three magic squares (*hatiha*).

b 13 The points of the compass, with a dragon's head, and such inscriptions as: *di purba musu bingkak di rompo-rompo hita tumaram ulang hita tu rompo-rompo ale datu*, if enmity springs up in the east, we should be on our guard in the brushwood, we should not go to the brushwood, O *datu*.

b 14 The same figure with indications about the

categories of persons for whom ritual hair-washing is unlucky during the 1st–8th days of the month.

b 15 *Poda ni papangan ni ari na tolu pulu*, on the days during which the spirits of the 30 days of the month 'eat' and which therefore should be avoided for ceremonies.

b 15–17 *Poda ni papangan ni rambu madabu*, on the 'eating-times' of the sign called 'falling string', 12 paragraphs for the 12 months.

b 17–22 *Poda ni ompunta pane bolon sitongka adoponkon ni morparang barang horbo marobo*, on the Great Dragon, in whose direction one should not go in war and the oracle-buffalo should not fall. 4 paragraphs, for the months 1–3, 4–6, 7–9 and 10–12, and a coloured drawing of the *pane bolon* on p. 21 (see Plate 12), with legends extending over part of p. 22.

b 22–25 *Poda ni hasulahan (?) ni panuruni sibi-jangsa panaluwan*. This is a kind of aggressive magic, derived from a *pangulubalang* called *sibi-angsa panaluwan*. In preparing it a drawing of the *bindu matoga* with legends for the 8 points of the compass, as shown on pp. 24/25, is used. A more elaborate treatment of this subject is found in a *pustaka* of the Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde, Leiden, MS. Or. 190, and in MS. Amsterdam, 1772/158.

b 25–29 One of the rather rare specimens of Batak headhunting magic, entitled: *poda ni panungkuni tahal-tahal ni musunta*, instructions about the questioning of the severed head of our enemy. b 30 is blank.

Much has been published about Batak cannibalism, but little is known about headhunting as practised by the Batak. In the Introduction we have mentioned the old data collected by Wilken, from which he concluded that the Batak practised headhunting in former times. The first European

visitors to independent Batak regions sometimes heard about skulls of victims of cannibalism that were stored in the villages¹ and sometimes even saw them². Volz describes a dance round the head of a victim of judicial cannibalism in the Pakpak region. He did not see it himself, but according to his informants it was carried out as follows³:

“Wenn die Schuld klar erwiesen und das Urteil gesprochen ist, zieht alles vor das Dorf, und daselbst wird das gebundene Opfer von seinem eigenen Per-taki⁴ mit Lanze oder Schwert getötet; Kopf und Hände werden ihm abgeschlagen, und nun beginnt der Freudentaumel. Der Kopf wird auf den Boden geworfen und von den Teilnehmern, Tanzschild und Lanze in der Linken, das Schwert in der Rechten, ein Freudentanz darum ausgeführt, und immer und immer wieder beim Tanz mit den Waffen der Kopf zerfleischt.”

The name of this ceremony is still known in Pakpak: *měngandjaki takal-takal*, to dance with jumping movements on, or round about, the severed head(s). See *Seminar Adat Istiadat Pakpak-Dairi jang terlangsung dari 16 s/d 20 Maret 1970 di Sidikalang* (a mimeographed report on a conference on Pakpak customary law) p. 112. A similar ceremony is alluded to by Van der Tuuk in his dictionary s.v. *raga*: ‘*raga-raga* is a small rectangular tray made of split bamboo, bound on the top of a slaughter-pole. The severed heads of the slain are put on this tray, and then people dance round it.’

These reports prove that special value was attached to the heads of victims, but not that real headhunting was practised, i.e. the slaying of a victim to get possession of its head. An expression

¶ ¹) J. A. M. van Cats Baron de Raet in TBG 22 (1874), pp. 193 et sq. The author brought home half a skull, found outside the village of Nagasaribu. ²) W. Volz, Nord-Sumatra, I, p. 325 saw 4 skulls in Kuta Radja and 4 in Kuta Těngah in the Pakpak region. ³) *ib.*, p. 321. ⁴) Village chief.

in a *pustaka* such as: *barang hita dung dapotan manoktohi*, when we have made a catch in head-cutting... apparently confirms Wilken's conclusion that headhunting once existed among the Batak as well as among the Dayak of Borneo and many other Indonesian peoples. Even in Java and Bali some traces of this custom have been found. (See Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century*, IV, p. 358).

A search through the notes made by Mrs. M. T. Mostert-Silitonga, Dr. L. Manik and myself from various collections of Batak manuscripts brought to light 20 texts on the ceremonies performed with the severed head of an enemy. Many of these texts are extremely obscure. In order to make them accessible for further research, complete transliterations are printed below in the Appendix.

Among the 21 manuscripts (including the Copenhagen copy) four are clearly of Dairi-Batak origin (B, C, D, E); their language, though in many respects conforming to the general *poda*-language, contains a large number of Dairi words and grammatical forms. In these four texts I have transcribed the second letter of the alphabet as *ka*, not as *ha*. I have not done this in four other texts that show their connexion with the Dairi tradition almost only by the use of the word *takal*, head, for *ulu* (A, M, N and S). Three manuscripts are from the southern Batak country (Mandailing and Pakantan): F, G and K. The other ten are in the general *poda*-language without characteristic dialectal words. I have not found Karo- or Simalungun-Batak texts on this subject.

Here I shall try to give a survey of the contents of these texts. We shall leave the Copenhagen MS. (A) until the last and first give a summary of the parallel texts published in the Appendix.

B is not a headhunting text in the restricted sense; several other parts of the slain enemy's body are mentioned as well. Part of the text of B is also found in C. It can be divided into five parts:

1. A list of parts of the slain body that should be hidden in a specified spot, according to the months of the year. If we kill an enemy in the first month, some of his hair should be fixed in a fissure of a rock, and some of it hidden. In the second month the tongue should be hidden in a swamp; this will put an end to the war. In the third month the fingers and the toes should be hidden in a cave; this will finish the war. In the fourth month the eyes should be hidden in a tree, etc. In the 8th, 10th and 12th months the head should be hidden, apparently after the ceremonies described in the following paragraphs have been performed.

2. The head should be treated as follows: a. It is put on a wooden shield and fired at with powder only; omens are taken from the direction in which it falls. This explanation of the word *ditindih* is given in Van der Tuuk's dictionary. He took it from a text (Leiden MS. Or. 3418 pp. 437-472) describing how a *pangulubalang* may be made from the severed head of an enemy slain in war. However, in some cases in the following texts the word *ditindih* or *ditindihi* probably has its usual meaning: to be weighted with, in this sentence: the head is weighted with a wooden shield, a wooden shield is put on top of it. b. a leaf with oil is put before it and it is then questioned. c. after the questioning it is beaten with the helve of a hatchet. d. the hair is dressed high. e. it is brought into the village through a hole dug under the low fence of logs that bars the inner gate (to prevent pigs from getting out).

3. The openings of the head are stopped with

leaves (different for each month); the part of the body that should first be brought into the house is specified for each month (e.g. in the 4th month the right leg should first enter the house, in the 6th month the intestines, etc.); in the house the head is questioned again, whilst the *datu* sits on an arm, or a finger, etc. of the enemy's body.

4. The next paragraph speaks of the questioning of the head before it is brought into the house. It may be translated as follows: Instructions about the questioning of the severed head of our enemy, when our warriors have made a catch. When they come back from the battlefield, the head is questioned for tidings; before it comes to our door it should be questioned. Then order the dead body to be wrapped up (? *dibulot*) in a piece of cloth; bring lamp-black and oil, incense, a wooden shield, a kind of drum; bring a broken helve to beat the head with; question it for tidings, beat it; the questioning should be repeated seven times; shoot at it seven times on the wooden shield covered with a tiger's skin and seven times on the drum (or: press down on it with the shield and the drum? see above); bring it into the village underneath the fence of logs; when it has safely reached the house, then shoot at it on (or press down on it with?) the second-largest drum; lift it with a rocking motion in the village square; spin (the head of) the dead man towards the points of the compass and observe the direction in which it falls, and so see the outcome of that war. When you have spun the head, you will know whether it will be disastrous or not.

5. The fragment ends in the first part of the litany for questioning the head.

C. The additional paragraph found in this manuscript gives some directions for the stopping of the openings of the head and the offerings due to

it. It ends with an imprecation against our enemies: may they all be perplexed (*labuh*).

D contains two separate parts of our text. The first part resembles closely the end of B, from paragraph 4 onward. In D we find the continuation of the litany for questioning the head, whereas B has the first sentence only. After the litany D has a short paragraph entitled: instructions for the dressing of the hair of a prisoner and the smearing (of earth) on a severed head. In Van der Tuuk's time (c. 1855) young men in Dairi wore their hair long, wrapped up in a turban. According to our text the long hair of a prisoner of war, and also of a severed head, should be done up with *podom-podom* leaves added. Smudges of red earth should be smeared on the forehead of the dead enemy. Perhaps the triangles on top of the heads of human figures in Batak illustrations represent these dressed up long hairs. In Toba-Batak incantations (*tabas*) the enemy is often described as wearing a turban (*bulang-bulang*) ostentatiously high (*djumanggal-djanggal*) because of his boldness. (Van der Tuuk, *Bataksch Leesboek* IV, p. 33).

The next paragraph describes the ritual hair-washing of the head and the incantation uttered on this occasion. The second part of the text is mainly concerned with the offerings given to the head on the village square and the leaves that are used to cover its openings.

E confirms that the head was 'spun' like a top (*gasing*), as mentioned in B.

F and G are closely related manuscripts. The text of these two books is almost the same. It contains a rather elaborate version of the litany,

with the following introduction: Instructions about the cursing of the severed heads of our enemies when we wage war. If we have succeeded in getting hold of (lit. making captive) heads of our enemies, we should pile them up facing the setting sun, tread on them seven times, and beat them seven times with a smith's hammer; then we should ask their tidings.—After the questioning, lead is poured into the mouth; the teeth, lips, eyes, ears and the tongue are taken away with a pair of smith's tongs, and the head is buried in a swamp.

H. The title of this text is: Instructions about the 'stopping' of somebody's severed head; if we have made a catch in headcutting, then the head-stopping should be used. If it (the head) gives an auspicious sign, we may question it and 'stop' it. The word *pamuhui* is not in the dictionaries. It is derived from *buhu*, finished, stopped, stopped up (like the hole in a bamboo by a knot, *buhu*). This word is used in B: *asa buku* (the Dairi form) *ma kasukuton inon*, that the war may be finished. In Simalungun-Batak we find: *anggir buhu-buhu*, a ritual purification performed by a person whose child has died, to put a stop to his sorrow (*ase marbuhu sitarononni*, J. Wismar Saragih, *Partingkian*, p. 35). In a *pustaka* of the Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde, Leiden, I found: *siporhas manoro ma goar ni pangulubalangta inon pamuhui ni pagar ni musunta*, striking thunderbolt is the name of our *pangulubalang*, a means of stopping the protective magic of our enemy. Here I suppose the meaning of *pamuhui* is, that by this ceremony the redoubtable magic of the enemy's head is stopped once and for all. The text begins with an incantation (*tabas*) addressed to the gods, to ask for power to question the head. Then follows the litany, and the last

part contains instructions as to how the head should be buried after the soul of its owner has been conjured up, and the souls of his relatives have been called to accompany him. The incantation says: Come down, ye gods of the upper world; rise up, ye gods of the underworld; sit down, ye gods of the middle world; come down, my venerable teachers. God 'Origin of It' begot God 'Origin of Being'; he begot God 'Origin of Becoming'; he begot God 'Origin of Coagulating'; he begot God 'Origin of Shaping'; he begot God 'Origin of Living(?)'; he begot God 'Origin of Being Born'; he begot God 'Origin of Consciousness(?)'; he begot God 'Origin of Walking'; he begot God 'Origin of Power, Origin of Might'; that I may obtain power and might to question the head whose wishes are fulfilled, whose will is followed.—A similar 'genealogy of gods' is found in I, and also in the introduction to a long prayer which contains a narrative of the creation in some *porbuhitan* manuscripts (see BKI 114, p. 242).

I. If we have obtained an enemy's head in war, take betel, yellow rice, oil and lamp-black, incense and a split helve of a hatchet, *sampilulut*-leaves as fodder for the head, *andulpak*-leaves to stop its openings up and bandage its wounds. If the enemy died on a mountain, we should question the head in the village-square after incensing it; if he died below in the valley, we should question him under the edge of the roof and afterwards sing over the head in the village-square. After this introduction the text is more or less parallel to H: first the incantation of the gods, and then the litany addressed to the head. The meaning of the last part of the text is obscure; it seems that the head is smeared with ashes (*dalapuhon*) to perplex the enemy's senses (*labu* = perplexed, cf. above, MS. C).

J begins with a paragraph in which the enemy's head is used as a *pangulubalang* to be sent against the enemy. The head of a cat, a buffalo, a dog or any other animal may also be used for this purpose. This is called *panuhuni ulu ni musunta* and *mintora ni panungkuni ulu*. The difference in writing between *panuhuni* and *panungkuni* is only the *hamisaran* (sign for *-ng*), and *panungkuni* must here be meant by the author, though the litany for questioning the head does not occur in this part of the text but in the next one, called *pamuhui*. The *mintora ni panungkuni*, 'incantations of questioning' as given here are the ordinary exhortations to a *pangulubalang* to bring harm upon one's enemies. The head is thoroughly beaten and finally thrown into a hole, seven cubits deep, whilst the *datu* paints his body with black and white stripes and adorns himself with young palm-leaves. If the head falls with the face downward or to the left, the *datu's* side will win, but if it looks at him, he is certain to lose and should try to settle the dispute. The next paragraph contains a very short and corrupt version of the litany for questioning the head. In the last paragraph, again entitled *pamuhui*, another method is described, in which the head is buried at sunset in a hole as deep as the *datu's* knees; this will make it a protective ghost for the *datu's* house. Instead of a fresh head one can also use the skull of an enemy who had died suddenly, or even a stone vessel for ritual hair-washing.

K. The title of the text is the same as in F and G: Instructions about the cursing of the severed heads, with the addition: to make the heads weep. The text of the litany—similar to that in F and G, but different in details—is preceded by a list of ingredients that should be collected before the questioning begins. Among these are some kinds

of food and drink that are mentioned afterwards in the litany: palmwine, a young coconut, fresh sugar-cane, and fresh grains of rice to be chewed raw. A pair of smith's tongs, a hammer and a chisel should also be kept at hand. The heads are put on top of a wooden mortar with a hole in its base in the village square, and the ingredients are offered to them. Whilst the *datu* pinches a head with the tongs and beats it with the hammer he sings the litany. Then the head is kept in a hen's nest plaited from bamboo (*sundut*, Malay idem, Toba *sunut*) during one night, under the floor of the house during one night, and in a swamp during one night. Finally, a mixture of various magical substances is added to it, and, together with a tiger's head, the head of the enemy (or, eventually, of a child that died in the womb) is used to make a *pangulubalang*.

L. The title of the first paragraph is *poda ni panutupi di musunta*, how to make the enemy's magic ineffective (lit. to cover it). The enemy whose head has been taken may have had the support of auspicious oracle-strings or an auspicious dream. By the *panutupi* the effect of these signs is transferred to the *datu's* party. In this ceremony the first words only of the litany are used (or perhaps the whole litany should be sung, but the first words only are mentioned in the MS.). 'Our teacher *debata sunijahon*', 'god that makes void' (*sunija* = Skr. *śūnya*), is invoked (*datonggor*, l. *datonggo?*).

The second paragraph: *poda ni panindi ulu ni musunta*, mentions the covering of the head's openings with leaves. Then follows another *panutupi*, to silence the surviving relatives of the victim and to prevent any after-effects of his *pulas*, *pamuhu tanduk* and *songon* (see Index).

The *andulpak* leaves used for the *panindi* should

be buried under the rice-mortar. In another method of 'covering' (*tumutupi*), cold water is poured on the head to make the enemy's liver chilly. In the paragraph entitled *panungkuni ulu-ulu ni musunta*, on the questioning of the enemy's head, we find the incantation by means of a 'genealogy of gods' and a very corrupt version of the litany. The incantation is here called a song (*ende*). At the end are some figures that should be drawn on a mat and on the earth. In this and some other versions of the litany the head, in answering the *datu's* questions, uses again and again the seemingly meaningless words *haho-haho* (*Dairi kako-kako*). I suppose that these sounds characterize the head's words as the language of a ghost.

M. The contents of this text are: a succinct version of the litany; instructions for burying the head and observing ominous signs on that occasion; on a ceremony called *pabalik bangke*, turning the corpse¹; designs that should be drawn on the earth, on leaves, etc. Some of these designs should be drawn on young, yellow palm-leaves, with which the *datu* adorns himself when he performs the *ijoga* ceremony with the head (see Index s.v. *ijoga*).

N. When the *datu* is about to bury the head, he asks it to fetch its surviving relatives and take them to the underworld. The litany is only shortly indicated in this text by its first sentences. Weeping (*tangis*) of the head is considered an answer to the *datu's* questions concerning the day, the month and the moment on which the victim was born. The *datu* jumps (*marandjak*) and performs

¶ ¹ A detailed description of this ceremony is found in the Leiden MS. Or. 3394 n p. 24; there it is performed for a dead warrior of the *datu's* own party to propitiate his ghost by offerings.

the *ioga* ceremony. Molten lead is poured into the mouth of the head. The spirits of the month, the day, the sign of the zodiac, etc. are invoked to curse the victim. The *datu* throws the head down into a pit and observes how it falls: if to the left, it is auspicious, but if it falls to the right or if it looks at the *datu*, it is inauspicious. Offerings are put near the grave. A 'toad with red armpits' (*saringgupan na morkihik*, apparently the same as *saringgupan si bara kihik* mentioned elsewhere) is killed on the top (*sambubu*) of the severed head by pouring lead into its mouth.

O. *Ende ni ulu-ulu*, a song which the *datu* sings whilst he lifts up the head of a victim with a waving motion (*manaja, manitang*, from *taja, titang*). The litany, in which the victim is reminded of the cravings of his soul before and immediately after his birth, is here turned into a series of imprecations against the *datu's* opponents. After a vain search for his cravings through the points of the compass, the victim had returned to the east and found his mother's breasts dry, because the fire that should be kept burning for a woman after childbirth was lacking. 'To suck your mother's breasts was your (frustrated) craving, now suck (the life) out of my enemy, pursue him until he dies'.

P. This short text mentions how the head is made into a *pangulubalang*, over which various incantations are uttered. At the end the omens observed when the head falls into a pit are detailed in the same manner as in N.

Q. The fragment transcribed from this MS. contains incantations uttered in 'weighting' (*manindi*) the head of an enemy used as a *pangulubalang*.

R. 'Instructions on a method of stopping (*pamuhui*, see above) the head of a victim, to be used if we obtain a head in war, by applying the *debata na helung*. Forbidden meat is put into the head's mouth. The name of our enemy is written on *andulpak* leaves. Seven of these leaves are put on the mouth of the head, seven on its ears, seven on its nose, seven on its eyes. The names of the surviving enemies are written on lead. This is seven times written upon, seven times molten, seven times stimulated by the word *surung!* and finally poured into the mouth of the head. The head is buried where *debata na helung* died. A heavy round block of wood or a stone is put on top of it, and cold water poured over it, in order that our enemy, his family and his clan may shiver. A ficus tree is planted on the severed head's grave. This is the end of our enemy.'

Debata na helung is mentioned in Neumann's dictionary (Karo-Batak form: *dibata kelung*) with a question-mark and without a translation. H. H. Bartlett (*The labors of the datoe*, I, p. 43) gives the following explication: "*pagar debata dahelung*: (to prepare the) 'protector god of rovers'. This *pagar* is evil, and he who uses it binds himself to live under a curse. If he eats anything not got by stealing he becomes thin and weak, and eventually dies. He can become fat and strong only by eating stolen food. In the old days the *pagar debata dahelung* was the *pagar* of war parties; it now belongs to thieves. It lost its efficacy if the warriors failed to supply their needs by pillaging the enemy."

Perhaps the word *helung* means 'unjust', 'wrong' or 'against the grain'. It is used as a synonym of *hilang* in the following passage in the MS. from which our text L was taken: *djaha gordang torlilu mahelung do bilangta beja tallus guwal-guwal toding tanganta mahilang ma bilangta, asa...*,

i. e. if one of the kettledrummers makes a mistake (so that) our counting goes wrong, or if the drumstick falls from our hand (so that) our counting goes wrong, then... (etc.) Karo-Batak *kelung* is used for a backward move of a pawn in chess and for inward-pointing horns of a buffalo.

Debata na helung is mentioned in other bark books too: Leiden Univ. Libr. Cod. Or. 3443 (*pagar subutan debata na helung*), 3447 (*pagar debata na helung*), 3464 and 3497 (= *pamuhu tanduk?*), 3469 (a description of how it is made); Rotterdam Ethn. Mus. 11722 and 20010; Leiden Ethn. Mus. 1468/186 (from which our text E was taken) *debata kelung ni saetan pamuku tanduk*. Apparently it has some connection with *pamuhu tanduk* (see Index), and with *guru ni djuhut* or *saetan*, the parts of a slaughtered animal that may not be eaten by men but should be set aside for the spirits. Our text mentions that this kind of meat should be fed to the severed head, and that the head should be buried *di hamatean ni debata na helung*, lit. in the place where *debata na helung* died, but more probably meaning: the place where the forbidden parts of meat should be finally disposed of, as mentioned in MS. Leiden Ethn. Mus. 1468/186 (Dairi-Batak): *Ija di bulan sipakasada bibirna so panganan ... ija kapatejanna di toru kite-kite*, in the first month one should not eat the lips; they should be disposed of under a bridge. In MS. Amsterdam 2761/32 p. b 17 *hamatean* is also used in this context instead of *hapatean*.

S. It is a pity that this short text is so much damaged. It seems to be closely related to the Copenhagen text (A). It contains five paragraphs. The first and the second are short litanies for questioning the head; the third paragraph gives instructions about the place where the heads

should be buried; the fourth mentions the "weighting" of the heads, and the last paragraph probably gave some particulars on the covering of the hole in which the heads were buried and the design that should be drawn on the cover, but most of the text and nearly the whole drawing are lost.

T. A few short notes on the covering of the head with leaves, the burying of the head (this is done with the same ceremonies as *mangulak* = the chasing of evil spirits) and the questioning of the head by means of a fragment of the litany 'to make it speak'.

U. This text mentions the treatment of the head of a young person (whose teeth had not yet been filed). It should be buried in a pot, apparently to act as a *pangulubalang*.

Though we have now found parallels for almost every sentence of our Copenhagen text (A), a translation of it can only be tentative.

Instructions for the questioning of the severed head¹ of our enemy, as a means of stopping the incantations of our enemies. Take a piece of dead stalk of the *parapat*-bamboo, long enough to be covered by the hollow of a hand, also a twisted bamboo and some leaves that have already been used for a *pangulubalang*, with their unopened buds, seven of each kind. Put seven of these on the top of the head, twice seven on its eyes, twice seven on its ears, twice seven in its nostrils, seven on its mouth and seven on the wound, with sprouts of *tutup portibi*, *sirarapusuk*, *simananggali* and *simorlangkop-langkop*, not less and not more. Magical strength is given to the head by introducing the formidable magic called *sibijangsa panaluwan* into all its openings, together with cement from a hornbill's nest, resin, benzoin, lac, wax and gum. These openings² are covered with *andulpak*-leaves, on which have

been made drawings of the eight points of the compass with the word: *mate!* die! in every direction. They are sealed with cement from a hornbill's nest. Then we beat the head of our enemy with the dead piece of *parapat*-bamboo, and again with a split helve of a hatchet, with a piece of a discarded rice-pounder one palm long, with twisted (wood), and with dead knots. Then it is consecrated with an offering of a grey chicken, cooked rice, flour and all kinds of cakes. The day should be the 16th of the month³. The same ceremony may be performed on a dark-moon's day⁴. Then we shall bring our stopping-magic to a *pangulubalang*; we shall make the month, the day, the sign of the zodiac, the *panggorda*, the *pormamis*, the day of the week and the forbidden day concur⁵ so that they are all together directed against the life of our enemy. Three of the months and *pormamis*⁶ will kill the life of our enemies, every descendant of one mother, of one grandfather, every inmate of one village, of one confederation. No word, nor ominous noise will be heard from my enemy N.N. Rise up! die, be stopped, O N.N.! Rise up! you *pangulubalang* of my stopping-magic, father of stopping of the first month.... (illegible) father of stopping in the signs of the zodiac, father of stopping in the *panggorda*, father of stopping in the *pormamis*, father of stopping in the east, father of stopping on the earth, father of stopping in space, father of stopping in the world, father of stopping in the ground! Rise up! Die, remain in the ground, my enemy, until the lifetime of my grandchildren! Be stopped up, covered up, oppressed, my enemy, without a word, without an ominous noise, die out, become extinct, sink down in a barren spot⁷, fall into the underworld⁸, soul of my enemy, until the lifetime of my grandchildren.

After we have instructed the head in this wise, the music plays seven times⁹; we jump to the

rhythm and throw the head of our enemy into a pit. There we observe the signs, O *datu*. If it rolls to the right or towards us, it is unlucky; we and our village should perform a ritual hair-washing, O our *datu*. If it rolls to the left or forward, we shall win in that war.

Then we cover the pit with a winnowing-basket and with earth. The eight points of the compass are drawn on the winnow and on the earth. White husked rice is put to the right of the pit, yellow husked rice to the left, with lamp-black, oil and betel, one leaf of each on both sides. Next morning we observe this rice; if it has gone to the left side, we shall lose; if it has come towards us, our money spent on ceremonial meals is useless¹⁰; if it has gone to the right, we shall win. The same for the lamp-black, oil and betel. For the beating of our enemy's head we shall forge iron in the shape of a chisel, carefully made. Underneath (the anvil?), on top of the enemy's head, we shall kill a toad with (red) arm-pits, O our *datu*.—This is the drawing that should be made on lead and on the *andulpak*-leaves; on the lead we draw it with a broken knife....—This is the drawing to be made on the dead *tagan*- or *parapat*-bamboo and on all the *pangulubalang*-leaves, O Guru So Dumpangon ni adji.

In MS. A 'Instructions for the questioning of the severed head' is used as a title, but the text of the litany is not recorded in it. It was recited, as appears from the parallel texts, just before or during the beating of the head. As this beating was done with a small piece of bamboo or wood, it was probably not a furious attack like the dance described by Volz, but a means of transferring the qualities of the dead, twisted, split piece of wood to the enemy and his relatives. The litany itself is a very curious and seemingly old piece of Batak lore. In all versions its text is more or less corrupted by oral transmission.

Some words in the litany may be explained by assuming that they are old Malay loan-words or relics from a time when Batak and Malay were more closely related than they are now. A few examples of which I am fairly sure are:

adji sang kapala he (H), Old Javanese (and presumably also Old Malay) *hadji sang kapala he*, O lord honourable head!

surik soribindjaja (F), Old Javanese *tjurik Sriwidjaja*, a dagger of (the Old Malay Kingdom) Sriwidjaja. The word *surik* is still current in Toba-Batak. It is an example of a Sanskrit word (*churikā*) that has lost its final vowel. Such words are especially numerous in Acehese. Two different explanations of this phenomenon have been given by Snouck Hurgronje (TBG 35, pp. 435 et sq.) and Cowan (BKI 104 pp. 462 et sqq.). It is curious to find in this Batak litany the name of Sriwidjaja, an empire that completely vanished from history at the beginning of the 15th century. The name is also mentioned in Van der Tuuk's dictionary (p. 418, s. v. *mandjaja*): *sori mandjaja*,

¶ ¹) *tahal-tahal*, Dairi sub-Toba dialect for *ulu-ulu*.
²) *simbo-simbo*, unknown, seems to have the same meaning as *sondi-sondi*, lit. joints, but here used for the openings of the head. ³) *ari topik*. The last part of the text from MS. N is a somewhat shortened version of text A. There we find *bulan matopik*, i. e. the night after the full moon, when the moon is only a little bit (*santopik*) smaller; Dairi-Batak *suma tēpik* = Toba *suma ni holom*, the 16th of the month. ⁴) *dalom bulan*, uncertain and not in N. ⁵) *masitaugapan*, reading uncertain and meaning unknown; not in N. ⁶) *bulan pormamis tolu-tolu*; N. *dabulan pormangmang bulan si tolu* is still more obscure. ⁷) believed to be the dwelling-place of the ghost of a childless person. ⁸) *patala djonggi*, lit. the African underworld, but the original meaning 'Zanguebari' is not generally known in Sumatra, where *zanggi*, *djanggi* (Malay), *djonggi* (Batak) usually means 'a giant spirit'. ⁹) *dudu*, a series of rapid loud tones that mark a division in the music. ¹⁰) *lodja palaho por-djuhut do hita*, in N.: *palaho djuhut dope hita*, we shall bring more offerings of meat.

the name of a *surik* regarded as a sacred heirloom by the Mandailing princes. In Batak folktales the name is still further corrupted to *surik mandaja* (or *mandaraja*) *holing*.

kaputusan lihir (B), Mal. *keputusan lèhèr*, whose neck is broken off.

tidang marusap tidang mormunji (F), 'not speaking, giving no (ominous) sound', an expression often used in Batak incantations, contains the Malay negation *tidang*, an old or dialectal form for *tidak*. It is also used in old Malay incantations, e.g. in a MS. (in very old writing) from Kerintji, part of which has been published in C. Hooykaas, *Perintis Sastra*, 2nd ed., the plate between pp. 64 and 65. A complete transliteration by the late Dr. Poerbatjaraka is published in BKI 126 (1970) pp. 391–393.

There are many other words that I cannot explain. Even an incomplete translation of the least obscure version of the litany can only be given with the greatest reserve. I have chosen the text of H, the immediate continuation of the 'genealogy of gods' translated above:

What news about you, O Lord Honourable Head, that you lie in the middle of the earth, under the divine sky, vaulted by the eight directions, pressed down by the light of day, shadowed by the moon? The news of Lord Honourable Head is: it befell you that your plank-bridge snapped asunder, your cooking-pot cracked, your gourd burst, a great banyan-tree tumbled down on you, Mount Simanabun slid down on you, a boulder rolled on you, the star Simbolon (or the moon?) fell on you, so that your mind became unsettled, so that you came to feed on *podom-podom*-leaves (with which some of the head's openings are covered).— Then one stops its nose with *andulpak*- and *dulang-*

badjora-leaves and with mixed beeswax (*puli na morporhas*, see Index).—O Lord Honourable Head, on the square(?) wood, may your mind be calm, may you be kind. What made your mind despondent, what broke your heart? Was it (the want of) many-coloured rice that broke your heart? If that is what you are pining for, weep then, O Lord Honourable Head. Could it have been three-coloured flourcakes that you were pining for, or *gala-gala* fruits that shine in the moonlight that you were pining for and that your mother who bore you could not get to eat, O Lord Honourable Head? Or was it underdone rice that your mother who bore you did not succeed in getting? If that is what you are pining for, weep then, O Lord Honourable Head. Then I shall shoot at you (? *hutindi*, see above) on top of a basket. Sit down, that I may press you down with a shield covered with tiger's skin, that I may press you down with the drum of war, so that a great banyan-tree may fall on you, a boulder may roll over you, your gourd may burst, your cooking-pot crack, your plank-bridge snap asunder, irrevocably, irretrievably as the falling of the leaves of the *tambalahut*-tree, invisible as the flight of a swallow. Then I shall beat you with the split helve of a hatchet, so that your mind will be sad O Lord Honourable Head.

The main idea of this part of the litany seems to be, that the soul of the enemy, when he was still in his mother's womb, longed for some food, which his mother did not succeed in getting. This frustration of a prenatal wish ultimately resulted in the loss of his head. The conqueror mercilessly reminds him of it to strengthen his own power over him and—as appears from the other texts—over all his surviving relatives.



PROTECTIVE MAGIC

Pagar, adjimat.

BAT. 6 (Nat. Mus. C 1515).

Bark book. 25 leaves, $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ cm. 2 wooden covers which, though quite modern, are nicely decorated with carved lines. These carvings are protective magical drawings; there is a reference to them in the text. One plaited rattan band.

Modern copy, without any sign of use. Simalungun alphabet. Final *-h* is nearly always written. Simalungun text with incantations in Malay with many Arabic words, adapted to Batak pronunciation.

Acquired in 1907–08.

Subject: Amulets, called *pagar* and *adjimat*.

a 1 glued to the cover.

a 2–11 *Poda ni hata-hata ni tompak ni baginda hali ma inon ale amang na mardjaga-djaga di lapijan, ulang amang magolut mangidah pormangsi ni si Djorta na malungun, ulang naparmurah-murah, maborit ma inon diguruhon, pagar hu parmunsuhan beja sibogang, djadi hobal, djadi panggo...., djadi panotap*, instructions about the prescription for the sign of H. M. Ali (the fourth Caliph), O reader of this bark book, do not take amiss the writing of that sad person, Djorta (name of the copyist); do not hold it cheap, it is painful to learn; a protection in war, a means to strike (our enemy) dumb, also to be used to make us invulnerable, to... (illegible) and to steady us. *Tabas ma inon*, this is the incantation. As a specimen of the mixture of Arabic, Malay, Batak and abracadabra words used in modern Simalungun incantations we transcribe those found on pp. a 3 and 4. It would be useless to translate these texts,

as they are effective mainly by their sound and not by their meaning. *Sumirlah irahmani rahim sor ahu dengan di manalihat dingdingku sorga hat sangat dijam borkatku tuwan baginda hali borkat lailaha ilallah muhammat rasulullah. Sumirlah irahmanu rahim borkat umbe dijatas potimah (4) lombut-lombut hira[ha]-hira ni sitorilawanku borkat tuwan baginda hali borkat tuwanku baginda hali borkat lailaha ilallah muhammat rasilullah. Sumirlah irahmanu rahim masuk ho lahongkou didalam badanku hurung-kurungan potala mumin dari hira-hiramu munotap andak kata (5) hamu manotap daroh sapupu sahihanku ije sah mat mat mat.*

a 12–16 *Podah ma use*, now (after these incantations) more instructions. *Asa dabuwat ma a(m)bulu ni manuk putih sabungan na matangtang roh hum baratan, ulang lobe tidjak tanoh ase datangkap, pagut ni manuk na monang (13) marsabung, beja hoti-hoti marporkas, beja pantis..... (14) Ija dung ma inon asa dapupuk ma rup. Ija dung ma inon natabasi ma pitu hali sadari laho huatas parsuowan asa [ma] marsurou ma hita iatas parsuroa(n) pitu hali saborngin, dapulpul [pul] databasi, marbasuh hita lobe se [se] manabas, asa daaturhon ma rudang pining santingkil demban (15) gunringan, asa danahkon ma hubagas mombang sipitu-pitu, a(sa) di babou ni rudang do dagajung mombang, manguras ma hita sijap sogot. Ija das ma pitu sogot datopong ma di buli-buli, asa daparihutkon bani mata ni ari, daantari ma use bani manuk putih, songon borejan tondi do dabaen, (16) asa mano(m)bah do hita mangontang tuwan baginda hali appa si mahummat mula djadi appa nabi muhammat mula djadi ni pagar putor ni*

adji. Ija dung ma pagarta inon, lang be hita matahut di munsuh ale amang datu. Ija radjahni di lopa(h) ni bona bani la(ng)kop. I.e.: take a feather which has come off a white cock whilst it flew down from its perch; it should be caught before it reaches the ground; the bill of a fighting-cock; beeswax found mixed up with the sticky substance of which the entrance to the nest of the *bonbon* (a small kind of bee) is made¹; wax of wild bees, etc. (The word *beja*, 'or', is here used for *dongan*, 'and'; both words belong to the special language of the literature of magic). When all the ingredients are ready they are made into a paste, incantations should be muttered over it in the *parsuroan* seven times a day, and every night the *datu* should *marsurou* seven times in the *parsuroan*. The paste is fumigated and the incantation spoken over it. Before uttering the incantation we should wash (our feet) in a *parbasuhan*. Then we arrange flowers, a cluster of betel nuts and betel leaves, 6 or 8 packets of 6 or 8 leaves each, wrapped in the top end of a sugar-palm leaf in such a way that the stalks stick out, the whole being bound with thread. (The magic paste) is put into a seven-sided tray made of palm leaves; this tray is hung (from the roof or from a pole) above the flowers. Every morning we perform a ritual purification. After seven mornings the paste is put into a very small earthenware vessel. Then we make it 'follow the sun'(?), and offer a white cock to it, just as when making an offering to a human soul. With a respectful salutation we invite H. M. Ali, Mahummat the origin of being, and the Prophet Muhammat, the origin of the protective magic *Pagar putor ni adji*. When this amulet is ready, we are no longer afraid of the enemy, O *datu*. The magical design belonging to it is to be found on the wooden cover, on the reverse of the beginning of the text.

a 17–18 *Pangurasni ma inon*, this is (the incantation for) the ritual purification.

The description translated above is interesting because it mentions the *parsuroan*, the sacred edifice of the Batak of Asahan and the Simalungun district of Tanoh Djawa, which has been described by H. H. Bartlett (*The sacred edifices of the Batak of Sumatra*, Ann Arbor 1934). In 1937 these structures were called *parsiroan* in the Simalungun principedom of Tanoh Djawa (Cf. G. L. Tichelman and P. Voorhoeve, *Steenplastiek in Simaloengoen*, Medan 1938, p. 101). This form may either be a taboo substitute or a popular etymology connecting the word with *ro*, 'to come', because the gods and spirits are made to come to it. Our text makes it quite clear that *pasuroan* is the original form and that it means: place of *marsurou*.

The stem *surou* (Simalungun), *suro* (Toba) and some forms derived from it are found in several pustahas, but I have not been able to ascertain the exact nature of the ceremony called *marsurou*. Bartlett translates *parsuroan* by 'place of invocation', but the invocation of gods and spirits is only part of the ceremony. In Joustra's Karo-Batak dictionary we find *nurokĕn*, 'to bless(?) something, especially fighting-cocks', and in Neumann's dictionary: 'to shout blessings or good wishes, as done in cock-fights'. Cock-fighting was a religious ceremony at least in some parts of Indonesia, and these 'blessings' shouted to the fighting-cocks may originally have had a religious significance.

In our text a *pagar* is 'blessed' in the *parsuroan* by fumigating, an offering of betel, and an incantation in which the spirits of Ali and Muhammad are invoked, after the *datu* has purified himself by an ablution with water from the *parbasuhan*. This is a stone vessel, much larger than

the *paranggiran* used for ritual purification by hair-washing. According to my Simalungun informants the vessel in Bartlett's plate VII, fig. 2, should be called *parbasuhan*. I saw several *parbasuhan* in the Tanoh Djawa district of Bosar Maligas. A similar 'blessing' of a *pagar* is mentioned in MS. Amsterdam 2761/14 p. b 39 (*sumurohon pagar*): the *datu* prays (*morsombajang*) to the eight points of the compass, prepares an offering of betel and brings the *pagar* into his *pantangan*, the Toba-Batak equivalent of the *parsuroan*.

In MS. Ch. B. 1117 (Cat. Dublin p. 55) we find the *suro* ceremony (*parsuroon*) performed over the oracle-string as an ultimate remedy if the strings will not give a favourable omen in a war. It serves to call the souls of the warriors back from the place into which they have been enticed by the enemy. The *pantangan* is mentioned; the oracle string is put on a *mombang* (plaited tray), the three gods (*debata na tolu*) and some spirits are invoked.

In MS. Amsterdam 1772/158 p. a 49 we find another important detail. To 'bless' (*dasuro-surohon*) the powerful aggressive magic *sibijangsa panaluwan* the *datu*, after a ritual purification (*maranggir*), retires into the *pantangan* for seven nights. During this time he is not allowed to visit his home, and during four days and nights he may not eat anything.

Only in one Toba-Batak MS. from Van der Tuuk's collection (Leiden Univ. Libr. Cod. Or. 3514) we find that the *datu* should go to the bathing-place (*tapián*) to perform the *marsuro* ceremony and no *pantangan* is mentioned.

As Tanoh Djawa is the only district of Simalungun where the *parsuroan* and *parbasuhan* were found we may conclude that this bark book was written in Tanoh Djawa, or at least copied from a Tanoh Djawa original.

a 18–23 *Poda ni hata-hata ni pagar adji borail ma inon*, instructions about 'Gabriel's amulet'. (20) *Tabas ma inon*, incantations such as: *Allah hadubillah dari kapada mullah ajilmu datang dari kapada mahorum...* Last words: *hu lopah ma use das tabas inon*, this incantation is continued on the other side.

a 24 A drawing of the points of the compass.

a 25 blank.

b 1 glued to the cover.

b 2 magical drawings (*radjah ni adji solam borani*, cf. b 18): *bindu matogah*, two *tapak radja suleman*, etc.

b 3–7 Continuation of *tabas*, such as: *assolam ma alekum parijarahon ambamu* (Mal. *peliharakan hambamu*, protect your servants). (4) *Mandilo adji borail ma inon*, this is to call Gabriel.

b 7–12 The left half of these pages is filled by a magical drawing made up of malformed Batak letters with the explanation: *radjah ni adji borail ma inon, naradjahkon bani hortas*, this is Gabriel's amulet, to be drawn on a piece of paper. On the right half there is an incantation 'to call the *saudara na ompat*', the four 'brothers' of a new-born baby (i. e. the placenta etc.).

b 12–13 *Patah suga ma inon*, a charm against caltrops.

b 13–15 *Pangurasni ma inon*, ritual purification.

b 15–18 *Pamasah ma inon*, beginning: *sumillah...*: an incantation used whilst adding water to lime? As nothing is said about the adding of water to one of the magic preparations, however, it is more probable that one should read *pamasah*, safeguard.

b 18 *Ija podah ni adjimatta inon*, an amulet.

b 18–22 *Poda ni pagar adji borail ma inon, asa dabuwat ma timah itam...*, about an amulet called 'Gabriel's amulet', written on lead, with the incantation (*tabas*) for this amulet.

b 23 a table of *pormamis* (Mal. *ketika lima*) without heads and legs (Cf. Introduction p. 50).

b 24–25 Drawings: puppets, *bindu matogah*, *tapak sipitu-pitu*, *tapak radja suleman*, etc.

¶¹) It is a rare thing to find these two together in a beehive (*aldoman*).

Pagar pangalumpu na bolon.

BAT. 7 (Cod. Bat. 10).

Bark book. 54 leaves, 12 × 9–10¹/₂ cm. No covers. This is a palimpsest. The text of an old bark-book has been thoroughly rubbed off, then a new text has been written, and finally a narrow strip of bark was taken off each edge, but nowhere sufficient to impair a whole letter either at the beginning or at the end of a line. The old writing is still faintly visible and some letters are still legible, especially under an ultraviolet lamp. The outside of the book has an unusually clean appearance. The edges and the outer pages at the beginning and end are yellow, not brown; even the folds have a much lighter hue than is usual. Apparently the book has not been used after the second writing. This writing is clear and regular, all by one hand. The vignettes and illustrations, in black and red, are carefully drawn, though not very fine. The text was copied from an incomplete original; it has no title and no introduction. The southern form of *ta* is used; the old text also had the southern form of *ta* but used a different form of *wa*. The number of scribal errors is somewhat above the average. The language is ordinary *poda*-language. The last disciple in two short chains of transmission found on the reverse is Ompu Radja Enda ni adji, anak ni Hutagalung Tamba-tamba Lumban Djurdjur. Hutagalung is a well-known Toba-Batak *marga*; Waldemar Hoetagaloeng, author of the *Tarombo* on Batak

genealogy, who belonged to this *marga* himself, did not mention a sub-division called Tamba-tamba. The word means addition; perhaps it denotes a family, not originally belonging to the *marga*, that was 'added' to it. There is a village called Lumban Djurdjur in Silindung (near Pea-radja). The teacher of Ompu Radja Enda was Guru so Masangkut ni adji anak ni Simatupang Sianturi. Sianturi is mentioned as a sub-division of the Toba-Batak *marga* Simatupang, living mostly in Muara (on Lake Toba) and Humbang (Upper Toba) (W. Hoetagaloeng, *Tarombo*, pp. 82, 264).

This MS. is the first of the two Batak MSS. described by Westergaard in the catalogue of 1846, p. 110.

Subject: Though the general title is missing it is evident from the titles of some paragraphs that the main subject is protective magic, called *Pagar pangalumpu na bolon*, the Great Paralyser.

a 1 blank.

a 2–18 *Ija na sada musengan pangalaho ni pagarta inon na morgoar siarsik bara...* Another application of our protective magic, called dry-maker of the kraal... Here the borderline between protective and aggressive magic seems to be rather uncertain. This magic concoction is made in a potsherd (*ngarngar*), and *siarsik ngarngar*, according to Warneck's dictionary, is a slow-working poison that causes incurable illness. The magic preparation should be buried at the village-gate, or if possible under the house of the enemy. In this manner prescriptions are given for four applications of the *pagar*; the last one is accompanied by some magical figures on pp. a 17/18. These are described in the text as: *bindu matoga* (the eight-pointed double-square), *pinarulok ma-*

sionsopan (snakes sucking each other), *topak sala* (five-pointed star), *pinorhalak* (human figure), and *pinorhuting* (figure of a cat). A curious grammatical detail in this text is the use of the pronoun of the third person singular *ibana* (lit. 'his person') denoting not a person but a thing (*ija sun do ibana saborngin; ilu ni boru sanijang naga, di pansur do ibana dipangido*).

a 18–41 *Poda ni pamusatan ni porpangiron ni pagar pangalumpu na bolon*, about the ritual purification of the *pagar*, in two applications. A page from this text is reproduced in Plate 20.

a 41–53, continued on b 2–15 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pagar pangalumpu na bolon*, quintessence of the *pagar pangalumpu na bolon*, in several applications. One of them, called *budjing na pitu*, the seven maidens, consists of seven human figures made of wood. The magical drawings that are found in this part are not explained in the text; only the material on which they should be drawn is mentioned. Another text on this *pagar* is found in MS. Amsterdam 2761/43 pp. a 37 et sqq.

a 54 and b 1 blank.

b 2–15 continuation of a 53.

b 16–29 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pangulubalang surat debata*, quintessence of a prescription for a *pangulubalang* called 'divine writing'. From Our Master Morpaho Adji anak ni Silalahi to Guru so Masangkut ni adji to Ompu Radja Enda ni adji.

b 29–49 *Poda ni pamusatan ni sipatulpak*, quintessence of a prescription for *sipatulpak*, another kind of protective magic (cf. Pleyte, *Globus*, 60, p. 311, Winkler, *Toba-Batak*, p. 174, and see above BAT. 4 a 51). There are two applications, called *datu madang-adang* (wandering *datu*) and *pong pang bala saribu*, 'stemming a host of a thousand'. This is also the name of a *pangulubalang* (MSS. Amsterdam 1430/2, 1628/1; cf. Rot-

terdam Ethn. Mus. 20010) and of a huge male tiger in Batak folktales (Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, p. 333).—These instructions come from Datu so Hirimon ni adji bajo anak ni Panggabean Siagian to Guru so Masangkut ni adji to Ompu Radja Enda ni adji.

b 49–51 On the motion of the *begu monggop* (lurking ghost). An incomplete text on this subject is found in MS. Leiden Or. 8779.

b 51–53 On the motion of *ari mate*, the dead day. Cf. the Berlin MS. Schoemann VIII, 1.

Pagar, pangulubalang, etc.

BAT. 8 (Cod. Bat. 22).

Defective bark book. The beginning and the end are missing. There are 45 leaves, originally 14 × 7 cm, but in the first part a strip of bark is torn off at the right side, and from some leaves at the left side too.

Purchased by the library in 1971.

a 1–13 The text begins in the middle of a chapter on *parombunan*, omens seen in the shape of clouds, with illustrations in red and black ink.

a 14–19 *Dorma na(n) rumbija*, alluring magic, used in war and in love affairs.

a 19–29 The male counterpart (*lahi-lahi*) of Na(n) rumbija, called (*pangulubalang*) *sipu djati*. Cp. *pangulubalang sipu rara* (*sipu* = a piece of burning wood) in MS. The Hague, Educational Museum L 67.

a 30–45 *Pagar inang boru sinomba*, probably the same as *Pagar nai boru sinomba* in MS. Leiden Or. 6900 and MS. Br. Mus. Add. 19381. Protective magic. The text ends abruptly in the middle of an incantation beginning with *binsumirla*, which belongs to a paragraph on *panolam ni pagarta*, the purification of our *pagar*.

This side of the manuscript was written by Guru Sumilam (a 15) or Sulam (a 35) ni adji for Guru Mangalebat ni adji O(m)pu ni Martohap, *marga* Nainggolan. His teacher is called Guru Sumatata ni adji. Guru Sumilam uses the northern *ta* and in one place he uses a typical Dairi Batak *sa* with a small curve at the end of the upper stroke of the pen, and several peculiarities of dialect and spelling prove that he was a Dairi Batak.

On the other side of the strip of bark the southern *ta* is used; the name of the scribe is not mentioned. The language is ordinary *poda*-language. The pupil for whom the text is written is still the same, but here he is called Radja Mangalebat ni adji. The chain of transmission is: Morhite Adji—Ompu Radja Tinonahon—Toga ni adji—Radja Haro ni adji—Ompu ni Padang Bolak ni adji Radja Humbang Pajang (l. Paja?) of the *marga* Nainggolan. The subject is *simorgigit na bolon*, an elaborate diagram for divination, inscribed with the words *mate* and *bunu* (die and kill). It extends over the pages b 1–11, with the figure of a head on b 12. Probably it had originally twelve compartments and the beginning of the text with the first part of the diagram was on the leaves that are lost before b 1. It seems that the text on *simorgigit* (the biting one) ends on b 22.

b 23–29 a short text on the *pormamis*.

b 30 a false start, *poda ni panoro ni lali pijunan* (sic, for *piuwan*), not continued.

b 31–34 two diagrams, one of 4 × 5 squares and one of 5 × 5 squares. The remainder of this side is blank.

Pagar.

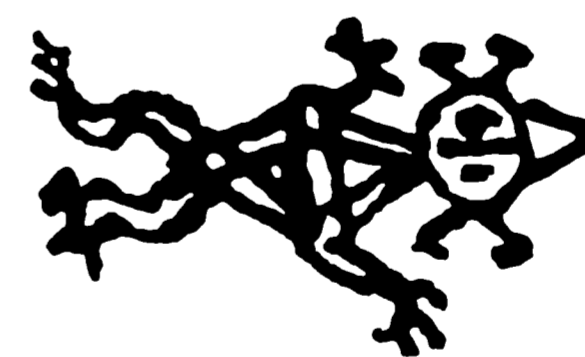
BAT. 9 (Nat. Mus. C 1517).

Defective bark book. The end is broken off. The remaining part consists of two pieces of bark glued together so as to form 18 leaves, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$

cm. Fol. 9 is double, as the two pieces have been glued together there. One leather cover is glued to the back of the first leaf. Part of the last two leaves has been torn off. The text is partly illegible. *Sikurûn* denotes *u* as well as *ě*; once only the word *guru* is written with two *kěběrětěn*. Though this system of spelling points to a Karo-Batak origin, Karo-Batak words are rare in this text (*ras* for 'and' is perhaps the only certain example), whereas a few typical Simalungun words are found, such as *panogolan*, sister's son. It seems probable that this is a Karo-Batak book copied from a Simalungun original. It contains many elements of Muslim origin. The Prophet Muhammad is invoked together with the five *pormamis* to protect the datu's client. The language of the incantations is partly Malay.

Acquired in 1907–08.

Subject: mainly protective magic (*pagar*) for use in war, and made into a special kind of portable amulet called *bohom-bohom* (Sim.), *běkēm-běkēm* (Karo). On the reverse there is also (b 1–8) the end of a table of the 30 days of the month for divinatory purposes. From this list we may conclude that at least 20 pages of text are missing.



Panguras.

BAT. 10 (Nat. Mus. C 1498).

Bamboo box with wooden bottom and cover. Acquired in 1907–08.

Karo-Batak. Prescription for a *panguras*, for ritual purification. A later hand has added an incantation for a *pangulubalang* which is quite modern, as the word *saputangan* (handkerchief) is used.

Magic, divination and medicine.

BAT. 11 (Cod. Bat. 3).

Bark book. 40 leaves, $11 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ cm. No covers. There are at least two different handwritings. The first part (pp. a 2–11) has the northern *ta*, the second part (the remainder of a and the whole of b) the southern *ta*. In this part there are minor differences of writing which may be due either to a third scribe or to the use of a different pen by the second scribe. Several parts of the text are damaged by smoke, moisture, or the crumbling of the surface of the bark. The ink is of poor quality and the writing in some places rather careless. For all these reasons it would be impossible to make a complete transcription of the text, and even to give a summary of its contents is not very easy. There is no introduction and no general title. The book is what in Javanese would be called a *primbon*, a note-book in which various pieces of information, obtained at different times and probably from different sources, have been written down. The second part was undoubtedly written in Simalungun; the typical Simalungun form of the syllable *su* is used, and some words that are only found in the Simalungun dialect, such as *bah*, water. A spelling *ita* for *hita*, 'we', however, is not usually found in Simalungun books, at least I am not familiar with it. The dialect and spelling of the first part baffle my attempts at identification. There is a constant confusion between *u* and *o*, which could be expected from a Karo-Batak man trying to write Simalungun dialect, but also between *i* and *e*, e.g. *lelu* is used instead of *lilu*.

Acquired in 1913 from Hjalmar Jensen.

a 1 blank, partly broken off, so that part of p.

a 2 is unprotected and has become illegible.

a 2–6 Title illegible. Begins with an incantation

addressed to *na hombang pipis*, a *poda*-language word for the lance (*hudjur*). Some omens in connexion with the lance are mentioned: if a fly sits on it, it is unlucky, but if a butterfly sits on it, it is lucky.

a 6–11 *Poda ni panranas ni panuruni*, ingredients and incantation for some magic device to cause the enemy harm.

a 11 The last words written by the first scribe are: *poda ni parsopo(an)*, instructions for the choosing of the place for a hut in a dry rice-field, but he has not continued this subject. I have found this *poda* (easily recognizable by the illustrations that accompany it) only in Simalungun-Batak bark books.

a 11–21 *Poda ni tamba tuwah di anakboru beja anak lai* (for *lahi*), to cure barrenness and impotence. It ends with an incantation: *Ung singgotah singgotih tangke baliju(ng) maningkabou* (the helve of an adze from Minangkabau).

a 21–23 *Poda ni undang-undangta di datu na mapas di ita*, instructions about problems to be put to a *datu* who despises us. Dr. L. Manik called my attention to a story about the solving of problems (*marundang-undangan*) told in W. Hoetagoeng's *Poestaha tarombo* p. 130 et seq. In Simalungun the meaning of the word *marundang-undang* is: to learn the Batak script and the rudiments of the *datu*'s science, but this cannot be meant in this context. Karo-Batak *ngundang* means: to demand payment of a debt by fencing in the debtor's house. This may be meant in MS. Amsterdam 2761/55 III b, where the collecting of money due to the *datu* is mentioned as a result of *mangundang*.

a 23–24 an almost illegible *poda* about some lucky or unlucky days in the 1st–3rd months; at the end is a drawing of the points of the compass.

a 24–28 Without a title; the letters of the alphabet used for magical purposes.

a 29–32 Title illegible; something about *pamuhu tanduk*. On p. a 32 is an almost effaced drawing of a human figure.

According to Van der Tuuk's dictionary *pamuhu tanduk* means: a kind of magical preparation used against the enemy and usually kept in a (buffalo's) horn. In the explanation of plate XIII, 6 at the end of the dictionary we find *naga marsarang* (also called *pamuhu tanduk*) as the name of the horn. Such a horn is often beautifully decorated with carved figures. Better illustrations than the two small figures in Van der Tuuk's dictionary are found in De Lorm and Tichelman, *Verdwijnend cultuurbezit*, pls. XXXII and XXXIII, and in *De Bataks op weg* pp. 77, 79 and 81. Instead of *pamuhu tanduk* one often finds *pamunu tanduk*. It is still not clear to me whether there is a difference between the two or not. According to Winkler, *pamunu tanduk* is a name for the solid parts of the corpse that is used in preparing a *pangulubalang* (Mededeeling Kon. Kol. Inst., XXXIV, Amsterdam 1934, p. 53). In MS. Amsterdam A 1389 (Van der Tuuk's largest bark book) *pamunu tanduk* is called *simardung ni pangulubalang*, the companion of the *pangulubalang*. So it seems that *pamunu tanduk* is a kind of aggressive magic. On the other hand, we sometimes find *pamuhu tanduk* closely associated with *pagar*, protective magic.

a 33–40 The beginning of a list of the 12 months with mention of special days in each month (1st–4th months).

b 1–15 Continuation (5th–12th months); p. b 1 is illegible as it is completely blackened by smoke.

b 15–22 *Poda ni tawar timbahou tawar rasun*, on tobacco as an antidote against poison.

b 23–25 *Poda ni haguru-gurohanta* (sic, l. guro-

guroanta) *di datu na mapas di ita*, about a magical artifice against a *datu* who despises us. Cf. BAT. 3.

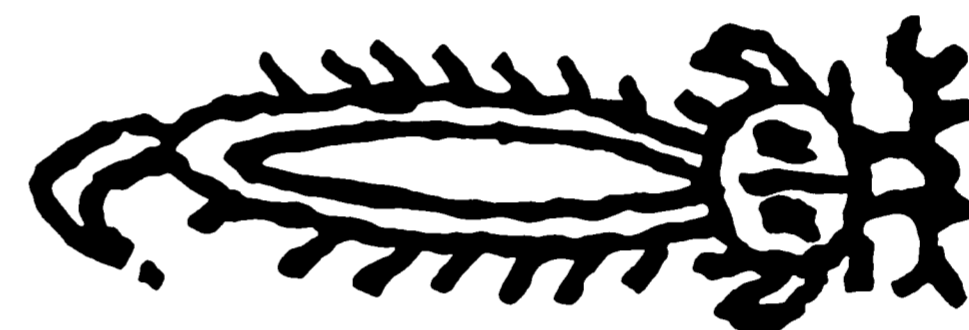
b 25–26 *Poda ni sahat na sada musejan na margoran sahat pandjang*, on another kind of poison called *sahat pandjang*.

b 26–29 *Poda ni sahat ari*, a poison.

b 29–32 *Poda ni tambar batu harang*, a medicine against the stone. At the end is a figure to be drawn on the patient's belly.

b 32–37 *Poda ni tabas ni pamuhu tanduk*, an incantation over *pamuhu tanduk* (cf. pp. a 29 et sqq.), the last part illegible.

b 38–40 blank.



Tembak; porsimboraon.

BAT. 12 (Cod. Bat. 6).

Small bark book. 29 leaves, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Very thin bark. No covers. Small distinct writing, in places somewhat rubbed off. Ordinary *poda*-language; from Toba, as appears from the chain of transmission. Though final *-h* is unknown in the Toba dialect this text uses the word *sah* (spelt as in Simalungun) at the end of an incantation. Probably acquired by the Library at the same time as BAT. 44.

Subject: shooting and amulets.

a 1 blank.

a 2–28 On the magic art of shooting with a gun. Introduction: *Poda ni pamusatan ni tembak ma inon na morgoar siapus malu sisobo hinaila sitostos sarangan(?) i ma na timan gurunta tuwan sori-pada putus(?) timan tano urat dohot tuwan lo(?) di panggung asa ro ma di ho ale amang sijang ni*

*adji na morhuta di porsambilan pintu batu morga-
ni asa ro ma di ho ompu ni pangondja ni adji* (2
lines illegible) *timan tano lobu goti por... uwan
ni namora silalahi anang mate ma nasaingan si
sijang dibunu si amporik i ma so di ho ma ale inang
pusatan inon hulehon a(sa) ro ma di pahompumu
ompu ni pangondja bao radja pinarik namora sila-
lahi asa ro ma di ho ale hahang doli radja batu
ronggi ni adji na timan tano naga timbul namora
dolok saribu na pangke pinarbulanton do inon asa
ulang do dipormuda-muda ho tu halak so do(?)
diparulah i ho olo ma ninta molo ma pala boti asa
ingot ma ho di poda ni porpadanan ni tembakta i
ulang so ro do padanna i na so tupa do mangal...
i do inon ale.* The places Porsambilan, Lobu Goti
(now called Laguboti) and Nagatimbul are all in
Toba proper; Nagatimbul (north of Porsea,
south-east of Lake Toba) is the place of origin
of our manuscript. The chain of transmission
contains two remarkable peculiarities. The first
one is the note saying that si Sijang (i. e. the Sijang
ni adji just mentioned who lived in Porsambilan
and belonged to the *marga* Pintubatu; cf. W. Hoe-
tagaloeng, *Poestaha tarombo* p. 169) had been
murdered by a person called si Amporik, and
that therefore this short handbook of shooting
(the original from which our book was copied)
was given to a woman, so that she might give it
to her grandson Ompu ni Pangondja who lived
at Laguboti. The second remarkable point is the
strong admonition at the end not to divulge the
contents to strangers, as otherwise the owner
himself would suffer the repercussion of the
magic.

a 29 blank.

b 1 blank.

b 2–20 *Poda ni porsimboraon*, an amulet to en-
sure invulnerability, made from and named after
a plant with the strange name *ditdak hauwalil*.

b 20–26 About signs (*alamat*) of danger in war.

b 26–28 The letters of the alphabet used as an
amulet. Cf. BAT. 11 a 24.

b 29 blank.

Kēbal; ari rēdjang.

BAT. 13 (Cod. Bat. 9).

Bark book, 39 leaves, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ cm. Two wooden
covers. Karo-Batak language and spelling; *sikurûn*
is used for both *ě* and *u*, but not for *o*. The final
-h is written between the consonant and the vowel-
sign. Modern; many Malay and Arabic words.
The fact that one of the texts is incomplete (though
no part of the book is missing) may be an indi-
cation that it was copied not for actual use but
for the curio trade.

Acquired from a curiosity shop in Copenhagen
1950.

Subject: Magic to ensure invulnerability (*kēbal*);
an amulet against bullets (*sarang bēdil*); an in-
complete table of *ari rēdjang*.

a 1 glued to the cover.

a 2 blank.

a 3–33 *Pēda ni kata-kata ni kēbalta ni tanēh lepar
lawēt nari asa rēh bapa ni bunga tahil ginting
mērgana a(sa) rēh ma (n)dube anak tarigan mēr-
gana bapa ni djeda kēmna asa sibuwat manuk
putih...* Instructions for invulnerability from the
other side of the sea, to a man of the (Karo-Batak)
mērga Ginting, to a man of the (Karo-Batak)
mērga Tarigan. Take a white fowl..., etc. The
incantation begins on p. a 10; it contains many
Malay and Arabic words.

a 33–36 *Pēda ni sarang bēdil*, an amulet against
bullets, with five protective magic designs on p.
a 37. One of them is a spiral whose beginning is
joined to its end by a straight line.

- a 38–39 blank.
 b 1 glued to the cover.
 b 2–18 The *rědjang* for the 17th–30th days of the month. See BAT. 48.
 b 19–28 Another *kěbal*.
 b 28–33 A third one called *kěbal mula djadi*. On p. b 31 in the incantation are the names of the 4 caliphs: Umar, Asuman, Ahhali, and Ibu Bakkar (sic).
 b 33–37 *Pěda ni putaranta*, another amulet against bullets.
 b 38–39 blank.

Bone amulets, etc.

BAT. 14–29 (Nat. Mus. C 1481–1492, 2008, 5333, 5334, and 1495).

Bones with Batak writing or drawings are sold as curiosities even more than bark books, and many specimens have been made for this purpose. Karo-Batak specimens should always be regarded with suspicion as there was (and probably still is) a centre of this industry near Běrastagi on the Karo plateau.

Triangular pieces of bone (shoulder-blades) were used as amulets against bullets, or for divination. Cf. MS. Ch. B. 1150 (*Cat. Dublin* pp. 90 et sq.); *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums*, VIII, Leiden 1914, p. 123; G. L. Tichelman, 'De

sarang timah', *Cultureel Indië* II, 1940, pp. 243–246, cf. III, 1941, pp. 45–47.

BAT. 14–25 (Nat. Mus. C 1481–1492).

A series of Karo-Batak specimens acquired by the National Museum in 1907–08. I noted that no. 14 has a table for computing lucky days for travelling; no. 16 an incantation beginning: *bissu-mirla*; no. 17 has writing on both sides, with drawings of the points of the compass. As the same words occur in all the divisions, this is undoubtedly spurious. No. 18: incantation. No. 22: points of the compass, with instructions to be observed in travelling.

BAT. 26 (Nat. Mus. C 2008).

Acquired by the National Museum in 1913. It is so blackened by smoke that the inscription is illegible.

BAT. 27 and 28 (Nat. Mus. C 5333 and 5334).

Acquired in 1937. No. 27 has only a very short inscription; no. 28 the letters of the alphabet used as an amulet, cf. BAT. 36 pp. a 32–39.

BAT. 29 (Nat. Mus. C 1495).

It consists of 2 tusks and 7 flat pieces of bone. Acquired in 1907–08. It has some Karo-Batak writing and a drawing of the points of the compass.

DIVINATION

Kinipandên.

BAT. 30 (Cod. Bat. 19).

Bark book. 33 leaves, $17\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ cm, with two covers made of goat's hide. Kept in a wooden box with sliding lid. Karo-Batak language and

spelling. The back of the bark is blank except for some illustrations on pp. b 13, 14, 24, 25–27 and 31. These look like later additions, made to enhance the manuscript's value in the curio trade. Acquired by the library in 1957.

This book is one of the few exceptions to the rule that the bark books represent the literature of the *datu*, the Batak medicine-man, priest and soothsayer. It is a book of divination, like many of the *datu*'s books, but for use by a goldsmith (Karo-Batak *pande ěmas*). I remember once having seen a similar copy in Simalungun, but as far as I know there is no such manuscript in any other museum or library. Another subject outside the usual sphere of the labours of the *datu* is the making of gunpowder. The divination used in this craft is set forth in a manuscript in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London (No. 56303). It is a handbook for a *pĕmetar*, a Karo-Batak marksman, who used to make his own powder. A similar text, written on a paper scroll, is in the Ethnographical Museum, Frankfurt a. M., No. N. S. 13977.

The following description of a Karo-Batak goldsmith's workshop is given by Von Brenner, who visited the independent Batak area in 1887:

“Eine batakische Goldschmiede sieht höchst einfach aus; man findet darin nur einen doppelcylindrigen Blasebalg aus Bambus; einen Schmelztiegel sucht man vergebens, denn Gold und Silber werden in dem alten Bruchstücke eines zerschlagenen eisernen Topfes oder sonst einer Scherbe oder einem Topfe geschmolzen; sodann giesst sie der Meister in flüssigem Zustande in einen halben Bambus zu Stangen. Die Instrumente sind ausserordentlich roh und stehen mit ihrer Primitivität in gar keinem Verhältnisse zu den damit hergestellten Arbeiten. Sie bestehen aus einer pincettenartigen Zange, einigen Eisenstiften, einem Hammer und einem plumpen Locheisen. Vor der Goldschmiede sieht man im Káro-Lande recht häufig einen niederen, runden Holzstamm in der Erde stecken, der *Liun* genannt wird und zum Ausziehen des Silberdrahtes dient, aus dem die *Pádung-Pádung* angefertigt werden.”

A picture of such a simple workshop is reproduced in: E. M. Loeb, *Sumatra*, picture 17. In the foreground there are two *padung-padung*, the heavy lyre-shaped silver ear-rings of the Karo-Batak

women, whilst picture 9 in the same work shows how these are worn, the weight being born chiefly by the head covering. There is another picture of a pair of *padung-padung* in: J. E. Jasper en Mas Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche kunstnijverheid in Ned. Indië*, IV, fig. 153. The following abstracts translated from this work contain some information on the Karo-Batak gold- and silversmith: For melting precious metals the Batak goldsmith uses an earthen potsherd. The hearth with bellows (*ĕmbus-ĕmbus*) is very simple. Charcoal made from *bĕringĕn*- or *bawang*-wood is used as fuel. With a pair of tongs, seldom made of iron, but mostly a split piece of bamboo, the small crucible or the potsherd in which the metal is heated, is held and the molten silver is poured into a groove in a stone or an iron casting-mould (Karo *pĕlangkah*, Toba *panuangan*). When the metal has cooled down and has been taken from the mould, it is beaten with a hammer (*tunda* or *palu-palu*). This first beating is called *mĕkpĕk*, and is distinguished from *nĕpa*, the hammering by which the object gets its final form (p. 25).

Fine gold and silver wire is made by drawing (*narik*) with the aid of a draw-plate (*tarikĕn*) (p. 62).

Some Karo-Batak silversmiths make the thick silver wire used for the *padung-padung* in the same manner as they make fine wire for filigree. The silver bar is drawn through a large draw-plate after the metal has been fastened to a draw-pole (*lián*). Using the draw-plate as a lever and the draw-pole as its fulcrum, the smith forces the draw-plate around the pole, so that the silver is pulled through a hole in the plate. If the wire is still too thick, the operation is repeated and a smaller hole is used (p. 63).

Soldering is called *midjĕr*; small pieces of waste gold and silver (mixed with borax, *pidjĕr*) are

used as solder (*podī*). No blowpipe is used; pallions of solder are applied to the seam and the object is heated in the fire (p. 31).

Staining gold red (*něpuh*) is done by the Batak goldsmith—though he seldom applies this process—with a mixture of lemon-juice, powder and salt (p. 95).

Our text contains a list of 33 omens observed in casting gold; one in hammering; 3 in drawing thick wire by means of the draw-pole and plate; 7 in soldering and 3 in staining gold red. As a specimen a translation of the 28th paragraph may give some idea of this part of the text:

“If the gold while being cast makes a ticking noise in the mould, the owner of the gold will die; if (this omen occurs) in connection with a feast, we shall prescribe a dancing feast; the meat for the sacrificial meal shall be a chicken whose beak and legs contrast in colour with its feathers.”

The list of omens is preceded by an introduction in which the author tells how he learned this science at great cost. After his father had already given a woman to his teacher as his fee, the author had to add a maiden, because his father died when he was young, so that he had to go back to his father's teacher. After the list of omens there is a short epilogue and two invocations of the gods and of the soul of a patient inviting them to accept an offering. These have no obvious connection with the goldsmith's text. The following transcription is tentative; where I could not decide between *u* and *ě* (both represented by *sikurîn*) I have used *x*.

- a 1. The text on this page cannot be read as it is glued to the cover.
- a 2. tuwah bapa tajana ija mērgana sitēpu¹
to(?)radja mērgana asa bēbēre muham²
asa mērkuta ni garu kinajan³ asa ni-

susurkēn ma tu baba⁴ asa nibē-
rekēn ma bibi⁵ sada mangan⁶ pangguruna a-
sa ēnggo nigurukēn mate mija su-
wang aku kanak-kanak dēnga ngaku nita-
dingkēn bapa asa mulihkēn maku
guru(ng)ku babangkila asa kubērekēn sa-
da budjang nari mangan pangguru(ng)ku asa edi
maka nisusurkēn tu ba

di pe ma kapekēn(m-)

- a 3. ěrbapa pe lahang ni(n)ta s(?)uwada . . . nina bang-
kila di lahang nibērekēn bapa
lahang maku gijēt mēdahkēn kin(i)-
pa(n)de maka kuarih(?)kēn ma tu baba
seja sihlx la ěrtanx kaka(?) nini . . .
pa maka kubērekēn sada bulang bēn(ta?)-
r sada ulis djxrak edi maka bapa
ra patama aku tu babangkila ijalo maku . .
suwi(ng?) mērladjar pa(n)de ale seja nibaha-
n pangguru lahang nibahan pērbapaan (n)-
ina anak malumang si so mērbapa pe lahang si
so mērna(n)de pe lahang edi turi-turi-
- a 4. janku mērladjēr⁷ pa(n)de mērgēran-
kēn pa(n)de tēra⁸ bapa dje(n)da arus nam(?)an
mērgana babēre bērahmana mērkuta
ni saladi inxn kata ni kinipa(n)dejan
ale guru ulang nipērmudah-mudah
(§ 1)⁹ djaka u(mas)¹⁰ datuwang

rupa ni simanangg-

lis i sarx gxntingēn tumaram ma
kalak simada umas inxn mago ěmpu
ni umas asa sipērsili(h)i nu kaju
bawah pērsili(h)ina nigana sēngēn-
kēn rupa ni djēlma dēngan tabar-ta-
bar dan¹¹ sangkil sapilit su(m)paling dan
kaju manalu dan bangkuwang ni bxx
dan ulas magar tēmbal pēr(silihi)

- a 5. ija gule ni pērsili(h)ina manuk bata-
ra sijang ija pukulanna manuk nipitu-
hi djarumbēsi pe mauli ija gap(?)uwa-
l pe mauli asa mērpangir ma kita lē-
be asa kita manēpa ěmas ni kal(ak) inxn
(§ 2) djaka umas datuwang karu sirang
di bēnana asa mērpangir ma k(i)ta lēbe
asa mērsili(h)i ulis kakēlēngan
ni ate ija gule ni pērsili(h)i manuk
batara sijang ija pukulanna manuk
pēgēng (§ 3) djaka umas datuwang mērdē-
nginging djanah tu duru pērgērakna
asa nipērsili(h)i asa nipalit

- a 6. nu babi na bëlën asa mërbadjêra
ma kalak inxn (§ 4) djaka umas ditu-
wang rupa ni kapitan ni sarune suwada ma-
huli gërak-gërakkën ni êmas
inxn asa nipërsili(h)i nu ulis
pitu lambar asa nipukul
manuk pëgëng (§ 5) djaka umas datu-
wang karu pënggël di bënana beja di
udjungna sumangan na bëlën ma-
rulahi dëkët bulawan na ma-
rulahi asa nibëre babi na bëlën
asa mahuli ija pukulanna manuk
malijas rupa asa mauli ale datu¹²
- a 7. (§ 6) djaka êmas datuwang mërka-
likër di bënana ija umas ni (si)
bajak mahuli ma umas ni kalak inxn
ija si mada(ng)gël mago ma kalak inxn
djaka di sakit mate me¹³ na sakit ija
di udjungna mërkalikër asa ma-
go ma kalak inxn ija pukulanna ma-
nuk pëgëng (§ 7) djaka umas datuwang mabë-
lën di bënana beja di udjungna be-
ja di têngahna (lacuna)¹⁴ (§ 8) djaka êmas datu-
wang
padjêk di bënana beja di udjung-
na beja di têngahna asa mauli ma umas
- a 8. inxn anak laki bëru ma pinasu di
êmasta inxn ija pukulanna manuk
sampurbërna asa mauli (§ 9) djaka u-
mas datuwang mabëlën di bënana beja
di têngahna mauli ma umas inxn ija pu-
kulanna manuk malijas rupa (§ 10) dja-
ka êmas datuwang mabëlën di udjung-
na makëtik di bënana suwada mauli
umas inxn djaka êmas namura pi(n)dah ma
êmas ni kalak inxn asa nipali-
mikën ma tu kuta sada asa mauli i-
ja êmas ni përhuma-h(u)ma asa daa-
rahkën mangase asa mauli ija pukulan-
- a 9. na manuk ari(n)tënëng (§ 11) djaka umas
datuwang gumagat ul(?)is (beja)
gumagat arang asa nipërsili(h)i a-
sa mahuli asa mërpangir ma kita
lëbe asa maka kita manëpa êmas ni
kalak inxn asa mërili(h)i ma kalak
inxn asa sitëpa ma umas inxn
asa lijasën nidajakën tu kepar
lautan barang mauli dënga kalak si-
mada umas inxn djaka êmas na mamu-
ra suwada satahun nari asa rëh ma gë-
raha ni kalak simada umas inxn awih
- a 10. nari dibunikën ni bagas parubu-
han djaka di sakit mate me na sakit
djaka umas ni si mada(ng)gël lagija mago ma[ka-]
kalak inxn ija pukulanna manuk ni-
kurungi manuk nitambat-tambat ka-
pilianna (§ 12) djaka êmas datuwang
sëlukan ni a(m)pang-a(m)pang¹⁵ djaka di sakit
asa nipërsili(h)i asa kita mërkkaku
djaka di tjinta-tjinta tumaram ma kalak
sukut asa nipërsili(h)i ma tu
kepar lajo dëkët a(m)pang-a(m)pang pitu rangin
pitu dëkët gëndang guwung¹⁶ panganak sa-
- a 11. rune asa sibahan ma sapu-sapu idjuk
djanah nikoko nu lambe na gërsing asa si-
ijo-ijokën ija pukulan manuk pëgëng
(§ 13) djaka êmas datuwang ka(ru) matëm-
buk ulis panuwangën¹⁷ tumaram ma
kalak mago ija ma kata-kata ni kandang tël-
kas parahububus su(wa)da tërpake
asa nipërsili(h)i djanah dio(m)bak ulis
panuwangën i(ja) pukulanna manuk pë-
gëng manuk marëmpu pe mauli ale datu
gurunami ulang lupa pëdah ni guru(n)ta ale
- a 12. (§ 14) djaka êmas datuwang lo(m)pat tu kepar
pala(ng)kah lagi ija¹⁸ tumaram kalak mabungkas
ma
kalak simada êmas inxn di suwada su-
malin kuta suwada mauli ija pukulan-
na manuk diambat di dalan djaka di sakit
mate me na sakit [mate me na sakit] djaka
êmas ni namura lagi ipi(n)dah ma kiniba-
jak ni kalak inxn (§ 15) djaka umas da-
tuwang karu maluwan ni têngahni suwa-
da di (bë)nani suwada di udjungna lagija padjê-
kan li(m)bu asa diarahkën manambari
asa mauli ija kapit¹⁹ ikurna lagija
- a 13. begu di tanëman marula(h)i ija pukulan-
na manuk rëmpu (§ 16) djaka (êmas) datuwang
karu padjêk dawa-dawana²⁰ di têngahna lagija
rumah padjêkan li(m)bu, djaka di sakit
mate me na sakit ija pukulan manuk
nipituwi (§ 17) djaka umas datu-
wang marutu-rutu bagi sari(ng)gupgup
lagija kxnahxr beja begu si ma-
te rëmejan marula(h)i asa nibëre asa
mauli (§ 18) djaka êmas datuwang karu ma-
- a 14. gara mabirëng rupana djanah rasapsap mu-

- lana nioge ni pala(ng)kah nari lagija mēsēng
 ma rumah ni kalak inxn ija di ulu-
 na magara lagija begu djudjungna si maru-
 la(h)i ija si mate sada ari si marulahi
 asa nipadjudjungkēn asa mauli
 (§ 19) djaka umas datuwang mērčkēti-
 ngēn rumah ni djandi balik si ēnggo
 marijah djadi rubat djaka mērtēmu
 baju lagija rubat ma kalak inxn
 a 15. rut bajuna, djaka di kēntas di
 kasukutan ija djandina mērbulawan
 lagija sirang ma kalak inxn, dja-
 ka ēmas ni pēr-uma-uma lagija mago
 ma kalak inxn djaka di sakit mate me
 na sakit ulijan nidajakēn ija
 pukulanna manuk pēgēng kapilijanna
 manuk katir (§ 20) djaka ēmas datu-
 wang karu pēng(gēl?) ni bagas panuwangēn
 asa nipērsili(h)i tu kepar lajo pērsi-
 li(h)i asa mērpangir ma kita pa(n)de ma-
 a 16. ka kita manēpa umas ni kalak inxn djaka
 di sakit mate me na sakit ija pukulanna
 manuk pēgēng (§ 21) djaka umas
 datuwang mērsipan suwada dawa-dawa-
 na ija upah tēndi pēr-uma-uma suwa-
 da mauli djanah suwada mērtuwah kalak
 inxn djaka ēmas ni anak bēru nguda-ngu-
 da suwada dibēli kalak lagija suwada
 mērtuwah ija pukulanna manuk sang-
 kēp mērpulung (§ 22) djaka umas datuwang
 gumēndan tungkuk udjungni mauli di-
 sinxn ija pukulanna manuk sapa-
 a 17. jan (§ 23) djaka umas datuwang parinte-rin-
 te sēngēnkēn kapitan ni saru-
 ne pērluwasna pari(n)te-ri(n)te djaka umas
 ni namura asa niarahkēn mala(n)dēk
 dēkēt gi(n)dērang dēkēt guwung pa-
 nganak sarune ija umas ni si madanggēl
 asa mauli ija di sakit nu sibajak
 mate me na sakit asa nipērsi-
 li(h)i asa mauli nipērsili(h)i pēr-
 sili(h)ina gindērang djanah nipērdija-
 mai kalewēt kuta de lahang ija (m)bēra la-
 a 18. gija mate ma ēmpu ni umas inxn pagi le
 (§ 24) djaka umas datuwang sakali duwa
 kali tēlu kali u(m)pat kali lima kali
 ēnēm kali pitu kali uwaluh kali
 siwah kali lagija sumanganna si maru-
 la(h)i asa niarahkēn mana(m)bun asa ma-
 uli asa niarahkēn pakabang ma sipu-
 ta nu manuk putih tu kepar ēm-
 bang asa mauli disinxn (§ 25) djaka umas
 datuwangdjaka dumatangrumah nitingtingman-
 djadi djahat djahat mandjadi tingting lagija
 bajak ma si madanggēl ija sibajak
 a 19. sakali nari umasna situwang asa mauli
 (§ 26) djaka umas datuwang lagija mēr-
 buwe-buwe na suwada di bēnana su(wa)-
 da di tēngahna suwada di ikurna djanah
 kēlsēhan djanah marasap-asap madē-
 kah ma ni darat mulana sioge ni
 bagas pala(ng)kah panuwangēn nari lagija
 tumaram ma rumah ni kalak simada u-
 mas, djaka di saki(t) mate me na sakit,
 djaka di tjinta-tjinta asa nipērs(i)li(h)i
 nu sapo-sapo mērtarum idjuk
 djanah nipērdijama-dijamai ka-
 a 20. lewēt rumah djanah nisulu(h)i ija pu-
 kulan manuk tampar dada mabirēng
 rupana (§ 27) djaka dumatang rumah ni
 kandang tēlkas rumah ni kagunturēn
 mērdēpuk surana²¹ bagi sura
 ni bēdil, djaka di sakit mate me na
 sakit djaka di tjinta-tjinta asa nipēr-
 sili(h)i niguntar-guntarkēn
 ija pukulanna manuk nikuru-
 ngi binurung kēna bubu pe mauli ale
 (§ 28) djaka ēmas datuwang karu mērdē-
 a 21. tik-dētik ni bagas panuwangēn
 lagi mate ma ēmpu ni umas ija
 di tjinta-tjinta asa siarahkēn
 la(n)dēk ija pukulan manuk pēgēng
 (§ 29) djaka ēmas datuwang mērtim-
 pus bagi djēlma begu pērkas ma-
 ru(la)hisa asa niarahkēn malandēk
 asa mauli djaka umas ni anak bē-
 ru nguda-nguda tumaram nira(m)pas
 kalak ija pukulanna manuk pēgēng
 (§ 30) djaka (ēmas) datuwang bagi rupa ni nipe
 mērmata mēr-igung asa nia-
 a 22. rahkēn malandēkkēn lēnggur be-
 gu lēnggur marulahi asa mērpangir
 ma kita pa(n)de asa sitēpa ēmas
 ni kalak ija pukulanna binurung
 pitu sunge tinaruh djahe djulu
 (§ 31) djaka dapēnggēl palu ija umas
 ni namura lagi gēraha ma kalak, djaka
 di sakit mate me na sakit inxn, dja-

- ka di këntas ni kasukutan lagija
ru(mah) ni djandi balik si ěnggo ma-
- a 23. rijah lagija rubat djaka mĕrtĕmu
baju lagija sirang ma kalak ras ba-
juna asa mĕrpangir ma kita pa(n)de
lĕbe asa kita manĕpa umas ni kalak
inxn ija pukulanna binurung
niambat tinaruh manuk ni-
kurungi (§ 32) djaka umas datuwang lagija
sagi-sagijan magara mabirĕng ru-
pana magĕrsing, djaka di sakit mate
me na sakit inxn, djaka di tjinta-
tjinta asa niarahkĕn mangkirap
- a 24. begu si mate sada uwari si marulahi
asa nipadjudjungkĕn asa mahuli i-
ja pukulanna manuk ari(n)tĕnĕng
(§ 33) djaka dumatang rumah ni limbat
maluwah tuding²² tadukan karu ma-
lintĕng ni bagas sanggajah panuwang-
ngĕn djanah ate-ate si marulahisa dja-
nah siputa manakiti (§ 34) djaka umas
li(n)dak tu batu ligĕn lagija mĕr-
pangir ma kita pa(n)de asa mauli, dja-
ka li(n)dak tu kepar pala(ng)kah djaka di
sakit mate me na sakit, djaka di tjin-
ta-tjinta nilawĕs ma ěmasna
- a 25. asa mauli ija pukulanna manuk ma-
rĕmpu manuk katir kapilijan-
na (§ 35) djaka kita mĕna manariki karu
pĕlpĕt²³ djaka di sakit mate me na
sakit djaka di tjinta-tjinta asa si-
arahkĕn mĕrekĕn ěmas ija pu-
kulanna manuk katir kapilijan-
na manuk marĕmpu (§ 36) djaka k(i)ta
mĕnakĕntja tu liwun²⁴ karu mĕllus²⁵
bagas lijunĕn²⁶ djaka di sakit
- a 26. mate ma sakit inxn, djaka di tjinta-tjinta
lagi mĕrekĕn umas ma ija maka mauli
ija pukulanna manuk rĕmpu asa mauli
(§ 37) djaka mabungkar lijunĕn lagija mĕr-
pangir ma kita pa(n)de, djaka di sakit mate ma
sakit, djaka di tjinta-tjinta asa si-
arahkĕn mĕrekĕn umas asa mauli
ija pukulanna manuk dikurungi asa
mauli (§ 38) djaka [du] umas dipidjĕr karu
gĕlap panĕnggĕrta ija si marula(h)isa
ate-ate si mĕrmange-mange (§ 39) [ka] djaka
umas
dapidjĕr karu tĕlkang sakali duwa
- kali tĕlu kali ĕmpat kali ija
si rulahsa saputa asa dibĕre asa mau-
- a 27. li ija kapit kawĕs ate-ate nu bibina
ija kapit sikamun ate-ate ni si
kamahanna sanina (§ 40) djaka umas dapi-
djĕr sakali duwa kali tĕlu kali lagija
sumangan na bĕlĕn si marulahi asa
siarahkĕn manambun asa mauli ale datu
(§ 41) djaka umas dapidjĕr karu kabang djaka
di sakit mate me na sakit djaka di tjin(ta)-tjinta
(lacuna) asa mauli (§ 42) djaka u(mas) dapidjĕr
karu ta(n)dang²⁷ dawa-dawana djaka umas ni da-
bĕru nguda-ngu(da) adxng kadundunnan
anakbĕru inxn (§ 43) djaka umas
dapidjĕr karu lobat suwada mauli
- a 28. djaka di sakit mate me na sakit asa ni
tjinta-tjin(ta) nipalawĕs ma umasna asa
mahuli (§ 44) djaka umas (da)pidjĕr karu gĕ-
lap panĕnggĕrta ate-ate si marulahi dĕ-
kĕt saputa marula(h)i djanah bulawan mana-
kiti djaka di sakit mate me na sakit a-
sa nibĕre ma bulawanna asa mahuli (a)le da(tu)
(§ 45) djaka (ĕmas) dasĕpuh sĕngĕnkĕntji(m)bĕrsa-
tahun nari asa rĕh ma gĕraha ni
kalak ija suwada gĕraha lagi tuma(ram) kuta
tarulang (§ 46) djaka umas dasĕpuh asa du-
matang ru(mah) ni tungo-tungowan panggagat
ni begu bagi si nikarati mĕntji
- a 29. mabirĕng mabĕntar rupana begu si mate
ni tanĕman dĕkĕt sumangan ka-
libowan marula(h)i ija pukulanna manuk
tampar dada asa mauli ale guru
(§ 47) djaka ěmas dasĕpuh ni-
pa(ng)gangi mĕstik bagi buwah ni
lulang badjĕra di tustusan ni
turah-turah asa si(a)rahkĕn mukul
binurung kĕna bubu dĕkĕt
djukut kĕna ĕltĕp dĕngan si-
ra nixlkxt ni busan asa mau-
li ale pa(n)de tĕra nina bangkila sampe
tuwahta sahena ma ba(n)du lapihan panu-
(ng)kunan du gĕrak-gĕrakĕn ni ěmas nina
bangkila ĕntah tuhu ĕntah lahang nibĕrekĕnna
ba(ng)ku lapihan asa nu(ng)kun maku tu
babangkila pana-
war guru kinajan²⁸ asa ulang ate(n)du makuwah
nina bangkila panawar guru kinajan asa ĕnta
sibangsikĕn lapihan(n)du nina bangkila panawar
guru kinajan ngata aku ulang ate(n)du makuwah

na mangadjarkĕn aku maka masuwi kal kĕpe ma-
lumang ale malumang si so mĕrbapa pe lahang
mĕrna(n)de pe lahang ale pa(n)de

mĕrladjar kata(ng)ku

a 31. Asa turun ma ka(mu) debata di
atas manangkih ma kamu debata ni tĕruh tu-
mandĕk ma kamu debata ni tĕngah ijalo sani-
jang naga kamu si mĕndjadikĕn apa ĕrkagĕ-
luhan kami djĕlma manusija asa mĕrkata
ma kamu tĕndi si sawxt mĕrkĕrdja raja
kamu si mĕtĕh bilang b(i)langngĕn ni tahun sapu-
lu duwa bulan kagĕluhannami djĕlma manusija
asa mĕrkata ma kamu tĕndi nu si anu
mari kupanggil tu rumah salindung bulan²⁹
mĕrdapĕtan ka(m)p(i)l na bĕntar bĕras satu-
(m)ba tinaruh manuk ari(n)tĕnĕng mĕrdapĕtan
umas radjamauli gĕlang-gĕlang tumbuk³⁰ tjintjin
pidjĕr bulang putih bĕlo sa(m)bĕrkis bĕlo
sanxbxl pinang nilĕ(n)tik badja minak bu-
lang-bulang putih bĕnang sada sa(m)pejan
asa mari ku-
panggil tu rumah salindung bulan djangan
mela djangan malu djangan malambat

djangan malawan k-

a 32. (in nindu) numan debata kasi-kasi. E inang bĕru
di dipar bĕru di kate manumpak dang butari
manusur mĕrdjalan ma kamu tĕn-
di nu si anu sarah si anu tĕndi si txng-
go³¹ burawan mari kupanggil tu rumah salin-
dung bulan asa mĕrdapĕtan bĕras sa-
tu(m)ba mĕrdapĕtan ka(m)pil dan ĕmas
radjamauli dan gĕlang-gĕlang tumbuk tjintjin
pidjĕr dan tinaruh manuk ma-
lijas rupa dan bĕlo sa(m)bĕrkis dan
bĕlo sanxbxl dan pinang nilĕ(n)tik dan
bĕnang sada sa(m)pejan bulang-bulang putih
asa mari kupanggil tu ru(mah) salindung bulan
djangan mela djangan malu djangan malambat
djangan malawan kin ni(n)du numan debata
kasi-kasi

¶ ¹⁾ *Sitĕpu* is a sub-clan belonging to the clan *Karo-karo*, one of the five clans into which the Karo-Batak people is divided. *Toradja(?)* seems to be a sub-division of *Sitĕpu*. ²⁾ *Muham*, sub-clan belonging to the clan *Sĕmbiring*. ³⁾ Read: *Guru Kinajan*, an independent village that was afterwards incorporated in the district of Lingga. ⁴⁾ It seems that *baba* is here used as a synonym of *bapa*, father; it is also the first component of

the word *babangkila*, uncle (father's sister's husband). ⁵⁾ i.e. he (the author's father) gave one of his sisters (an aunt, *bibi*, of the author) in marriage to his teacher as a fee for his lessons. Thus the teacher became the author's *bangkila* (uncle). ⁶⁾ *mangan* = *man*, see above p. 43. ⁷⁾ Read: *mĕrladjar*. ⁸⁾ The author's name can be read: Pande Tĕra or Pande Tura, Bapa Djeda or Bapa Djenda (Father of Dje(n)da), of the clan Arus Naman (Arus probably stands for Barus, a sub-division of Karo-karo, and the sub-division of Barus to which the author belongs is called after the village Naman), whose mother's clan is Bĕrahmana (a sub-division of Sĕmbiring). His village is Saladi (which may also be read: Salandi); I have not succeeded in identifying this place. ⁹⁾ () represents a *bindu* in the Batak text; I have added paragraph numbers. ¹⁰⁾ *umas* is used in the transcription where the text has the special sign for initial *u*, *ĕmas* where the text has *h* with *sikurĕn*; the pronunciation should of course always be *ĕmas*. ¹¹⁾ = and, from Malay. ¹²⁾ This allocution of the *datu* seems out of place in a *pande*'s book; it is no more than a traditional phrase of the literature of divination. ¹³⁾ This text uses the *poda*-language particle *ma*; only in this phrase (*mate me na sakit*) is the form *me* found. The ordinary Karo-Batak form is *mĕ*. ¹⁴⁾ This incomplete paragraph is probably a scribal error; the same omens are repeated in §§ 9 and 10. ¹⁵⁾ MS. *apang-ape*, but further on among the component parts of the *pĕrsilihi*: *apang-apang*, for *ampang-ampang*, a leather shield, mentioned together with *rangin*, a kind of shield used by a dancer. There can be no doubt that *ampang-ampang* is meant in the first instance as well, though it is not clear for what purpose a shield may be used in a goldsmith's workshop. ¹⁶⁾ I do not know whether the spelling *guwung* (or *guwĕng*?) for *gung* represents a real disyllabic pronunciation or is only a method of indicating the length of the vowel in this monosyllabic word. ¹⁷⁾ *Ulis* is an intermediate, probably dialectal, form between Toba-Batak *ulos* and Karo-Batak *uwis*, cloth, clothing. As *palangkah panuwangĕn* is used in this text for the mould, *ulis panuwangĕn* can scarcely have another meaning than: the piece of cloth in which the gold is cast. The mould is made of bamboo (according to Von Brenner) or of stone or iron (according to Jasper). Probably a piece of wet cloth is laid inside the mould to prevent the gold from adhering to the mould and the bamboo from being burnt. ¹⁸⁾ *lagi ija* = *lagija*, a *poda*-language word not found in the Karo-Batak dictionaries; in

this text it is sometimes used as a synonym of *tumaram*, it is to be feared that . . . ¹⁹⁾ *Kapit* as a preposition meaning 'on the (right, left, back etc.) side of' is not in the Karo-Batak dictionaries. Simalungun uses *hampit* or *humpit*, so the Karo-Batak word should perhaps be transcribed *kampit*. ²⁰⁾ *Dawa-dawa* = grains of gold or silver used in granulation work; here apparently 'small grains of gold that form accidentally during the casting process' are meant. ²¹⁾ The Karo-Batak word for 'noise, sound' is *sora*, but as *sikurûn* is never used for *o* in this text I have transcribed *sura*, which may be a dialectal form. Other Batak dialects have *suara* or *soara*; it is Sanscrit *svara*, Malay *suara*. ²²⁾ *poda*-language *toding*. ²³⁾ A scribal error for *pěttěp*, to break off. ²⁴⁾ According to Neumann's dictionary the implements used by the smith in drawing out silver for *padung-padung* (*ngěliju*, Neumann's spelling *ngelioe*) are: the draw-pole (*lijûn*, Neumann *liōen*), the draw-plate (*tarikěn*) and a lever (*liju-liju*). Here the word for draw-pole is spelt *liwun*, in which *-wu-* (or *-wě-?*) indicates the long *ū*. ²⁵⁾ *Měllus*, dialectal for *měldus*, to be or to come loose. ²⁶⁾ *Lijuněn* is a peculiar form; it is derived from *lijûn* by means of the suffix *-ěn*, though *lijûn* itself already contains this suffix. Apparently there is no difference in meaning between *liwun* and *lijuněn*. ²⁷⁾ *Tadang*, either for *tandang* or a scribal error for *tading*. ²⁸⁾ I am not quite sure whether this medicine-man from Guru Kinajan is the same person as the author's teacher of the goldsmith's divination or not. Most probably he was not, and the author called him in for help in copying a manuscript lent to him by his teacher. ²⁹⁾ MS. *bxlxn*. ³⁰⁾ MS. *tunbuk*. ³¹⁾ Probably a scribal error for *ěnggo*.



Porbuhitan; pormanuhon (manuk di ampang).

BAT. 31 (Cod. Bat. 17).

62 photographs (c. 30 × 25 cm) of a bark book in the possession of Mr. Martin Blicher, København. 1 photograph shows the outside of the book,

with two strong wooden covers. Each of these has two protruding tabs in which holes have been made. The carrying-string, plaited from the black fibres of the sugar-palm, passes through these four holes; it is held in place by knots under the lower cover. One plaited rattan band holds the book together when it is closed. One photograph is a photocopy of a short description of the text in German. The side called 'a' in this document is better called 'b', as it has some blank pages at the end. We shall call it b in the following description. 33 photographs, numbered a 1/2–a 65/66, show 66 pages of side a (real size, c. 21 × 14 cm); 27 photographs, numbered b 1/2–b 53/54, show 54 pages of side b, the last one blank. Each side contains a complete text in *poda*-language. From the use of the word *bujus*, 'sacrificial confederation' it may be surmised that the text was written in the isle of Samosir, the large island in Lake Toba (elsewhere: *bius*, *bus*). Some other remarkable words of dialect are: *morga*, clan (Simalungun id., Toba *marga*), *bore*, give (Sim. id, Toba *bere*), *taun*, year (Sim. and Dairi *tahun*, Toba *taon*), *haraong*, neck (Dairi *kěrahong*, Karo *kěrahung*, Toba uses *rungkung*); *djadjdji* is a peculiar spelling for *djandji*, ally. The possessive suffix of the 3rd person *-na* is seldom used. In most cases *ni* is written, but it is difficult to decide whether this is the suffix *-ni* (as used in Simalungun) or a contraction of *ni i*, 'of that'. There can, however, be no doubt that *-si* in *mangansi*, to eat it, is a suffix, exactly as in Simalungun, though *-sa* (as in Toba and Karo) is also found in our text. For this reason I have transcribed *-ni* as a suffix too.

Both sides are clearly written and, on the whole, the text is well preserved. A few leaves have lost a strip of bark at one edge, causing some loss of text, and some lines or single syllables are not

easily legible in the photographs, especially on pp. a 1-4 and in many places in b. The copyist has sometimes omitted one or two syllables, especially in b. In the photographs I can see no difference between the handwriting of a and b. In the text, however, Radja Pinada is mentioned as the name of the copyist of a, and Guru Badija ni adji of b.

Subject: *porbuhitan*, divination by signs observed from a buffalo slaughtered at a sacrificial ceremony, and *pormanuhon*, divination by means of a fowl which is killed and put under a basket. There is a certain similarity between these two oracles. In *porbuhitan* as well as in *pormanuhon*, the principal omens are derived from the direction in which the sacrificial animal (buffalo or fowl) falls at the moment of its death. Moreover, some of the technical terms used in the *pormanuhon* are also found in the *porbuhitan* texts. The signs of the *porbuhitan*-oracle are observed whenever a buffalo is bound to a sacrificial post (*borotan*, Toba; *arihan*, Sim.; *tungkalĕn*, Karo), killed with a lance and eaten by the community. This is done on various occasions, such as the founding of a new village, the death of a distinguished person in old age, the *santi rea* or sacrifice of a genealogical group, and the *bius* (*bus*, *bujus*) or annual agricultural sacrifice. The *santi rea* has been described by Winkler (*Toba-Batak*, pp. 137 et sqq.) and the *bius*-sacrifice by Korn (BKI 109), but Winkler does not mention the divination and Korn only mentions a few omens of minor importance. I have published some particulars about the buffalo-oracle in an article entitled 'Batakse buffelwichelarij' (BKI 114 pp. 238-248).

As far as I can remember there was no drawing on the ground surrounding the *borotan* in Siho-

tang (the ceremony described by Korn, at which I was present). In the *santi rea* described by Winkler the *borotan* was planted in the middle of a large *bindu matoga* (two squares of which one is placed aslant inside the other); this is also mentioned in the Karo-Batak book BAT. 32 and in a *pustaka* in the University Library, Leiden (Cod. Or. 3454). This eight-sided figure represents the middle-world with its eight main directions (*desa na ualu*).

Van der Tuuk's dictionary says s.v. *buhit*: an ominous sign observed from a buffalo; the buffalo is killed, and then its position on the ground, on which all sorts of lines and figures have been made, is consulted; *porbuhitan*: the mentioning of the ominous signs observed from a buffalo; or: heirloom. I have never found this last meaning in a text and I cannot explain it. The word *buhit* is found as the name of several villages and of a sub-clan in Karo (*bukit*) and Simalungun; in *silandjang buhit*, name of an internal organ of a fowl in the language of *pormanuhon* (Winkler: die Dünndarmschlinge, die beim Orakelhahn die Bauchspeicheldrüse umfasst); *djingdjing buhit* (Toba acc. to Warneck) or *pusuk buhit* (Sim.), a knot of felty hair on the head, said to be the seat of a ghost. This last compound, Pusuk Buhit, is also the name of a mountain, the place where the first ancestor of mankind came down from heaven. In the small part of O. Marcks's notes on Warneck's dictionary that was saved (most of the work was lost during the war) we find *buhit* explained as *sangap*, majestic, but this seems to me just a guess to explain the name of the venerated mountain. In Dr. Winkler's MS. notes, which he kindly put at my disposal, I find: *buhit*, emporragend, z.B. Farnkräuter; Pusuk Buhit, der hochragende Gipfel. This, I think, is a satisfactory explanation, except for *buhit* mean-

ing ominous sign. The context in which this word is used is as follows: *djaha horbo marobo mangadophon purba* (etc.), *buhit* *nama tuwannja (tilahannja)*, i. e., if the buffalo falls facing eastwards (and likewise for the other points of the compass), its good (or ill) luck is called *buhit* Among the names represented by the dots there is much variety in the texts, but one that recurs constantly is *mangameru*. This can only be Skr. *Mahāmeru*, the central mountain of the world in Indian mythology (cf. Bat. *mangaradja*, Skr. *mahārāja*). I think there can be little doubt that *buhit mangameru* means: Mount Mahāmeru, and that the word *buhit* in the oracle is the Malay *bukit*, mountain. In the words *tuwannja* and *tilahannja* the letter *nja* is used. This is known in Toba and Simalungun as a letter of the alphabet, but it is never actually used except in these words and in the word *irisannja*, north-east, Skr. *aiśānī*, Balinese *resanja*. Moreover the word *tilaha* is not used in Batak for 'ill luck'; it means a deceased child. Therefore *tuwannja* and *tilahannja* must also be Malay loan-words, from *tuwahnja*, 'its good luck' and *tjilakanja*, 'its ill luck'. The word *nama* is certainly understood as the Batak word *namá*, 'only'; it may originally have been the Malay *nama* (from Skr.), 'name'. Much of the older Malay magic has disappeared as it was superseded by Muslim practices, but part of it survives with such peoples as the Bugis of Celebes, the Balinese and the Batak. In a comparatively recent Balinese text, called *Aṣṭalingga*, a system of 8 mountains is mentioned, with Mahameru in the East; the other mountains bear Indonesian names. The group is called *aṣṭa-gunung* (Goris, thesis, p. 132). In the brahmanistic system, however, Mahāmeru is in the North (F. D. K. Bosch, BKI 124 p. 242). Systems of 8 mountains are also found in connexion with

a *yantra* used in meditation (P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra*, p. 35) and in Tibetan Buddhist texts (ibid. p. 55).

Our text on *porbuhitan* can be divided into three parts:

- A. Introduction (pp. a 1–3).
- B. Lists of omens to be observed from the direction in which the buffalo falls, according to the 16 points of the compass (pp. a 3–36).
- C. Other omens (pp. a 37–66).

The other text on the buffalo oracle, BAT. 32, has no introduction. In part B it has only the 8 points of the compass and not the intervening spaces. At the end, after part C, it gives the magical designs that should be drawn on the ground (*bindu matoga*), on the sacrificial post, and on the bamboo used to lead the buffalo. Some MSS. have in part B first the 8 points of the compass, then the intervening spaces, beginning from 'between east and south-east'. In many texts the treatment of parts B and C is more prolific, and other subjects are added, such as incantations for the sacrificial post and the broom used to sweep the ground, an account of the creation of the earth, etc.

A.

a 1–3 Introduction. The text is not wholly legible in the photographs.

The following is a tentative transliteration:

Poda ni por
buhitanta di horbo bujus be(ja di)
hordja raja sita-sita barang di hasu(hu)
ton na bolon beja di saru ni na mate matu(wa ba)
rang hita dipadatu halak di santi ra(ja)
barang di bujus pangase ome barang di bisa(ra)
na godang ningon manumpak rambu (sipa)
tiga-tiga dohot tinantan ni a(dji)
bangsa diro dawa dohot rambu (na mot)

(ta)t hali-hali ningon manum(pak)
do si sobati ningon di(huthon)
(2) ma ning sang radja mulija ningon manu(sur)
do sanijang naga ningon humundul (do)
debata panaluwan djati ningon tor(ta)
woa-tawoa do batara guru ningon
haturuton tambihul ni hor(bo)
djana mauli lijat-lijatan asa (hi)
ta mamora suhut ale sisijan n(in)
ni gurunta na djolo datu bingsu asa ro (ma)
di datu porsu(w)il-su(w)il ni ...do.....
i asa ro ma di datu porhas asa ro (ma di)
ho ale sihotang guru portonggo asa di(po)
dahon ma di ho ale radja pinada datu p(or)
manuk guru pormangsi datu paradji paju(ng asa)
ulang ma ho.....
.....
(3) di poda ni gurunta na dj(o)
(lo ale a)mang na mamasa di porbuhittan ni
radja pinada asa ulang magolut di pormangsina ma
silolo do(pe) ahu na hurang dope panaraja ale ...

I. e. : Instructions about the signs of our mountain-oracle, to be observed from the *bujus*-buffalo in a sacrificial feast, in war, at a sacrifice to confirm the luck of the death of a person in old age, or if we are asked to act as *datu* in the *santi-raja* offering of a genealogical group, or in a *bujus*-festival at the beginning of the rice-year, or in an important dispute. Only when the signs called *rambu sipatiga-tiga*, *tinantan ni adji bangsa diro dawa*, *rambu na mottat hali-hali*, *si (dajang) sobati* and *sang radja mulija* (name of the ear-ring in *pormanuhon*) are auspicious, and *sanijang naga* comes down, *debata panaluwan djati* sits steady, *batara guru* laughs (a heavenly god, but also the name of the knife in *pormanuhon*), the heels of the buffalo are auspicious, the lesser signs are lucky, then only shall we, principals of the feast,

be prosperous, O pupil. So says our master of olden times, Datu Biksu (Skr. *bhikṣu*, monk?), then the instructions came to Datu Porsuil-suil, to Datu Porhas, to you, Sihotang (the name of a *marga*), Master who knows the prayers, until it was taught to you, Radja Pinada, who knows the oracle of the cock, teacher of writing, expert in the oracle of the killed pig, do not(forget) the instructions of our masters of olden times, you who read the mountain-oracle of Radja Pinada, do not disdain our writing, I am still a beginner, whom people do not call to help.

In the Karo-Batak text BAT. 32 the oracle confines itself only to success or loss in war (*kasukutan*). In some paragraphs a distinction is made between a war waged to compel our debtors to pay and one to resist creditors (*měrtunggu ido* and *měrtahan utang*). No mention is made of the *bius*-sacrifice; this is only natural, as no *bius*-organization exists in the Karo-districts. Nevertheless in another Karo-Batak book (Breda, Ethn. Mus. 10057) we find a *pěda(h) ni mangmang ni kěrbo buwis*, instructions for an incantation over the *bius*-buffalo. The Karo-Batak form *buwis* suggests a possible etymology for the word *bius*. According to Neumann, *ěrbuwis-buwis* means: to jerk or pull one another to and fro. This is just the kind of ritual rivalry which happened in the *bius*-ceremonies, when two parties tried to push or pull the dying animal in the direction auspicious for themselves.

B.

a 3-36 As a sample of this part I give the paragraph for North, in which only a few syllables are illegible:

*Djaha horbo marobo mangadoppon
otara buhit mangameru nama tuwanni pusuk ni ta*

*li morsihotingan dipaningkoti si daja(ng) por
 mena ursa ni horbo-horbo inon asa dapana
 rahi ma tungko didoge tungko mabungkar dangka
 nija
 sopak masopak ma horbo inon so ma
 (29) da duwa hali halak inon mor(hor)dja
 tumaram
 torop na mangan horbo inon ningon [ningo
 n] manumpak do rambu na opat inon asa
 hita managu-nagu djolo rusuk hambirang [djolo]
 ma
 nangki ruma ni suhut bituhani na so panganon ni su
 hut dohot datu dohot pande dohot pangu
 lu dohot sibaso ija dipangan do inon mate ma
 anggi ni suhut djolo mangansi tumaram di hi
 ta dohot hinomit asa dipanarahi ma di ma
 nuk na di pudi manajek balatuk ija dapotan ni
 tondina babi sorat asa diongal ma ho
 li ni ompuni asa mauli / djaha di sahit
 naba ma na sahit inon asa dipanarahi ma
 (30) anak poso di manuk salpun dongan na modom
 pon / djaha pangarungkasi ni bajo na marundjuk
 mam
 ora [mamora] ma anakboru inon amani pe ma-
 mora / dja
 ha di bujus dapotan ome ma hita di huta inon
 / djaha panonggot huta imbaru mamora do hi
 ta di hu(ta) inon / djaha di pordjadjdjijan mara
 pot do hita dohot djadjdjita inon ale datu*

I.e.: If the buffalo falls facing Northwards, its good luck¹ is (called) *buhit mangameru*; the ends of the rope untwine². Si Dajang Pormena³ puts a noose on the neck of the deer of the mock-buffalo⁴. The bad influence of the omen should be neutralized. If it steps on a tree-stump, the tree-stump is uprooted; its(?) branches are torn off; the buffalo is torn off(?); those people will not celebrate the ceremony a second time; every

participant in the buffalo-offering should take heed. The signs called *rambu na opat* (the four *rambu*) should be favourable before we guarantee good luck⁵. The left-side ribs must be the first piece that is brought into the house of the principal. The intestines should not be eaten by the principal, the *datu*, the *pande*, the *pangulu* and the *sibaso*⁶. If they eat it, they will die. The younger brother of the principal must be the first to eat of the meat. He must be on his guard against us (the *datu*) and against his subjects of another *marga*. The bad influence should be neutralized by eating a chicken that was last in coming up the ladder. To his soul he should offer a pig that is so fat that its belly touches the ground. The bones of his grandfather should be exhumed to ensure luck. In the event of illness the patient will recover; for a young child the bad influence should be neutralized by eating an old hen and a hen which sits on eggs. In the case of the making of a magic protector for a newly married couple, the bride will prosper and her father will prosper. In the case of a *bius*-sacrifice, we shall earn rice in that village. In the case of the inauguration of a new village, we shall prosper in that village. In the case of a political agreement, we shall be closely allied to our partner, O *datu*.

The corresponding part of the Karo-Batak text in BAT. 32 is:

*Djaka kërbo mangarubuh (29) mangadëpkën utara
 dëm/pak tuwan padukah ijadi / nipatungkir-
 tungkir t/ëndi di djëlma manus/ija nidëngkëh-dëng-
 këh patir/ni rumah djadi djalak man/djadi ting-
 ting bëre-bëreja/n sumagët situwa sit/uwa maka
 kita mënang di kasu/kutan inxn djaka kasuku/tan
 mërsilii lëbe s/ukut maka mauli djaka mër/tahan
 utang talu ma kita di ka/sukutan mërtu(ng)gu
 ido / mënang ma kita inxn djaka ratj/unna di
 ëmbah-ëmbahna di/lahna matana si(n)djatana*

děkět | ija tuwahna ni běltěk/na tjuwan-tjuwan ni pu/(n)tja aděp-aděpna pangarě/(n)tjanganna ija panabarina sari/mandapět děkět i/mar di rumah běrtěng di | labah děkět tjita-tji/ta djaka tjatjarna kaju idup | tare laklak galuh sita/bar tēpungkěn ugahna ka|jona lēbe ku rumah sukut | pa(n)tja-wirina manuk | tjawir takuwak ija pa/ngiri parutang-utang sada pangiri ni/(n)du anakbēru si(m)běra latihan/ pe pagari sibisa tuwa-/tuwa pe pangiri ni(n)du pagi.

The prescripts of this Karo-Batak text are quite different from those of the other copy, and no name of the *buhit* is mentioned.

The complete list of the omens in BAT. 31 is as follows:

EAST: buhit radja debata nama tuwani adong ditindjak-tindjak hala(?) ni purnama(?) ni gurunta na so di purba na maranakkon adji bangsa diro daowa adong paridihon nan surija humba nan sinar manga... na sumungkun gurunta portimuk mordjalan sadari duwa ari tolu ari opat ari duwa malam tolu malam gonop malam ija ma..... mangadoppon purba buhit pinangan sita-sita pinasu ni horbo inon ale. (BAT. 32) bukit lingga ra(dja) tērtawa-tawa ěmpung bitjara guru debata di atas mērpangir si bēru tadjēm burik tumande ku kaju na ratah kaju na tasak sumil(?) tubuh sakit.

BETWEEN EAST AND SOUTH-EAST: buhit tala gonting tilahanni desa ni na (ma)te desa ni horbo inon djahat tilahan ni horbo inon.

SOUTH-EAST: buhit radja sinanti nama tuwanni adongs tangga omas ho daja tora adong di ho nang....ni panggilan mangan panggilan minum rumagih.... boruhon sangga oti | ija ma horbo

ma(rob)o mangadom agoni buhit ija suwada do di....on adji radaowa dohot na mottak (hali)-hali djana dihutton ma ning sang radja mulija ditumpang nang bo(ta)ri djana tijop pandji si-ma(rada)m tuwa tortawo-taowa bata(ra) guru djana manusur (san)ijang naga djana mangalopas adji nambirang sarat(us) horbo pinasu ni horbo inon asi mangadoppon agoni na rowa di halak na uli di hi(ta) ija adong disinon ram(bu) na opat inon so(wa)da mauli.

(BAT. 32) No specification of the omen.

BETWEEN SOUTH-EAST AND SOUTH: buhit radja dorgahaju nama tuwanni.

SOUTH: buhit lingga mulija nama tuwanni dongkun(?) gurunta aman gorang di banuwa ba..... paninggur djati ditumpak naga padoha inang silong bane adong tumatangis ibotona di dangsina ija ma horbo marobo mangadoppon dangsina.

(BAT. 32) *mangadēp lingga radja.*

BETWEEN SOUTH AND SOUTH-WEST: buhit radja nama tuwanni.

SOUTH-WEST: buhit sanggara-gara tilahan(ni) bu dialu hanuhon boruni mordara-dara dibahen anggini si tapi morsaga oto | ija ma horbo mangadoppon nariti ija diadoppon do rambu tinantan ni adji bangsa diro daowang dohot si dajang sobati dohot na mottat hali-hali dohot rambu sipatiga-tiga ulang dipangan suhut lambungni...

(BAT. 32) *tērtawa-tawa ma si dajang bē(ru) sigu(n)dja.*

BETWEEN SOUTH-WEST AND WEST: buhit bajo tora tilahan ni horbo inon.

WEST: *buhit lingga porhara(?) nama tuwanni adong mugos hanuhon gurunta debata di pastima adong padidihon boruni si tapi mariring manik di ajor(?) ija ma horbo marobo mangadoppon pastima ija adong diadoppon do rambu tinantan ni adji bangsa diro daowa dohot rambu (na mot) tat hali-hali hohot ra(m)bu si sobati dohot rambu sipatiga-tiga djaha di sahit mate ma na sahit inon.*

(BAT. 32) No specification.

BETWEEN WEST AND NORTH-WEST: *buhit radja rumajang-rajang nama tuwan ni horbo inon.*

NORTH-WEST: *bunga tangan tilaha ni horbo inon adong dipantom debata portibi dang humala sondi na morboruhon dajang tadjom burik batu didoge butu (sic) maposa portibi matolpus lawut didoge lajut (sic) marsik didijang hapeja naga morsimbat ampilawos manantan antuware morharat tinantan ni singa adintija di angkasa ija ma horbo mangadoppon manabija.*

(BAT. 32) No specification.

BETWEEN NORTH-WEST AND NORTH: *buhit natap tila(ha) ni horbo inon.*

NORTH: See above.

BETWEEN NORTH AND NORTH-EAST: *lingga suwasa tilahan.*

NORTH-EAST: *lingga susa halak tilahanni di huta ni gurunta nan sungsang di porbaoran mordjabung-djabung batu mara(m)bung-ambung bu-ruk ma pansur golap ma lautan ija ma hapeja si mangidupi ni djolma manisija ija ma horbo mangadompon irisanna ija diadop do rambu na opat inon horbo mulija tu pane pula tu dandang sahali nai nama ompu ni hordja inon ai maposa ma*

odju(ng) mate do(?) tos ma tali donda di lautan mago ma o(m)pu ni hordja inon.

(BAT. 32) *silintana(?) ěm(?) ěmpung debata ni irisan ipadjudjung-djudjung tuwan padukah ni adji asa nipakasar-kasar tuwan banuwa keling nipatěngkěh-děngkeh těndi djělma manusija didige ni kindjahe běnggal ni ki(n)djuluwan didige si dajang bu(nga) rakit si dajang bunga-bunga rakit lingga gunung didige ni kindjahe běnggal ni kindjulu naděngkěh taněh taněh pe matumbuk nitare langit langit pe marurus.*

BETWEEN NORTH-EAST AND EAST: *buhit tali putus tilahanna tali gonting [ting] tilahan ni horbo inon.*

C.

a 37-66 *Poda ni horbo pinantom*, on signs observed on the buffalo when it is speared. The following signs are enumerated: *djaha horbo marungeunge*, if the buffalo calls. This is a very lucky sign, the principal will gain a *garantung* by it, i.e. a musical instrument, now mostly made of wood, but in Van der Tuuk's time of bronze. According to Dr. L. Manik there still are bronze *garantungs* in the Pakpak country.

djaha tanduk ni horbo sihamun (sihambirang) tortungkil tano, if the right (left) horn of the buffalo scoops up(?) some earth.

djaho horbo pinantom rumarade.....djana ngang babani djana madede idurni djana ...bati sahanni, if the buffalo....., and its mouth is open and saliva is trickling from it and....

djaha horbo dapantom mutahon daro, if the buffalo vomits blood.

djaha horbo morsiajinhon borotan, if the buffalo pulls the sacrificial post towards itself.

djaha horbo pinantom tortinggalak, if the buffalo falls on its back.

djaha horbo pinantom dumoru-doru hosani marobo, if its breath makes a plaintive noise as it falls, and many others. It is a very lucky sign if a butterfly alights on the buffalo when it is bound to the sacrificial post; two hundred buffaloes will be gained. Some signs in the sky that are observed during the sacrifice are explained too.

On p. a 61 there is a new title: *Poda ni horbo pinantom* again.

A sample of these paragraphs is: *djaha horbo tariting di nariti talu ma hita di hasuhuton inon*, if the buffalo drops dirt in the south-west, we shall lose in that contest. In another paragraph *ursa ni horbo-horbo* is used instead of *horbo*: *djaha tariting di otara ursa ni horbo-horbo inon*, if that deer of a mock-buffalo drops dirt in the north. On pp. 64 et sqq. some of the *buhit*-names are repeated: south-east *buhit radja sinanti*, south *buhit lingga mulija*. The text ends without any epilogue with the words: *ale datu, O datu*.

Altogether 82 signs are treated in this part of the text. The corresponding part of the Karo-Batak MS. has only 14 signs. One of these is: *Djaka kërbo nipa(n)tëm niikut-ikut djëlma maka pangiri si ngikut-ngikutsa edi ni(n)ta pagijan ale guru*, if the buffalo is followed by somebody when it is going to be speared, we shall say, O master: purify that follower by ritual hair-washing!

Other MSS. on *porbuhitan* are Ch. B. 1114 and 1115 (*Cat. Dublin* pp. 45 et sqq.) and the MSS. mentioned in BKI 114 p. 239.

b 1-45 Introduction: *Poda ni pormanuhon adji nangka piring na umboto hita mamora beja di hasuhuton na bolon barang tumondungi porhutan beja morhaju ruma beja hita laho mangoli ija ma inon na nunongnong* (l. *numongnong*) *omas di tonga ni lautan lagi diha(hu)hon adji nangka piring lagi so mago beja di sahit* (2) *madorsa*

barang di hasuhuton na bolon ningon dihutton ma ning sa(ng) radja mulija dohot si radja padoha ni adji tadjo di pado(ha) ningon diadoppon si adji mangine bunga ditumpak nang girsang lambe do ditumpak dang botari dohot si dajang sobati dohot silong baneni dohot silansapotni (sic) dohot sisumbaonni asa dapatulus hasuhuton guru badija ni adji gurunta na djolo (3) asa ro ma di gurun datu na gara di asa ro ma di guru sipul ni adji (asa ro) ma di borma sijam siho (tang asa) ro ma di guru tanggab(o)si asa ro ma (di) datu pangulu asa(ro) ma di guru manga adji asa ro di guru buwaja ni adj(i asa ro) ma di ho ale guru badija ni (adji). Instructions about the cock-oracle Adji Nangka Piring, that knows whether we shall prosper, (to be consulted) in a serious contest, or to divine a lucky place for founding a village, or for the collecting of wood for a house, or for a marriage. It is he who sinks gold in the ocean and yet, if Adji Nangka Piring guarantees it, it will not be lost (an allusion to the story of the origin of this oracle, see my *Volksverhalen* no. 9). Whether in serious illness or in an important contest, the word of Sang Radja Mulija and si Radja Padoha ni adji Tadjo di Pado(ha) must be followed, si Adji Mangine Bunga must face (the cock), Nang Girsang Lambe must be auspicious, Dang Botari and si Dajang Sobati and her *silong bane* (father's sister), her *silansapon* (sister-in-law) and her *sisumbaon* (grandmother) must be auspicious, then only shall we carry on the contest. Then follows the chain of transmission, badly damaged, ending in Guru Badia ni adji. There follows a long list of various positions of the cock, illustrated by small diagrams, and accompanied by an explanation of their lucky or unlucky meaning. There are two drawings of cocks turning round in the winnow, represented

by four images of the cock arranged round the middle of the winnow. As a sample the last paragraph (pp. b 44–45) will be sufficient: *Djaha manuk di pordomuwan ni (pa)gori dis(i) do golang-golang do(hot) tintin dohot napuran do(hot) omas dohot miak rap do di pordomuwan ni pagori ija ma inon harorobo ni manuk nianggunang(gun ni) pasang nisampang-sampang ni rijas matostos ma tali donda di tonga ni lautan possa ma odjung marompas ma pansur paridian ni siogit ija ma inon hamateja(n) ni halak di lajut di bina-nga hapilinni djaha di sahit mate ma na sahit inon beja laho mangoli mate do boru nioli i hela di lunglungnan hapilinni djaha laho tandang mate di dalam ma na laho tandang inon ale datu pormanuk e barang kapa(da) hordja dja(o)wat ma inon ale datu. If the cock is in the centre of the compass, and there also are the bracelet, the finger-ring, the betel, the gold (ear-ring) and the oil, all together in the centre of the compass, that is the falling of the cock 'rocked by the tide, shaken by the swell', the cable breaks in the middle of the ocean, the ship is wrecked, the water-spout at the bathing-place of the mosque(?) tumbles down', that means somebody's death at sea, or otherwise in a mountain-stream. In the event of illness, the patient will die. At a marriage, the bride will die, or otherwise the bridegroom. At a visiting-tour, he who goes visiting will die on the way, O *datu* who practises the oracle of the cock. For a ceremony the omen is inauspicious, O *datu*. b 45–53 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pormanuhon adji nangka piring ale na umboto halak mate ale datu*, Quintessence of the cock-oracle, to predict death. A list of 15 'houses' (8 for the points of the compass and 7 for the intervening spaces except between north-east and east) with a description of the kind of person who will die if this 'house' is indicated by the oracle. Nos. 1–8 are:*

ruma ni bau di purba, the house of smell(?) is in the east.

ruma ni hilap di agoni, lightning, south-east.

ruma ni batu sang barani di dangsina, loadstone, south.

ruma ni rong(gur) di nariti, thunder, south-west.

ruma ni porhas di pastima, thunderbolt, west.

ruma ni bintang di manabija, star, north-west.

ruma ni ombun lano di otara, mist, north.

ruma ni sogot di (i)risanna, morning(?), north-east.

The same list is found in BAT. 37, see below. Just as in BAT. 37, there follows in our text (p. b 51) a table of ghosts who cause illness. The title is *poda ni umboto begu na manahiti*. If the cock falls to the east the *silao*n (a remote ancestor) and *nitungkaju* (tree-spirit) cause the illness, and likewise for the other 7 points of the compass. Bark books containing prescripts for *pormanuhon* are found in nearly every collection of Batak manuscripts. See BAT. 37–42.

¶ ¹⁾ *tuwanni*; in this *pustaka* the forms *tuwannja* and *tilahannja* are not used. After the word *tuwanni* there follows a further specification of the omen. These specifications, full of allusions to Batak mythology, cannot for the most part be understood without further explanation by a competent *datu*. I shall give the text of these passages but must leave their explanation to others. ²⁾ This may easily occur as the rope is twined from vines of rattan. ³⁾ A female spirit otherwise unknown. ⁴⁾ I suppose that *ursa ni horbo-horbo*, 'the deer of the mock-buffalo' is the name for the buffalo in the language of spirits. We find in some Batak tales, that domestic animals are descended from some wild species and vice versa (the deer from the buffalo, the buffalo from the bear, the horse from the deer; see my *Volksverhalen* p. 59 and no. 18; M. A. M. Renes-Boldingh, *Bataksche sagen en legenden*, pp. 149 et sqq.). ⁵⁾ *managunagu*, also used in BAT. 47. ⁶⁾ *sibaso*, medium; on the functions of *pande* and *pangulu* see Korn's article. ⁷⁾ 1. *nisampak-sampak ni rijap*; cf. MS. Leiden Or. 3454 p. b 53: *dianggun-anggun umbak dipasampak-sampak riap*, said of si Dajang Parudjar in the ocean of the underworld before the creation of the earth.

Porbuhitan, etc.

BAT. 32 (Nat. Mus. C 1514).

Bark book. 42 leaves, 11 × 13 cm, one of them consisting of two leaves glued together. Glued to two wooden covers. One of these has a rough, scratched drawing of a *kětika* (diagram for divination) with human figures with and without a head, the Malay *ketika Djohor* (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pl. 26 fig. 2 upper half; Matthes, *De Makassarische en Boegineesche koetika's*, fig. L). This is a late addition to Batak lore, apparently taken over from the Malays on the East-Coast of Sumatra into some Karo and Simalungun books. Cf. *Cat. Dublin* pp. 68 and 93 (MSS. 1130 p. b 9 and 1151 p. 35). I do not know its Batak name. The MS. has a string strap and two plaited rattan bands.

Clearly but in places rather carelessly written with poor quality ink. *Sikurân* denotes both *u* and *ě*; final *-h* is mostly written. The copyist was a Karo-Batak (of the *měrga* Karo-karo, p. a 41) who wrote in *poda*-language with very few Karo words, and some Simalungun forms like *goran* (*gěran*), 'name' and *angkula*, 'body'.

Subject: Various kinds of divination; one of these is the oracle from the falling of the buffalo, called *porbuhitan* in Toba-Batak, but this name is not used in this copy.

a 1–10 No title. If in the first 3 months of the year, on a Sunday, we go towards the west to fight our enemies, we shall win; if to the north-west, we shall win; if to the north, we shall win; if to the north-east, it will end in a draw, etc., and likewise for the other days of the week, and the same for the 4th–6th and the 10th–12th months (7–9 missing). At the end of each paragraph are two drawings of the points of the compass. The last words are: *andibah datunami*. This appar-

ently means the same as *ale datunami*, 'O our *datu!*' The word *andiba(h)* (or perhaps *andiba(h)*) is only used in *poda*-language, e.g. in the Mandailing *pustaka* published by the present author under the title *Pengetahuan zaman bahari*, p. 11 etc.

a 10 A list of the kinds of meat that are taboo according to the table of the *pěrmamis*.

a 11–13 A drawing of the dragon *pane*, combined with the '*ketika Djohor*'.

a 13–17 On the motion of *Pane bělěn* (the Great Dragon) through the points of the compass.

a 18–20 The motion of *pane kabang* (the flying dragon).

a 20–27 On the *pěrmamis* and their significance in war. The five clans (*měrga*) of the Karo-Batak: Simbiring, Ginting, Tarigan, Karo-karo and Pěran-angin-angin are mentioned in connection with the 5 *pěrmamis*.

a 28–29 Another drawing of *pane*.

a 29–37 *Pěda ni kata-kata ni pa(ng)gurdaha na waluh*, instructions about the 8 *panggorda*, with illustrations. See Winkler, pp. 217 et sqq. Here their names are:

1. (*gurdaha*) *měrguru*
ěnggang, hornbill or, in water,
di lajo měrguru ikan, fish.
2. (name missing) – *pěrik*, the Java
sparrow.
3. *suwa* – *bijang*, dog.
4. *musi* – *silo-silo*, otter.
5. *sěrpa* – *nipe*, snake.
6. *singa* – *arimo*, tiger.
7. *sijang binaja* – *gajo*, crab.
8. *měrsabuwa* – *suba-suba* (or *sěba-sěba?*); according to

Winkler Toba *soba-soba*, a kind of bumblebee; the illustration however shows a four-legged animal (a crocodile? cf. BAT. 47).

Among the illustrations that of the *gurdaha* is remarkable. It shows two birds with puppets on their backs, probably to express the idea that the *gurdaha* is not a common hornbill but a fabulous bird.

a 37–41 An incantation used in the divination from a cock (*përmanukën*), followed by the observation that the copyist was a Karo-karo man.
a 42 blank.

b, contrary to usage, begins at the same end as a.
b 42 glued to the cover.

b 41–37 The 12 *përmesa*, see Winkler p. 216. With illustrations. One (*mena*) is missing.

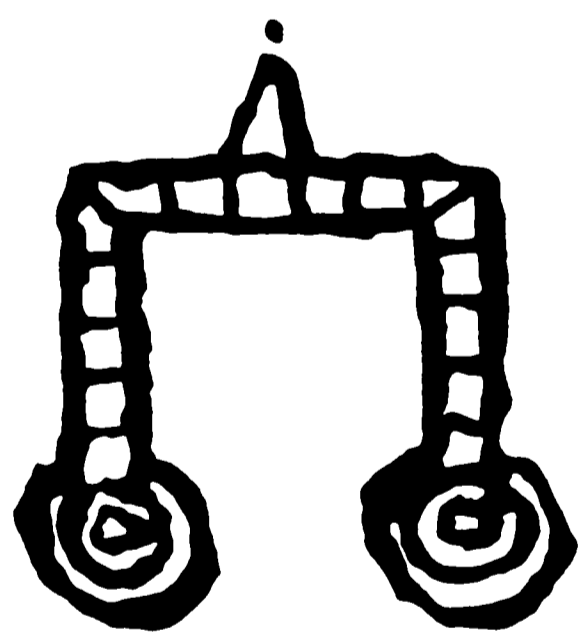
b 36 blank.

b 35–8 Prescriptions for the divination from the signs that are observed at the offering of a buffalo (Toba-Batak: *porbuhitan*). See above, BAT. 31. At the end there are some designs (*radjah*).

b 7–4 Incantations and magical designs, largely of Muslim origin, used in making a person invulnerable to bullets.

b 4–2 A *këtika*, to be consulted before starting on a journey.

b 1 glued to the cover.



Adji pajung; pangulubalang djuhut santanggo.

BAT. 33 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 90).

Bark book. 19 leaves, c. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Two wooden covers, one with a broken carrying string; rattan band missing. Ordinary Toba writing; *poda*-language. The upper line of the *ta* (southern form) protrudes a little to the left.

Acquired in 1850.

Subject: (a) divination from the cut-off neck of a pig. This oracle is usually called *adji pajung*, but here the name *puwanglima* (Mal. *panglima*, a military leader) is used. In MS. 1239/269 of the Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, we find: '*puwang-ulima* whose name is *Adji Pajung*'. (b) Aggressive magic (*pangulubalang*) called *djuhut santanggo*, "a piece of meat".

a 1 glued to the cover.

a 2–11 After some disconnected words written by the copyist to try his pen the text begins: (large *bindu*) *Poda ni seatatan* (l. *seatan* or *seatanta*) *pamusatan ni puwanglima ma inon ale datunami e*, i. e.: Instructions about the (or our) section (of a pig's neck), the quintessence of (the oracle called) *puwanglima*, O *datu*. This part is divided into short paragraphs beginning with *djaha*, 'if', e. g.: *djaha dumatang tambor boliala ro ma hasosoan ro ma haleon di huta inon ale sanggam mauli e*, i. e.: If the sign *tambor boliala* appears, ruin and famine will overtake that village, O Sanggam Mauli. Technical terms like *tambor boliala* could only be explained by an expert. Sometimes the explanation is added in the text; thus in another paragraph a certain sign which was first alluded to under its technical name is explained as: *ija ma imbulu masilelean bea di ruma ni ulu bus bea di ruma ni suhut situtu etc.*, i. e.: This means if hairs (of the pig that have come off by the cutting) pursue each other in the "house" of the head of the sacrificial confederation or in the "house" of the first principal of the ceremony. On p. a 18 there is a small diagram of the section of the pig's neck (see Plate 23), but there is no legend with it to indicate the location of the various "houses". Sanggam Mauli is the name of the pupil to whom the instruction is given; his full name is mentioned as: Radja Mulana Datu Sanggam Mauli. In some para-

graphs mention is made of some specified condition that should be fulfilled to give the omen an auspicious effect, e. g. : *ingon ditabari do mangajup parbonangan dohot harpe ... asa mauli*, an exorcism should be held for (that person) and one should put a *parbonangan* (a basket in which thread and newly woven cloth is kept) and a *harpe* (a ring made of rattan, on which a cooking-pot is put) in the river to be carried away by the current; only then will the omen be auspicious. a 11–18 *Poda ni pamuwang ni gorak-gorahan na so na gabe ma inon. So do ro ulos na uli so do diparula hita ale datunami e*, i. e. : These are the instructions about a device to throw away bad omens. This we should put into practice only if we get a fine shawl, O *datu*.—It seems that this device is a kind of *porsili*, a puppet that is taken outside the village carrying the bad influence with it. On pp. a 17 and 18 the end of the ceremony is described as follows: If we wish to call away the bad omens, we should go outside the village and call: *ama ni ajup gora, ajuppon do gorak-gorahan na so na gabe*, Father of Floating-away of calamities! float away the inauspicious omens! If they (i. e. the bad omens) follow us (out of the village) we shall prosper. (Cf. Winkler, *Die Toba-Batak* p. 164). To call (the good) we say: *ama ni hahu, hahuhon do si anu on mamora madingin pinasu ni na mangan babi on*: Father of Guarantee, guarantee that N.N. will prosper and flourish by the blessing of this meal of pig's meat. For other MSS. on *adji pajung*, see *Cat. Dublin*, p. 50.

a 19 blank.

b 1 is glued to the cover.

b 2–15 (large *bindu*) *Poda ni totoganta di na teas di hita mago-mago na morgoar djuhut satanggo ma inon na todi(ng) gurunta guru hinombingan ni adji asa hupodahon ma di ho pinaranak guru mulana ni adji pangulubalang situmpak na bile*

ma inon na morgoar djuhut satanggo ma inon ale datu na di pudi, i. e. : Instructions about our support against people who are rude to us, unlucky as we are(?), called *Djuhut sa(n)tanggo*, “a piece of meat”. From our master *Guru Hinombingan ni Adji*; I (this master says) teach it to you, who are as a son to me, O *Guru Mulana ni Adji*. This is a *pangulubalang* who helps the helpless, named *Djuhut Santanggo*, O *datu* in the future. The instructions begin: *Asa dapangasei ma pangulubalangta inon ... asa dabuwat hasaja ni adji(n)ta inon*: the earth around our *pangulubalang* should be cleared, and then we should take the ingredients of our magical preparation. Thus the instruction given here is not concerned with the making of the *pangulubalang*, but only with some magical preparation (*adji*) which derives its power from it. The seat of a *pangulubalang* is mostly a stone image, sometimes a stone or earthenware pot buried halfway in the earth. Among the ingredients that are enumerated next are some called by ceremonial names, such as: *djonggi mangarobut* (snatching bull) = *djonggi majang* (black dung-beetle; Toba *djunggul meang*, Angkola *djunggul meong*, Simalungun *djunggal meong*; in BAT. 67 *djonggi meong*).

sibaso lajang-lajang (hovering shaman) = *borong-borong* (black bumble-bee).

piltik mallongong (humming plectrum) = *daldal* (a kind of bee).

naga ummujok-mujok di hahasa (dragon that turns about in space) = *hidu* (a kind of large white larva that lives inside the stem and stalks of the sugar-palm).

naga mangirput di portibi (dragon that rolls itself up on the earth) = *gumpok-gumpok* (a kind of insect that rolls itself into a ball when touched).

naga lumajam-lajam di lautan (dragon that waves its tail like a sword(?) in the ocean) = *siborok*

guluwan (a tadpole living in the pools where the buffaloes bathe).

After the ingredients have been enumerated, the text of the incantations is given.

b 15–18 *Ija taoar ni djuhut satanggo*, a (magic) medicine derived from the *pangulubalang* Djuhut santanggo: ingredients and incantations.

b 19 blank.

Adji pajung; manuk gantung.

BAT. 34 (K. B. Batak 21).

Incomplete bark book. 16 leaves, 14½ × 11 cm. No covers. Part of the last leaf is lost, and an unknown number of leaves is missing at each end of the strip of bark.

Ordinary *poda*-language. The northern *ta* is used. Final *-ng* is often omitted; a sign like the final *-ng* is used in a few cases on top of the *ha* to denote *ka*.

Bought in 1961 from Mr. Edgar Bock, who acquired it from a dealer during a stay on the East Coast of Sumatra, 1921–22, near or between the places Tebingtinggi and Pematangsiantar.

a 1–16 A fragment of *pandjahai ni adji pajung*, a list of omens that may occur in divination from the surface of the cut-off neck of a pig.

b 1–7 The last part of a text on *manuk gantung*. divination from a 'hanging cock', called *pomanuhon gurampang bosi*, cock-oracle Iron Lobster. According to Van der Tuuk's dictionary *sigurampang bosi*, 'iron lobster' means: the right leg of the cock clutches the left leg firmly. At the end there is a chain of transmission with a somewhat corrupt text: *boti ma poda ni manuk gattu(ng) ninna guruta guru tumunduk (o)mpu ni ganda sumurung datu porpagar donganhan hata ni adji ma inon asa hupodahon ma ro di ho ale simatuwa na poso*

guru tuhason hata ni adji asa hupodahon ma di ho ompu dahara hata ni adji asa hupodahon ma di ho pinaranak radja di sisapotna.

b 7–14 A short but complete text on an amulet called *pagar subutan na bolon*; cf. BAT. 2 a 20–38.

One of the omens of *adji pajung* is as follows:

(a 6) *Djaha dumatang si tapi sombauta na umboto tonan-tonannan ni halak marede-ade di tonga ni alaman na patu(ng)kir-tu(ng)kir baba ni ruma na palungkang tali pasa na di halangulu modom paipa-ipai tondi ni djolma manisija asa di (7)hungkun(g) ma hanuhon asa diboan ma tu bariba ni dolok. Matuwa (l. mahuwa) mahu boanonmu ale begu? Atingan dilehon sumangot ni ompumu do ho asa huboan ho tu bariba ni dolok. Ija boti do, paima mahu djolo asa husu(ng)kun djolo sumangot ni daompu(ng) dohot sumarsar na bolon. Hupaulak do ho a(n)tong, di rungkungmu do tali pasa on. Asa tindang ma tondi ni djolma manisija di ulumbalatak. Mahuwa ma ahu ihottan(8)mu ale begu sumangot ni ompu sumarsar na bolon? Ale djolma manisija, ado(ng) ma tonan-tonananmu so ditabari ho, mungbang pe bubumu, halioan pe umamu, so ditabari ho, harom babi, sumongsop pirana manukmu, so ditabari ho, i...tumuda mate ale djolma manisija.*

This sign is called: *si Tapi Sombauta*, a female spirit, who knows the inauspicious omens that have befallen men. She goes to and fro (*marede-ade*, l. *maredang-edang*?) in the village square and looks repeatedly into the entrances of the houses, unfurling her noose; she is at our pillow, lying in wait for a human soul, so that she may snare it and bring it away over the mountains. Why do you take me with you, spirit? Well, the ghost of your grandfather has given you to me, so that I may bring you away over the mountains.

If that is true, wait a moment, that I may ask the ghost of my grandfather and the ancestor of my clan¹. All right, I agree to let you go back, (but) this noose shall stay round your neck. Then the soul stands at the top of the stairs that lead to the entrance of his house. Why should I be bound by you, ghost of my grandfather, ancestor of my clan? You, human creature, have neglected all kinds of ominous happenings without performing the ceremonies that would have checked their effect: when your fish-trap came to the surface, when your field was passed over in harvesting, you did not perform the necessary ceremonies to stop the bad luck; when your sow bore a litter all of one sex, when your hens sucked their own eggs, you did not neutralize the evil; that brings death (? l. *i ma na tumunda mate?*), O human creature!

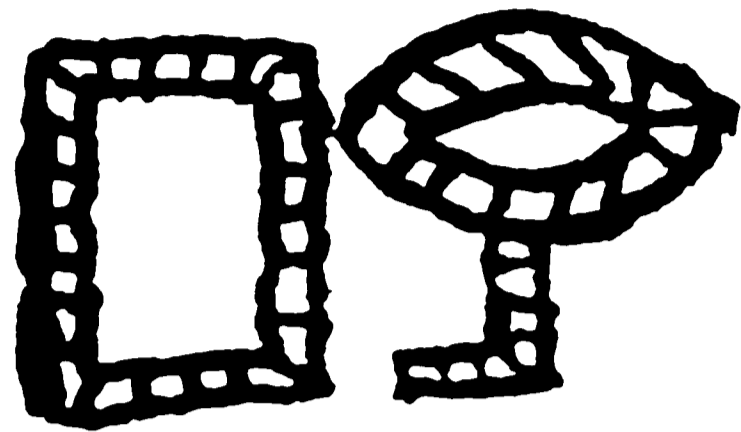
There is a parallel text in a chapter on omens in the oracle from the hanging cock in MS. Leiden, Ethn. Mus. 1239/269:

(b 17) *Djaha dumatang si tapi sombauta na umboan tali pasa na padulo-dulo lubang-lubang na pasigat-sigat hirang-hirang na patiktik dingding na paboan-boan tondi ni (18) djolma tu harangan na beguon tu balik ni dolok. Ale ompung tapi sombauta bejasa ahu boannonmu tu harangan na beguon? Asa huboan pe ho nilehon ni sumangot ni ompumu porsada dohot pangu(lu)balangmu dohot begu ni amamu. Uwa, husise djolo ale! Olo, di rungkungmu tali pasa on. Djongdjong ma ibana di bali(n)tang di pintu, be(19)gu tumijop ihur ni tali pasa. Ale sumangot ni daompung dohot ho pangulubalang sinuan dohot ho homban ni uma, beasa lehonammu ahu tu si tapi sombauta? Hulehon pe ho, harom babimu, halioan emem, mamindo bubumu ditonga tao, inda ditabari ho; i do na mangontat (20) di ho, ale. Disintak begu tali pasa, tangis ma tondi ni djolma.*

This sign is called: si Tapi Sombauta, a female spirit, who bears a noose, who looks through holes in the house-floor, who peeps into the hen's nests, who knocks on the wooden walls of the house, who brings the human soul away to the ghostly jungle behind the mountains. Grandmother Tapi Sombauta, why should you bring me to the ghostly jungle? I bring you away at the behest of the ancestor of your family, of your *pangulubalang*, and of the ghost of your father. Well, let me ask them! All right, (but) this noose should stay on your neck. The soul stands on the threshold, whilst the spirit holds the end of the noose. Ghost of my grandfather, and you, *pangulubalang* (whose image is) planted in the earth, and you, spirit of my field, why do you give me to Tapi Sombauta? The reason that we give you to her is, that your sow bore a litter all of one sex, your rice was passed over in harvesting, your fish-trap came to the surface in the middle of Lake Toba, but you did nothing to avert the evil effect of these omens; that leads you away! The spirit pulls the noose, the human soul weeps. A short note on this omen in *adji pajung* found in MS. Leiden Or. 3428 b 87 mentions two spirits: si Adji Sombauta and si Tapi Untahorna.

¶ ¹ *sumarsar na bolon*, the Great Propagator = *silaoan na bolon*, the common ancestor of a clan. See Van der Tuuk's dictionary s. v. *sarsar*: *sinarsar silaoan na bolon*, a class of female ancestor-ghosts who spread in great numbers, and cf. Tobing, *High God*, pp. 66 et sqq. This is also the meaning of *si sumarsar sinila*, an expression I could not explain when I wrote my article in BKI 114 p. 242. *Sinila* means: who is treated respectfully; *silaoan*, who should be treated respectfully; both words are used for the same ancestor-ghost. An exact parallel is Simalungun *sinumbah*, the venerated one = Toba *sombaon*, he who should be venerated, for a spirit who dwells in a holy place. Van der Tuuk derives *silaoan* from *laon*, old, long ago, but this a popular etymology. A confirmation that the stem is

sila and not *laon* is found in Karo-Batak, where *silán* means a holy place where offerings are brought (= *sila* + suffix *-ən*, whilst *lawən* is the Karo-Batak equivalent of Toba *laon*).



Rambu siporhas.

BAT. 35 (Cod. Bat. 1).

Facsimile of a bark book. A long strip of paper, 18.4 cm wide and folded in the same manner as the bark books. The pages are 15.4 cm in length. The strip is made of pieces of strong Dutch paper with watermark J. Honig & Zoonen, pasted together. The text fills 28 pages on one side of the paper; it is neatly written in brown ink with a steel pen by a copyist who understood nothing of the text but followed his model mechanically. Described in the catalogue of N. L. Westergaard, 1846, p. 94. It is not a copy of one of the two Batak MSS. at that time owned by the University Library (as stated in the catalogue); these MSS. are now Cod. Bat. 10 and 11 (BAT. 7 and 37 in this catalogue). It is more likely that the copy was made in a Government office in Sumatra (Pulau Pontjan?).

Subject: *rambu siporhas*, divination by means of a double string. This is described by Pleyte, *Globus* 60 (1891), p. 31, and Winkler, *Toba-Batak*, pp. 191 et sq. and once more by Winkler in an article about a bark book from the Berlin collection, Or. qu. 800, in BKI 110 (1954), pp. 342 et sqq.

The description of *rambu siporhas* in a text on divination written for Van der Tuuk at Barus

(Leiden Cod. Or. 3402 pp. 141 et sq.) is as follows:

Ia ulaon ni rambu siporhas di hamusuon ma i. Asa dibuat ma lage sada, hundul ma datu diatas lage i. Molo na laho porang paranganna, dibosikkon ma rambu i, hape anggo tondung siganup ari do, dieang-eang ma rambu i. Ia porbage ni na mamossikkon rambu, asa dihembang ma amak di tonga ni alaman, disi ma nasida morpungu saluhutna. Dung i asa disorpi ma ulos ragidup sada, dipeakkon ma tu djolo ni datu i. Dung ni asa dipatibal ma ambu-ambuan saluhutna. Dung i asa ditonggo datu i ma saluhutna na gumonggom portibi on. Dung sun ditonggo asa dimintorai ma rambu i. Dung sun dimintorai asa dibuang datu i ma tuatas ulos i. Disi ma diida datu i barang na denggan barang na dae. I ma porbage. Ia porbage ni na mangeang-eang, asa dihembang ma sada lage hundulan ni datu i. Dung ia asa dipeakkon ma pordaupaan di djolo ni datu i. Dung i asa didaupa ma rambu i. Sun didaupa asa dimintorai ma tutu. Sun dimintorai asa diampehon ma tu uluna. Sun dipornipihon asa ditiop ma tali ni inganan ni rambu i, diordong ma pitu hali. Sun diordong asa diungkap ma ingananna i, ditilik ma rambu i. Disi ma diboto datu na uli barang na dae. I ma ulaon ni rambu siporhas, i. e.:

The string-oracle is used in war. The *datu* takes a mat and sits down on it. If his warriors are about to go to war, he swishes the strings. But if it is an everyday divination, he spins the strings round. The way to swish the strings is as follows: a large mat is spread in the village-square; there all the (warriors) gather. Then a shawl of the design *ragidup* is neatly folded and put before the *datu*. All the parts of the offering are made ready. The *datu* prays to all those who reign over the earth. After that he utters an incantation over the strings. After the incantation he throws the

strings on the cloth. Then the *datu* sees whether the event will be lucky or unlucky. That is the method. The way to spin the strings round is as follows: a small mat is spread for the *datu* to sit on, and a censer is put before him. He incenses the strings, and duly utters an incantation over them. Then he puts them on his head, closes his eyes and dreams about them. After that he takes the thread on which the box with the strings hangs and twists it around seven times. Then he opens the box and looks at the strings. Thereby the *datu* knows whether the event will be lucky or unlucky. That is the use of the *rambu siporhas*.

The drawings in the bark books always illustrate the positions of the two strings after they have been thrown down or 'swished' by the first method.

Introduction: (p. 1) *Poda ni susuranta di hasuhuton na godang beja hita djumalo suri-surian beja hita manusuk huta rimbaru beja hita dipadatu halak di bisara na godang beja hita laho mangoli ale datu na di pudi i ma na toding gurunta si mangara pintu na di borngin asa ro ma di ho ale simandalahi asa ro ma di ho ale saur ni adji asa ro ma di ho ale datu gusar ni adji asa ro ma di ho ale lae datu na tinggam ni adji ompu ni padedar (1. pangedar) ni adji datu portandang sigodang barita di hadatuon asa hupodahon ma di ho ale pinaranak ompu so mangula si laga mangan na so ra mangula si laga minum na so ra maragat ama ni pordjudji horing (2) siamput(?) maruhur sipaotik djambar ni na begu asa hupodahon ma di ho ale ibebere guru mangalagang ni adji asa ro ma di ho ale guru pangadjijan ni adji radja na sijak bagi na sijak panomuwan na dangol ni andung simamora debata radja ma inon asa hupodahon ma di ho ale anggi doli guru manumpak ni adji ompu radja bonggung na bolon anak ni simamora*

debata radja timan tano dolok sanggul ma inon asa hupodahon ma di ho ale panggorga ni adji guru so matondik ni adji di tano batu odjung ma inon, i. e.:

Instructions about our divination in a great affair or if we receive stolen property, or if we found a new village, or if our service as a *datu* is required in an important dispute, or if we go to marry a woman, O *datu* in future times! This (teaching) comes from our master si Mangara Pintu of olden times; that it may come to you, Simandalahi (name of a *marga*, belonging to Sinaga); that it come to you, Saur ni adji; that it come to you, Datu Gusar ni adji; that it come to you, my brother-in-law Datu na Tinggam ni adji, Ompu ni (grandfather of) Pangedar ni adji, travelling *datu* of great fame in the science of the *datu*; that I may teach it to you, who are as a son to me, Ompu so Mangula, great eater, who will not work in the ricefield; great drinker, who will not tap palm-wine; father of high gambling stakes, full(?) of tricks, who reduces the share of the formidable; that I may teach it to you, my nephew Guru Mangalagang ni adji; that it come to you, Guru Pangadjijan ni adji, prince of ill fortune, ill-fated one and destitute, a man of the *marga* Simamora Debata Radja; that I may teach it to you, my younger brother, Guru Manumpak ni adji, Ompu Radja Bonggung the Great, of the *marga* Simamora Debata Radja, from the country of Dolok Sanggul; that I teach it to you, O Panggorga ni adji Guru so Matondik ni adji in the village of Batu Odjung.

The name Si Mangara Pintu is often found at the head of the chain of transmission of *rambu siporhas* texts, e.g. Leiden Cod. Or. 3444, 3453, 3467, 3507, 3516, 3528, 6245; Amsterdam 2761/14, 2761/19, 2761/44; Leipzig, Ethn. Mus., SAs. 5488; etc. In our text and many other versions

the name is followed by the words: *na di borngin*, of olden times. According to Winkler's translation the reading of his text was: Si Mangara Pittu na di Borno. Winkler thought that the name was Si Mangarapit, and *tu* a preposition, but this seems impossible to me. Dr. Manik has once more examined the MS. translated by Winkler and found that twice the words *na di borngin* are used in connexion with Si Mangara Pi(n)tu, whilst at the beginning of the text it is said to come from our teacher *na di bor...* The last syllable is effaced, but was probably *-hu*, not *-no*. According to Van der Tuuk's dictionary s.v. *borhu* a variant of *na di borngin* meaning long ago is: *na di borhu*. There is also a *marga* called *Naiborhu*. According to Waldemar Hoetagaloeng, *Poestaha tarombo* p. 190, it still exists in Sitombom Sitorang and Habinsaran Toba. However, *na di borngin* is certainly not the name of Si Mangara Pintu's *marga*. This is often mentioned as being Naibaho, and according to Waldemar Hoetagaloeng, *Poestaha tarombo* p. 197, Mangara Pintu was the great-grandson of the founder of the *marga* Naibaho. He learned the science of the *datu* from the spirit (*sombaon*) of the volcano Pusukbuhit. One *rambu siporhas* manuscript in Van der Tuuk's collection (Leiden Cod. Or. 3453) has almost the same chain of transmission as our text: From our master Si Mangara Pintu Naibaho Datu Radjim the Great, to our master Simandalahi of olden times, to our master Saur ni adji Sihombing Lumbantoruwan, to our master Radja Palluhutan Datu Gusar ni adji anak Nai Haiton, to our master Radja na Tinggir Ompu ni Pangedar, to our master Ompu So Mangula, to our master Guru Mangalagang, to a pupil named Guru Lipan. Further particulars on these masters, found in other pustahas, are: According to one text (Cod. Or. 3467) Si Mangara Pintu was a woman (Si Boru Mangara Pintu).

Other texts say that he came from Simalungun (Cod. Or. 3507) and lived in Pangururan (Amsterdam 2761/14 and Waldemar Hoetagaloeng). According to Cod. Or. 6245 Mangara Pintu and Datu Radjim were not the same person and Datu Radjim belonged to the *marga* Sihotang.

In manuscripts that use the sub-Toba spelling the name Saur ni adji is spelt Sajur ni adji. The name of his pupil Datu Gusar ni adji Radja Palluhutan is also spelt Radja Porluhutan (Leiden Or. 3518). These names connect the chain of transmission of our text with those of some old MSS. published in the Supplement to the Batak catalogue of the Chester Beatty Library, BKI 124 p. 375. There I found that Datu Sajur ni adji probably lived before 1750 A.D. After him our text was transmitted seven times; then the last original copy was copied once more on imported paper; this facsimile was sent to Europe and listed in Westergaard's catalogue that appeared in print in 1846. We may conclude that the date of 1750 A.D. for Datu Sajur ni adji's lifetime is certainly not too early.

Radja na Tinggir, according to MS. Amsterdam 2761/14, was an *anak na di Ambaton*. (Tinggam is probably an error of the copyist who made the Copenhagen facsimile).

In MS. Leiden Or. 3528 Guru Pangadjijan ni adji is an *anak ni Simanalu* and has a pupil (whose name is not in our text) of the *marga* Simamora whom he calls *anggi doli*, younger brother. In our text both Guru Pangadjian ni adji and his pupil belong to the *marga* Simamora Debata Radja. In Waldemar Hoetagaloeng's *Poestaha tarombo* p. 254 Toga Simamora is mentioned as the ancestor of the clan Simamora; among his sons are Simanalu and his younger brother Debata Radja.

In our MS. Guru Pangadjijan's pupil is called

Guru Manumpak ni adji Ompu Radja Bonggung of the marga Simamora Debata Radja. He lived in Dolok Sanggul, a place on the road from Barus to Lake Toba, where the *marga* Debata Radja still holds some chieftainships (Ypes, *Bijdrage*, p. 544). Batu Odjung, the place where the original of the facsimile came from, must consequently be looked for in the uplands of Barus, and may well be the village mentioned in one of Van der Tuuk's texts (my *Volkverhalen*, p. 59) where a large stone resembling a boat (*batu odjung*) was to be seen.

The ceremonial names of the teachers ending in *ni adji*, 'of Magic', are not, as a rule, sufficient to identify their bearers. We have already met with several copyists who called themselves Guru Badia ni adji, Master Holiness of Magic. There is no reason to assume that in all these cases the name refers to the same person. But if names occur in the same or nearly the same sequence in several texts there can be no doubt about their identity.

In the words *ale Simandalahi* we find an instance of a man being addressed by the name of his *marga* alone. This is often heard among the younger generation of Toba-Bataks. Apparently it is not an imitation of the use of European family names, because it is already found in the old literature. Other instances in bark books are: *ale Siagian* (BAT. 41), *ale Sihotang* (BAT. 31), *ale Aritonang* (Paris, Musée de l'homme, no. 85.3.17).

Pp. 2-7 contain prescriptions for the twining of the two strings, *rambu sibangke* and *rambu siporhas*. In the title of the book the name *rambu siporhas* was not mentioned, but if the word *susuranta*, our oracle, is used without further specification it always denotes the string-oracle.

Pp. 7-24 contain several lists of omens. Some

parts are illustrated by schematical drawings of the positions of the strings, like those in BAT. 36. As in that MS. there follows a *poda ni saru ni bulan*, a list of animals that should be eaten to confirm predicted luck, for every month, and for every day of the month (pp. 24-26). *Saru* is the Toba-Batak pronunciation of *tjaru* (Karo-Batak, e.g. in BAT. 32: *sitjaruwi sitik pantēmēnta asa mēhuli*, to make (an auspicious omen) effective, we should bring an offering (*tjaru*) to the buffalo that will be killed with a lance). However, in MS. Amsterdam 1581/1 p. b 17 *saru* is used in opposition to *haroan*; a *haroan* should be eaten in the morning if omens are auspicious; in the event of ill omens, *saru* should be eaten at night. It is the Sanskrit word *caru*. In Hindu-Javanese ritual *caru* was offered at certain moments according to the position of the moon; Krom supposes that this was the continuation of an Indian custom (N. J. Krom, *Over het Çiwaisme van Midden-Java*, 1924, p. 19). According to Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century*, III p. 132, *caru* means 'offerings to the chthonic spirits'.

The text ends with an incomplete *poda ni pormesa na sampulu duwa*, instructions about the 12 signs of the zodiac; only 3 of these are treated, each one with a figure (pp. 26-28).

Rambu siporhas, etc.

BAT. 36 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 250, I).

40 leaves, c. 12 × 10¹/₂ cm. No covers. This book and BAT. 66 were acquired by the National Museum in 1893 and in the files Kwaloe is given as their place of origin. This is the basin of the river Kualu on Sumatra's East Coast, south-east of the Asahan river. Next to nothing is published about the Batak dialect of this region.

The two bark books from Kualu are so damaged that large parts of the text are illegible. The be-

ginning and the end of both copies are missing. In BAT. 36 the southern form of *ta* is used. There is one instance of the use of two dashes above a *ha*; this may either be the sign for final *-h* or a *tompi*, the sign by which, in Mandailing writing, the *ka* is distinguished from the *ha*. The word in which it occurs is *datingkahkon* or *datingkahon*, which, in Simalungun, is a technical term for a certain manner of playing the drums.

a 1–12 The last part of a *pangarumai ni rambu siporhas*, a table of various omens that may occur in the divination with a double string. On pp. 6–11 each paragraph is accompanied by a small drawing that shows the position of the strings. A sample of such a paragraph is: *Ruma ni rambu masimalingan; ija songoni do rambu i masimalingan ma halak di huta inon*, 'house' of the spiteful strings; if the strings are like that (i. e. as shown in the picture), the inhabitants of the village will have a spite against each other.

a 12–20 *Poda ni pandjorat ni rambu siporhas*, how to 'bind' the luck promised by the oracle by means of a sacrificial meal. The kind of animal that should be eaten as *saru* (to confirm a lucky sign) is mentioned for every day of the month. See BAT. 35.

a 20–31 *Poda ni parombunan*, divination from the shape of clouds and other signs in the sky. (Without drawings.) Cf. BAT. 8 a 1–13.

a 32–39 Almost illegible. The letters of the alphabet used as *porsili*. The same drawings with nearly the same text are found in other pustahas with the title: *poda ni porsili ni surat na sampulu sia*. Cf. Winkler, BKI 110, pp. 356 et sqq. and pl. 5.

a 40 Illegible.

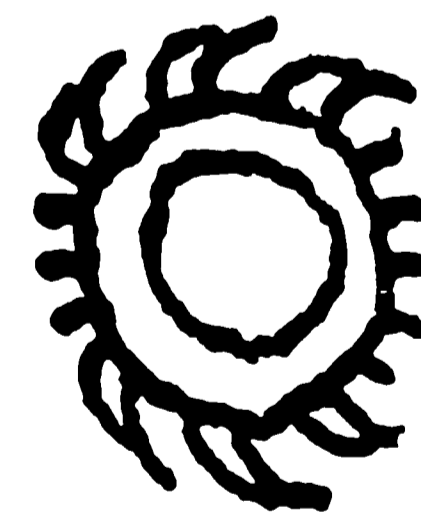
b 1–4 Some almost effaced drawings of *debata* (in the sense of *adji ni pangulubalang*, special applications of a *pangulubalang*) with illegible text.

b 4–15 Mostly illegible. A text about the playing of the orchestra of 9 drums, with designs that should be drawn on each of the drums. One legend that is still legible says: *Ahu porhas mandumpang radjaonton di gordang paualuhon*, I am the striking thunderbolt, to be drawn on the 8th drum. In MSS. Ch. B. 1127 and 1128 *porhas mandumpang* is the design for the 9th drum. A set of nine drums (*gordang*) is used in the southern parts of the Batak country (*Encycl. v. Ned. Indië*, 2nd ed. III, p. 825) and a set of nine *gëndërang* in Dairi (*Seminar adat*, p. 119). Van der Tuuk's dictionary (s. v. *gordang*) says that there should be nine drums in a complete orchestra. Cf. MSS. Amsterdam A 6501, 1772/158 and 2761/14.

b 15–19 About *pandatangi ni bulan na sampulu dua*, unlucky days in the 12 months.

b 19–34 Two chapters entitled: *Poda ni adji nangka piring*, the first one with figures of the points of the compass. *Adji nangka piring* is the name of the cock in the oracle called *manuk di ampang* (a cock under a basket).

b 34–40 *Poda ni simonang-monang*, divination by means of a diagram of 5 × 4 squares. Cf. *Cat. Dublin* pp. 77 et sq. (where *somonang* is a printing error), a MS. in the museum in Leeuwarden and Amsterdam MS. A 6502.



Pormanuhon (manuk di ampang).

BAT. 37 (Cod. Bat. 11).

Bark book. 40 leaves, 20 × 16 cm. Two wooden covers; the glue has broken away completely on

one side and partly on the other side. One plaited rattan band. One cover has holes for a carrying-string, which is missing.

Good, clear writing.

The northern *ta* is used. Well preserved. Illustrations carefully drawn in black and red. Toba-Batak language.

This MS. is evidently identical with the second Batak MS. described in the catalogue of Westergaard, 1846, p. 110. It is supposed to be identical with the Batak MS. acquired by Rasmus Rask from India.

Subject: *pormanuhon*, divination by means of a cock under a basket. Cf. BAT. 31, 38 and 39. The *pormanuhon*-oracle has been described in some detail by Pleyte (*Globus*, 67 (1895), pp. 69 et sqq.), by Winkler (*Toba-Batak*, pp. 207 et sqq.) and by Ph. L. Tobing (*The High God*, pp. 143 et sqq.).

The following short description is found in one of the texts written for Van der Tuuk at Barus c. 1855 (MS. Leiden Or. 3402, p. 139):

Ia ulaon ni pormanuhon molo morgora halak barang mamungka huta barang laho mangoli, ditilik ma pormanuhon, si adji nangka piring molo sabungan manuk i, nai boru sinomba molo boru-boru manuk i. Ia haseana dibuat ma anduri sada, ia goar ni naga padoha ni adji; ampang sada, ia goar ni pangulu na opat; duri-duri sada, ia goar ni sang radja mulia; ia paduahon tintin, ia goar ni nan sahang na ualu; ia patoluhon golang-golang, ia goar ni silung bane; ia paopathon bunga-bunga, ia goar ni sideang mangele bunga; ia palimahon badja, ia goar ni silansapon; ia paonomhon miak, ia goar ni sibirjaon; ia papituhon napuran, ia goar ni sisumbaon. Dung ni asa diradja ma anduri inon dibahen ma dohot soso. Dung i diseat ma manuk i, sun diseat dipabongot ma tu bogasan

ampang i. Dung i asa mortangiang ma datu. Dung mate dibege manuk i inda adong be humurtik, asa diungkap ma ampang i, ditilik ma porpeak ni manuk i dohot pordompakna. Disi ma diboto datu barang na uli pormanuhon i barang na dae. Molo na denggan do pormanuhon i diporharoan ma, hape molo na dae diporsilii ma inon. I ma ulaon ni pormanuhon. I. e.:

The use of the *pormanuhon* is as follows: if people have a dispute, or found a new village, or go to marry a woman, one observes the *pormanuhon*, si adji nangka piring if the fowl is a cock, nai boru sinomba if the fowl is a hen. The ingredients are: one takes a winnow, which is called *naga padoha ni adji*; a round basket with a square bottom, called *pangulu na opat* (the four chiefs or arbiters); an ear-ring, called *sang radja mulia* (Illustrious King); secondly a finger-ring, called *nan sahang na ualu*; thirdly an armlet, called *silung bane*; fourthly a hibiscus-flower, called *si deang mangele bunga*; fifthly some lamp-black (on a leaf) called *silansapon*; sixthly some oil (on a leaf) called *sibirjaon*; seventhly betel, called *sisumbaon*. Then a drawing (of the 8 points of the compass) is made on the winnow, and a sign called *soso* is made (near its brim). Then the fowl is killed; when it has been killed it is put under the basket (which is put upside down over the drawing on the winnow). Then the *datu* prays. When he hears that the fowl is dead and does not move any more, he lifts the basket, and observes the position of the fowl and its direction. From these (signs) the *datu* knows whether the oracle is auspicious or inauspicious. If the oracle is good, a festive meal is given for it; if it is inauspicious, an image is made to be given to the spirits as a substitute. That is the use of the *pormanuhon*.

The following condensed translation from a more

elaborate text in Van der Tuuk's collection (MS. Leiden Or. 3417 pp. 302-321) gives a good idea how the ceremony was performed by a *datu* near Barus 120 years ago.

According to the beginning of the text the oracle is called *si batu pasagi* if a cock, and *nai boru sinomba* if a hen is used, but further on the usual name for the cock *adji nangka piring* is found. First of all a list of everything that is necessary for the ceremony is given. We shall mention these things in their proper place, but there are some items that are not mentioned again in this description. These are: a fine lance with copper rings; palm-wine in a drinking horn (used by the *datu* to rinse his mouth, Winkler); sliced ginger (fed to the cock, W.); two yards of white cloth, worn as a waist-cloth by the *datu*; five out of the 'seven ingredients' (*hasea na pitu*) are enumerated: a finger-ring 'with a mouth'; an arm-ring 'with a mouth'; a gold ear-ring of the model *duri-duri* or *radja mauli*; lamp-black on a citrus-leaf; oil on a *gambir*-leaf (the flower and the leaf of betel have obviously been forgotten by our author). Finally: a bamboo vessel containing water for the cock to rinse its mouth, and one containing drinking-water.

The *datu* rubs the winnowing-basket with cooked sweet potatoes and lime (to prevent the blood from leaking through) and then asks the principal for his motive (*purba*) in consulting the oracle. The principal answers, that he wants to know whether he will win or lose in the quarrel that is going on. The *datu* answers: you will win if the cock faces the good sign, the lucky sign (*soso na denggan, soso na uli*). This sign, according to a note by Van der Tuuk, is drawn on the winnow outside the basket under which the cock is left to die. It has the form of a Batak letter *sa*, and is made with turmeric and lime. The *datu* then

asks for "the *datu's* amulet" (*parsimboraon*), to serve as a boundary, so that our Grandsire the Oracle-Cock may not point towards him. Now, with a prayer, the *datu* brings an offering to the lizard of the earth (*boraspati ni tano*), the spirits dwelling in holy places (*sombaon*), the female spirit who dwells in the waters (*boru saniang naga*), the spirit venerated by all the Borbor-clans (*maga-maga siborboron pangaribuan na tolu ompu na tolu haradján*), the three gods in the upper-world, the ancestor-ghosts venerated by the principal, and the ghost of his master, Tuan Radja Nahar, who dwells in the East, origin of the Oracle of the Cock. After this the *datu* incenses the mat (with a prayer in which the enemy is cursed and the souls (*tondi*) of the principal's party are blessed), unrolls it, and proceeds to incense the large basket (*ampang na basang basuhi*) which will be the cover (*partalungkupan*) of the dying cock. After having repeated the burning of incense three times, the *datu* covers the basket (which is turned upside down) with a fine shawl of the pattern *ragidup*; then he girds it with a sash of the pattern *suratti* (woven in Toba, as Van der Tuuk's dictionary tells us, but named after the place Suratte in India); in this girdle he puts a long iron knife (*djonap bosu marihur*); the head-cloth (*bulang-bulang*), wound like a turban, is put on top of the basket and a ceremonial shoulder-band made with corals on its brim. Some sacrificial husked rice (*santi-santi*) has been put in an unused plaited bag, with a betel-leaf in the shape of a cornet; the bag is wound with thread and adorned with a hibiscus-flower and a bunch of *bane-bane* leaves. It is put in the middle of the "turban", on the bottom of the basket. All this time the cock or hen is kept in a smaller basket (*nali*). A person with an auspicious name continuously beats this basket in time with

the *datu's* incantation. When the *datu* comes to the word "good", "auspicious", the beater (*paningtingi*) pulls the string of the cock and strikes the basket, so that the cock makes a noise. (From this "beating" the basket is called *paningtingan*, as mentioned by Winkler). Now the *datu* incenses the buffalo-horn, to which three hibiscus-flowers are bound with three-coloured thread, calling it: *tanduk tudu-tudu ni daompung parmanuhon*, horn, indicator of our Grandsire Oracle of the Cock. According to Van der Tuuk's dictionary this horn is used by the *datu* to indicate the lucky or unlucky signs, but in the text it is used as a drinking-horn for the cock. The second incantation spoken over the horn is for the drinking-water of the cock. It ends as follows: teach us, Grandsire, that there is no danger, no horror, no menace; but if there should be danger threatening our party in this war of our father for whom the oracle is consulted, then let the drinking of our grandsire si Adji Nangka Piring be with retching and kecking and choking, to warn us of danger, of horror and menace. If no danger threatens our side in this war, glide down easily and without hindrance from this bull's horn, O drinking-water of our grandsire the oracle-cock si Adji Nangka Piring."

The same omen holds good when the oracle is consulted for a childless woman, to ascertain whether she will give birth to a son. The *datu* now takes the fowl from the basket and recites a long incantation, which deserves to be quoted fully in the original Batak (pp. 308 et sqq.):

Asa turun ma hamu ompung debata di atas, ma-naek debata di toru, humundul debata di tonga, asa turun ma hamu nagurungku na guru songta na guru songti, asa songta songti do ahu, ale nagurungku, tumabasi manuk laba-laba ni daompung Batara Guru Doli, na tangi pinggol na

tonggor mata, daompung parmanuhon on, si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba on, na ingot di bakta on, na so lupa di bota, na ingot di hata na so lupa di tona, na songon tinonahon songon boli ni boru, boa-boa ni daompung parmanuhon si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba on. Asa mari ma hamu gurungku, Radja Engkat Manisia na mian di hasundutan, Tuan Radja Nahar na mian di habinsaran, mula ni ompunta parmanuhon si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba, na ingot di bakta na so lupa di bota, na ingot di hata na so lupa di tona, inang Nai Boru Sinomba na donda di ahasa, inang na pasak di baunge, na marpati-pati na di lansangan, adjari do ahu e, tuturi do ahu e, ompung nagurungku, umbuangkon manuk laba-laba ni daompung Batara Guru Doli on tumopot soso na denggan soso na uli. Asa huboto do indungmu inang na di Haiton, huboto do indungmu inang na di Tulison, huboto do indungmu inang na di Taburon, huboto do indungmu inang na di Poholon, huboto do indungmu inang na di Tungaon, huboto do indungmu inang na di Sumbaon, huboto do indungmu inang na di Borboron, asa maborbor ma dainang tidang maridi, marabit ma dainang Nai Boru Sinomba tidang matebur, marhohos tidang maboltik, marpiso ma dainang tidang masolot, marbadju-badju tidang masoluk, aso soluk boa-boam Nai Boru Sinomba tumopot soso na uli tumopot soso na denggan, marsimata ma dainang tidang mabinbin, marbulang-bulang tidang madjanggal, marsanggul ma dainang tidang madjagar, marmiak ma dainang tidang malias, aso lias roha ni dainang Nai Boru Sinomba tumopot soso na uli tumopot soso na denggan boa-boa ni daompung parmanuhon on si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba on, manuk laba-laba ni daompung Batara Guru Doli on, na tangi pinggol na tonggor mata on, asa tatap tonggor tailihon daompung parmanuhon barang dia soso di roham

sitopotonmu na dumenggan bogasnami monang di gora on. Asa marnapuran ma dainang Nai Boru Sinomba tidang mapurti aso mapurti roha ni dainang tumopot soso na uli tumopot soso na denggan, ningon tumpak sange songon pandjudjung ni naboru parpajak ni daompung parmanuhon si Adji Nangka Piring on, ningon songon pandji-pandji do ihur ni daompung parmanuhon on digomgom ampang siopat djual on, ningon manumpak do radja manumpak namora manumpak parhurungan asa mauli, ningon manumpak do si deang mangele bunga, mangihut manumpak namuse ma si dajang rotna rumiris, manumpak namuse ma si dajang parmanisan, manumpak namuse batu holing, i ma na denggan, i ma na uli na hutonahon i ale ompung parmanuhon Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba na ingot di bakta na so lupa di bota na ingot di hata na so lupa di tona, inang na donda di ahasa, inang na pasak di baunge, na marpati-pati na di lansangan, adjari do ahu e inang Nai Boru Sinomba, ahu na pamasuk parmanuhon on tu bagasan ni ampang si opat djual on aso tu na denggan aso tu na uli harorobo ni parmanuhon on. Come down you, grandsires gods of the upper world, rise up, gods of the underworld, sit down gods of the middle world; come down you, my reverend master, mighty master, powerful master, that I may be mighty and powerful, O my reverend master, to recite the incantation over the cock, the twitching oracle-cock(?) of Grandsire Batara Guru the Male, (the cock) whose ear is sharp, whose eye is watchful, grandsire oracle-cock here, si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba here, who remembers provisions and does not forget hard grains of rice; who remembers a word and does not forget an order; like something entrusted as the bride-price of a maiden, so is the revelation given by our grandsire the oracle-cock si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba. Come

you, my masters, Radja Engkat Manisia who dwells in the West, Tuan Radja Nahar who dwells in the East, origin of our grandsire the oracle-cock si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba, who remembers provisions and does not forget hard grains of rice; who remembers conditions and does not forget a piece of advice, mother Nai Boru Sinomba, dangling in space, standing firm on the earth, with a tail spread out like a fan on the winnowing-basket, teach me, advise me, grandsire teacher, to throw this cock, the twitching cock of Batara Guru the Male, so that it faces a good sign, a lucky sign. Verily I know that your clan is Na di Haiton, I know that your clan is Na di Tulison, I know that your clan is Na di Taburon, I know that your clan is Na di Poholon, I know that your clan is Na di Tungaon, I know that your clan is Na di Borboron. May you be wet without¹ bathing, may you wear a loin-cloth, mother Nai Boru Sinomba, but not a long one, a sash on your waist, but not a tight one, a knife in your girdle but not fitting in its sheath, a jacket but not a tight-fitting one, that your revelation, O Nai Boru Sinomba, may fit the purpose of showing a good sign. May you wear an ornament of corals, but not a tightly embroidered one; a head-cloth, but not a broad and high one, a flower in your hair but not elegantly, may you use oil without becoming smooth, so that your heart may smoothly turn to the lucky sign, to the good sign, the revelation of this oracle-cock si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba, this cock, the twitching cock of Batara Guru the Male, with sharp ears, with watchful eyes. Spy, observe, look out, grandsire oracle-cock, what sign you think is the best to face, where we may win in this contest. May you chew betel, mother Nai Boru Sinomba, but not stimulating betel², that your heart may be stimulated to face the lucky sign, to face the good

sign: our reverend grandsire si Adji Nangka Piring must be *tumpak sange* (unknown, perhaps: upright?) like a woman carrying a load on her head; the tail of our grandsire the oracle-cock must be spread out fan-wise, encompassed by this basket which holds four gallons. The "king" must give his support, the "minister" must give his support, the central circle must give its support to make it lucky, the hibiscus-flower must give its support, the "jewels in a row" (i.e. the finger-ring) must join in giving support, the sweet one (the oil) must also give support, the Indian stone (*batu holing*, according to a note by Van der Tuuk: the eastern direction) must give its support. That is the good, that is the lucky which I enjoin to you, O grandsire oracle-cock Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba, who remembers provisions, who does not forget hard grains of rice, who remembers conditions, who does not forget a piece of advice, mother dangling in space, mother firmly standing on the earth, with a tail spread out like a fan on the winnowing-basket, teach me, mother Nai Boru Sinomba, to put this oracle-fowl into the basket which holds four gallons, that this oracle may fall towards the good, towards the lucky direction."

Then the *datu* cuts the fowl's neck with a fine knife, kept in a sheath adorned with gold bands. As soon as the blood drips on the *talam* (now, any vessel used for this purpose, but originally a large flat round bronze dish) he puts the fowl under the basket. He now fills the bowl of his large brass pipe with tobacco and smokes. When he has finished his pipe, he lifts the basket, whether the cock be dead or not. Now he observes the position of the cock and gives his prediction. If the signs are unlucky, the principal "spits out a substitute" (*dibursikkon ma parsili*); if they are lucky, he gives a ceremonial meal to confirm the luck. A

lucky prediction is called *mandjorot*, "binding", an unlucky one *manguta*, "vomiting". If great luck is predicted, a buffalo is slaughtered for the meal; for lesser luck a smaller animal is sufficient. In case of serious "vomiting" a large amount should be spent on a substitute; lesser calamities may be allayed at smaller costs. As an example of a very serious omen the author mentions: *ia martapian do si dajang rotna rimiris adjana manimbur tian toru saniang naga setan disoro tu gindjang saniang naga langit*, if the finger-ring bathes (in blood), the holy dragon Setan (the blood) splashes from below, the holy dragon sky (the inside of the basket above the fowl) is jerked upwards. In this case the village will be destroyed by fire. An elaborate description is given of the ceremony which should be performed to avert this evil. During this ceremony people construct temporary shelters in the village square, and afterwards these huts are burnt down. Even after such a ceremony has been performed, one should not try one's luck in war, but settle the dispute by negotiation. The author finishes his description with a detailed account of the feast that must be given if the oracle predicts great success.

As a parallel to the incantation uttered over the oracle-hen and mentioning a number of clan-names, the following incantations, used to avert illness from buffaloes (*tangkal burnung ni horbo*) may be adduced (MS. Amsterdam 2761/49 p. b 41; see above p. 49):

Barang ho anak ni Sagala idok ma ibamu so huboto, huboto do ibamu Sagala Nai Bolaon;
barang ho (anak ni) Limbong idok ho ma ibamu so huboto, huboto do ibamu Limbong Nai Lindungan;
barang ho anak ni Sitanggung Simbolon, idok ho ma ibamu so huboto, huboto do ibamu Sitanggung Simbolon Nai Ambaton;
barang ho anak ni Silalahi, idok ho ma ibamu so

huboto, huboto do ibamu Silalahi Nai Suwanon;
barang ho anak ni Siboro, idok ho ma ibamu so
huboto, huboto do ibamu Siboro Nai Turihon;
barang ho ma anak ni Situmorang, idok ho ma
ibamu so huboto, huboto do ibamu Situmorang Nai
Paiangon;
ganup do marga dohi;
ulang ho manahiti di dorbija, i. e.:

If you belong to the clan Sagala, and if you think I do not know your identity: I know your identity: Sagala is Nai Bolaon. (I take this to mean: Sagala belongs to the group of clans called Nai Bolaon).—5 more clans are given as examples.—Enumerate all the clans (this is a direction for the *datu*). Do not cause illness to (our) cattle...

A remarkable grammatical form is *idok ho*, you say, you think, instead of *didok ho*. In the text of this *pustaka* the prefix *di-* is used except in this incantation. In the Northern Batak dialects *i-* is still used in ordinary language; in Southern Batak it is now obsolete.

Both incantations are based on the well-known belief that the knowledge of the origin of a person or thing gives power over it.

According to Winkler the root idea of the *pormanuhon* is, that the god Batara Guru descends from the upper world and speaks through the cock. The apparatus represents the world: the winnow is called *naga padoha ni adji*, the name of the dragon in the underworld who causes earthquakes; the circle in the middle of the drawing on the winnow: *pusat samudora*, navel of the ocean; the open space above the cock: *banua holing*, the vault of heaven (lit. the country of Kling, i. e. India); the upper side of the bottom of the basket: *saniang naga langit*, holy dragon sky. We may add that the drawing of the points of the compass (*desa na ualu*) represents the middle world. According to Batak mythology, each *desa*

has its king, often invoked in sacrificial prayers. Winkler thinks that the seven *hasea* (i. e. the ingredients beginning with *duri-duri*, ear-ring, in Van der Tuuk's text) may represent the planets. Their names, however, do not confirm this view. Four of them bear names which are also used in the language of dirges (*andung*) and denote certain groups of relatives; *silung bane*, *silansapon*, *sibidjaon* and *sisumbaon*. The first one, *sang radja mulia*, is the every-day name of a kind of ear-ring in Karo-Batak. The names of the finger-ring (*nan sahang na ualu*, 'mother of eight gullies'? cf. BAT. 43) and the hibiscus-flower (*si deang mangele bunga*) are obscure. The last one sounds like the names used in *pangaraksaon*, the circumlocutory language of incantations, where the names of female objects mostly begin with *si deang*, 'Maiden'. In a Simalungun-Batak manual for agricultural ceremonies (MS. Barmen, paper MS. No. 12) *si Dajang Mangilei Bunga* is mentioned as a goddess to whom flowers should be offered on Wednesday. In a *partadjomburikan* (see above p. 50) Br. Mus. Or. 11762 she occupies the same place as Sori (Skr. *Śrī*) among the *pormamis*. The name *pangulu na opat*, the four upper ones, alludes to the four legs of the *ampang* when turned upside down. A confirmation of Winkler's view that a god of the upper world speaks through the oracle is found in a Mandailing *pustaka* in a private collection. There the fairy of incense is asked to ascend to heaven and to bring down a daughter of the gods, apparently to give oracles through a cock.

The text of our *pustaka* consists mainly of lists of omens, which will now be described.

a 1 blank.

a 2-3 Introduction: *Poda ni pormanuhon adji nangka piring na umboto hita mamora i ma na*

*toding ipar ni lautan si numongnong omas di tonga ni lautan ija mungbang ninna adji nangka piring lagia mumbang barang hita dipadatu halak di hasuhuton na bolon bea di sahit madorsa bea morderomu bao bea hita umpasuk huta rimbaru bea hita tumoto uma barang disuru halak mormanuk barang di balijan huta asa dalaba-laba ma ompunta adji nangka piring i ma na toding na di borhu asa ro ma di ho guru tangguon ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru so laosan ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru na poso ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru mangula ni adji anak ni dja(n)dji(n)ta tian tano palipi nai borngin asa ro ma di ho radja manorsa ni adji namora sihombaning ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru hatunggal ni adji anak ni hutagaol sian tano aek radja asa hupodahon muse ma di ho ibebe(re) guru so taronggot ni adji asa hupodahon muse ma di ho daamang simatua guru mano(ng)tang ni adji ingot ma ho di poda ni helamu guru manggaga ni adji anak ni na di poholon di tano pangaribuan daamang guru manongtang ni adji. Instructions about the cock-oracle Adji Nangka Piring, who knows whether we shall prosper or not. It comes from the other side of the ocean. It sinks gold in the middle of the sea; if Adji Nangka Piring says it will float, then certainly it will float. If we are asked to act as *datu* in war, or in the case of a serious illness, or for a marriage, or if we found a new village, or if we begin to cultivate a new field, or if people order us to consult the oracle in or outside the village, we shall cause our Grandsire Adji Nangka Piring to fall (twitching under the basket). This oracle comes from (a teacher) of olden times (or: of the *marga* Nainborhu? Cf. p. 147); through the intermediary of seven teachers it came to Guru Manongtang ni adji, whose name is mentioned several times in the text as the pupil to whom the instructions are given. He may either have written the book, or*

have received it from his teacher Guru Manggaga ni adji, a man of the *marga* Sipoholon, who lived in Pangaribuan, at least this seems to be meant, though at first Guru so Taronggot ni adji is said to have taught it to Guru Manongtang ni adji. The sentence: it sinks gold in the middle of the sea, etc., refers to the legend about the origin of the oracle, which has been translated by Pleyte in *Globus*, 67, pp. 70-72 (cf. my *Overzicht van de Volksverhalen der Bataks*, no. 9, p. 71).

a 3-14 Immediately after this introduction, without a new heading, a list of omens begins. Every paragraph begins with *djaha*, 'if', and is illustrated by a drawing of the cock, showing its position, either alone or with some of the ingredients. The first paragraph is:

Djaha dumatang ruma ni porhankungan ija ma manuk ditumpak porhurungan djana diadop(p)ondo hasea djaha di ho(n)tas di hasuhuton mamora ma hita djaha porderomu bao marosu ma na morderomu bao inon djaha pangase u(ma) dapotang (l. -tan) ome ma hita di uma inon djaha pamasuk huta ringbaru(l. rim-) mamora ma hi(ta) di huta inon djaha di sahit mahoras ma na sahittinon djaha laho tandang maruli ma hita di portandangan mangan minum ma hita di portandangan ale guru mano(ng)tang ni adji di djolo do ho pagipagian ni ari, If the sign 'house of guarantee' comes, i. e. if the centre of the compass faces the back of the cock and the ingredients are in front of it (this is lucky for every purpose).

Djaha manuk djumudjung rambu, if the cock carries an ominous sign on its head.

Djaha imbulu ni manuk songon sinuwanton sada di pudi sada di uluni, if feathers of the cock are placed as though planted, one behind and one on its head.

Djaha imbulu ni manuk lohot di pat ni manuk, if feathers cleave to the cock's legs.

Djaha imbulu ni manuk lohoh dohot daroni di tuktuk ni manuk djana punguk uluni tu pamatang-ni, if feathers and blood cleave to the bill and the head of the cock is twisted towards its body. *Djaha sisilon ni manuk pago tu indorana bea tu anduri*, if a nail of the cock sticks into its breast or in the winnow.

Djaha imbulu sumungke ampang, if a feather protrudes from underneath the basket.

Djaha imbulu majup di anduri, if a feather floats (on blood) in the winnow.

Djaha imbulu ni manuk tu balijan ni ampang djana morsapu-sapu daro i ma hata-hata ni gurunta lompit ni o(m)punta magira marsik ma sira di abal-abal matartar ma napuran marsik ma aek di buluhah polut ma napuran toding bolitan tu sihuwale malos ma arsam ganupparijan paima-ima sihuwaleni adong ma tuwamboru na so na gabe di ruma inon mordeta.. ma hita maruwari pe boru inon unang be hita porsea, if feathers come out of the basket, stained with blood (this is a sign that there is an adulterous woman in the house, cf. Van der Tuuk's dictionary s.v. *ale*).

Djaha manuk djumudjung pagori, if the cock carries the lines of the compass on its head.

Djaha manuk mangaliat-liat djana morngutngut djana disarat-sarat ma toini, if the cock turns round (3 birds in the illustration, see Plate 18) whilst its beak is stuck in the winnow and it drags its droppings along. The text in the Plate reads: *na morngutngut djana disarat-sarat ma toini dja(ha)/di sahit mit(tor) mate ma na sahit inon djaha pangase u/ma dipangan tihus uma inon ingon morbus do a/sa mauli dja(ha) sita-sita ditaru sam-par ma o(m)pu ni hor/dja inon magargar hapilinni djaha panduga boru so/be maranak boru (i)non djaha porhau ruma ditaru sa(m)par ma/o(m)pu ni ruma inon djaha laho tandang dirus (l. dirasun) halak ma na la/h(o) tandangngi inon ale datu na*

mangadji di dja . . ./

Djaha imbulu ni manuk mataktak/di pudi ija panduga boru na so maranak so be/maranak boru inon dja(ha) di sahit ni na d/i bortian tubu ma dalahi di boru i/non djaha di sahit ningon dipangadjihon do pa . . ., if feathers have fallen behind . . .

Djaha ulu ni manuk manaili tu atas, if the head of the cock looks upwards.

Djaha imbulu lohoh di piso paneat, if a feather cleaves to the knife.

Djaha manuk ranggang, if the cock falls dead on the winnow, without moving any more (according to Warneck's dictionary: 'mit verrenkten Gliedern').

a 14–18 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pormanuhon adji nangka piring*, instructions about the quintessence of the oracle of the cock. Under this title a list of natural phenomena is given, with the point of the compass to which each of them belongs, and its ominous meaning. They are:

Ruma ni baun di purba, the house of (*baun* unknown; BAT. 31 and other MSS. have: *bau*, smell) in the east.

Ruma ni hilap di agoni, lightning, south-east.

Ruma ni sang batu barani di dangsina, loadstone, south.

Ruma ni ronggur di nariti, thunder, south-west.

Ruma ni porhas di pastima, thunderbolt, west.

Ruma ni bintang di manabija, star, north-west.

Ruma ni ombun lano di otara, mist, north. One MS. (Amsterdam 2761/23) has *ruma ni Sang Mai-ma di otara*, cf. my *Volksverhalen*, no. 110.

Ruma ni songgot-songgot di irisanni, horror(?), north-east. The correctness of this reading is very uncertain. Other MSS. have: *songgot* (Amsterdam 2761/26); *sogot*, morning (BAT. 31); *na sondot*, what is finished (Amst. 543/3); *songgop*, perching (Amst. 1660/1); *hilap mor-*

sigatgatan, lightnings biting each other (Amst. 2761/23).

This is followed by a table indicating which ghost causes illness if the cock faces east, south-east, etc. (*Djaha manuk marobo tu purba silaon na bolon na manahiti*, etc.). The ghosts mentioned in this list are: *silaon na bolon*, the common ancestor of a clan (*marga*), cf. Tobing, *High God*, p. 66; *nitu ni haju*, a tree-spirit; *sumangot*, the ghost of a near ancestor; *sirakrak ni ladang* (some field-spirit?); *taon ni halak*, people's snares; *sumangot ni (na) mate maranak*, the ghost of a woman who died in childbirth; *nitu ni uma*, a field-spirit; *pangulubalang*, the ghost who acts as a champion (*ulubalang*) in magical warfare; *begu na laos*, the passing ghost; *debata porhas* or *batu porhas*, a thunderbolt-spirit.

a 18–21 Under the same title (*poda ni pamusatan ni pormanuhon*) there follows a *pangarambui*, a table of phenomena which turn about through the points of the compass. It is illustrated with points of the compass, some of them encircled by a snake. The *rambu sori* is 2 nights in the east, 1 night in the south-east, 1 night south, 1 night west, 1 night north-west, then it goes back to the east for 2 nights. The other paragraphs are: *ruma ni rambu o(m)pu ni adji*, *rambu panaluwan*, *rambu batu holing*, and again *rambu sori*.

a 21–22 *Pamusatan* again; the points of the compass where danger threatens if the *datu* faces in that direction on certain specified days.

a 22–25 *Poda ni pangarambui sibonggal di portibi*, instruction about the sign *sibonggal di portibi*, in whose direction the oracle-cock or the oracle-buffalo should not fall. For each of the 30 days of the month the dangerous direction is indicated.

a 25–26 *Poda ni pangalaho ni adji nangka piring ... ija ma inon porsili ni rambu*, the 'substitutes' for the five *rambu* mentioned above, but the names

are somewhat different here, namely: *batu holing*, *rambu panaluan*, *rambu bisa*, *rambu sori* and *rambu manga(m)bang*.

a 26–28 *Poda ni porhontason ni pormanuhon*, indications to predict the kind of enemy one will take captive.

a 28–34 Continuation of the illustrated table of positions of the cock:

Djaha manuk morhalangulu golang-golang, if the cock's head is on the bracelet.

Djaha golang-golang di habong ni manuk, if the bracelet is on the cock's wing.

Djaha golang-golang sumbung di rungkung ni manuk, if the bracelet is around the cock's neck.

Djaha golang-golang sumbung di pat ni manuk sihamun, if the bracelet is around the cock's right leg.

Djaha golang-golang sumbung di patna sihambirang, idem, the left leg.

Djaha mas di baba ni manuk bea golang-golang bea tintin, if the golden ear-ring, the bracelet or the finger-ring is in the cock's mouth.

Djaha omas diporhalangulu manuk bea golang-golang, if the head of the cock is on the ear-ring or on the bracelet.

Djaha omas digolom pat ni manuk sihamun, if the cock's right foot holds the ear-ring.

Djaha omas digolom patna sihambirang, if the left foot holds the ear-ring.

Djaha badja di baba ni manuk bea mijak, if the lamp-black or the oil is in the cock's mouth.

Djaha manuk diporhalangulu imbuluni bea miak, if the cock's head rests on a feather or on the oil.

Djaha nan sundol di hatajan nan sundol di hapotan (in the illustration there are two circles behind the legs of the cock. *Hataran* (not *hatajan*) and *hapotan* mean east and west in Simalungun-Batak).

Djaha dumatang toktohan silungduwa inang silumbane (?).

Djaha dumatang na birangsa madabu do tu lubang (?).

Djaha dumatang tostosan tu tanoman (this paragraph is repeated, probably by mistake).

Djaha imbulu ni manuk dohot daroni djana morsimbur-simbur daroni ija djana ranggang da matutung ma huta inon. The illustration of this evil omen, which predicts that the village will be burnt, shows the cock in the middle of a mass of bloodstains.

a 34–40, continued on b 3–13 (b 1 glued to the cover, 2 blank) contains the same kind of illustrated table, entitled *poda ni pamusatan ni adji nangka piring*. This part of the text has 38 paragraphs, many of them treating of more than one sign and its meaning.

b 13–16 five paragraphs beginning: *ruma ni...*, without illustrations.

b 16–18 seven paragraphs with *djaha dumatang* without illustrations.

b 18–21 six more paragraphs of which four have illustrations.

b 21–22 *Poda ni mintora ni pormanuhon adji nangka piring barang hita dipadatu halak di bisara na godang asa dalaba-laba ma ompunta batara guru doli sibatu pasagi na so lupa di horma na umboto halak mamora...* Instructions about the incantation of the oracle-cock Adji Nangka Piring. If we are asked to act as *datu* in somebody's contest one should cause our Grandsire Batara Guru the Male to fall twitching(?). Batara Guru here gets the epithets otherwise attributed to the cock: *sibatu pasagi* (the Square Stone), *na so lupa di di horma*, who does not forget *horma*, who knows whether people will be prosperous... This reminds us of *na so lupa di tona* in the second text from Van der Tuuk's collection (p.152 above), but it is possible that *horma* is Skr. *karman*: who does not forget man's deeds in his previous incar-

nations. This, however, cannot be the meaning of *horma* in: *horma ni bulan, horma ni pamuhui* (*pustaha* of the Kon. Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Or. 190). The incantation itself is a very short version of one of the incantations recited over the buffalo's horn in Van der Tuuk's text.

In the texts on *pormanuhon* we have repeatedly met with the word *laba-laba*. This is a *crux interpretum*. Dr. Winkler took it to mean: 'hut', following Warneck's dictionary: *laba-laba* = *bale-bale*, 'ärmliches Strohhüttchen', but he did not know then that the word is also used as a verb. Tobing, *High God*, p. 145, translates it 'the twitching cock'. If this is correct, the verbal form *dalaba-laba* means: to cause to fall twitching.

b 23–40 blank.

¶¹) *tidang*, cf. p. 114, old Malay = not. J. M. Hariara, *Hata Batak maninggoring* p. 117: *tidang* = *ndang adong*, there is not.²) or "without *gambir*"? Cf. Van der Tuuk's dictionary s. v. *purti*.

Pormanuhon (manuk di ampang).

BAT. 38 (Cod. Bat. 12).

Bark book. 19 leaves, 11 × 14 cm. Two wooden covers, one of them somewhat damaged at the edges; the adjoining leaves are also damaged at the edges. Otherwise well preserved. One plaited rattan band.

Good Toba-Batak writing. Southern *ta*, the upper stroke protruding to the left. Some illustrations in black and red. Toba-Batak dialect.

Purchased by the University Library 22/4 1922 from Miss Camilla Klein. Formerly acquired by doctor Peter Adolf Klein in Sumatra. He was born in København 1853; from 1878 he was an army surgeon serving in the Dutch East Indies. He died 1899 in Delft, Holland.

Subject: Divination by means of a cock or a hen under a basket.

a 1 some writing exercises.

a 2-5 Introduction: *Poda ni pormanuhon adji nangka piring nai boru sinomba ma inon manuk laba-laba ni ompu(n)ta batara guru doli na nu-mo(ng)nong omas sada tapean tu tonga ni lautan rea ija mungbang ninna adji nangka piring mungbang ma tutu tampil hinopolan baba ni bugang ni halak ija mangolu ninna adji nangka piring mangolu tutu sijat baba ni djarum baba ni bugang ni halak ija mate ningna adji nangka piring mate ma tutu beja di porhau ruma beja di porhudjandjian daboto hita marapot dohot djandji(n)ta inon beja di panusuk huta rimbaru daboto do mamora halak di huta inon beja di bisara na godang di hasuhuton na bolon daboto do hita monang di hasuhuton inon beja di pangase uma daboto do uma inon gabe beja di panduga tuwangboru na so maranak beja di badjoan hita laho daboto ma hita dapotan di porbadjoan asa i ma na toding gurungta radja so bali ni adji asa ro ma di ho aloi toga ni adji na mijan di tano siregar asa ro ma di ho ale guru dairi ni adji bajo ompu radja manungsang ni adji datu na begu datu portandang tu huta ni halak dibahen portondijon garuparitaon (l. ganup ari ganup taon?) ale amang situwang na torop asa ro ma di ho ale anggi doli guru anggasana ni adji na mijan di tano sitanggor ma inon ale datu, Instructions about the oracle of the fowl Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba, the twitching cock of our Grandsire Batara Guru the Male, that sinks a jarful of gold (*tapean* = Mal. *tempajan*, earthenware jar) in the middle of the ocean; if Adji Nangka Piring says it will float, it will really float. When somebody has a wound as large as a packet of cooked rice wrapped up in a leaf, if Adji Nangka Piring says he will live, he will*

certainly live. When somebody has a wound as small as the eye of a needle, if Adji Nangka Piring says he will die, then he will certainly die. The oracle may be consulted in gathering wood for a house; when one concludes an alliance; in founding a new village; in magic and military warfare; when one begins to cultivate a rice-field; if one wants to know whether a childless woman will still give birth to a son, and when one goes raiding. These instructions have come from Radja so Bali ni adji through the intermediary of two other masters to Guru Anggasana ni adji, the pupil who is addressed several times in this book, and who lived in Sitanggor, a village on the shore of Lake Toba between Balige and Muara.

a 5-8 Six paragraphs beginning: *djaha dumatang*, accompanied by illustrations which show various positions of the cock.

a 9 A drawing of the cock showing its four portions, two of which are *porsilian* (a substitute must be given); one *porhangkungan* (success can be guaranteed); one *parutangan* (resulting in debt).

a 9-12 The price (*arga*) of the cock and of the ingredients: *Ija arga ni manuk na marpati-pati di lansangan asa i ma siduwa horbo argani ija ro do silagi datang (silagi ro na so dung dumatang tung ro) djadi opat horbo*, the price of the cock whose tail is spread out fan-wise on the winnow is two buffaloes and in the case of an exceptional position four buffaloes (the worth of a buffalo is fixed by tradition at 4 dollars). The price of the bracelet (*golang-golang*), whose name is *naga padoha ni adji*, is $\frac{3}{4}$ (of a buffalo, \$ 3,-); in an exceptional case a buffalo and a cow (*paduwa lombu*, \$ 6,-). The finger-ring (*tintin, silansapon*): 3 buffaloes or 6 buffaloes. The hibiscus-flower (*bunga-bunga, si deang mangele bunga*): a piece of cloth (*sada haen*) or a horse (*sada hoda*). The

betel (*dapuran*, for the more common *napuran*, called *si dejang taralohi*, a name that is also found in the *partadjomburikan*; see above p. 50): 3 *sorpijan* (\$ 1,50) or if it points to the auspicious spot (*pangarumai*): one horse. The oil and lamp-black (*badja mijak*, no ceremonial name): half a dollar each; if they point to the auspicious spot, one horse each.—The method of reckoning in this list may be compared with that used for fines in the juridical texts from Van der Tuuk's collection published in BKI 103 pp. 339 et sqq. and 105 pp. 111 et sqq.—The *poda ni pangargai ni hasea na pitu* in MS. Rotterdam, Ethn. Mus. 31079 gives a different rate. In a *pustaka* (no. 955) in the Horniman Museum, London, the prices are doubled 'ija di gora bolon', in a great contest. In the last-mentioned bark book some of the paragraphs are illustrated by small drawings of buffaloes, etc.

a 12–18 Further omens, without illustrations, 14 paragraphs.

a 19 glued to the cover.

b 1 blank.

b 2–12 A list of ominous signs (*rambu*) in whose direction the cock should not fall, with the points of the compass in which they dwell on various days, illustrated by drawings of points of the compass. These signs are: *batu holing* (its house is 3 nights in the north-east, 3 nights in the south-east, etc.); *anak ni batu holing* (the son of b.h.); *pane na bolon* (the Great Dragon); *rambu bisa*; *rambu mangambang*; *rambu sori ni ari*; *rambu sipatiga-tiga*; *ompu ni rambu*; *rambu silungun dolok*; *rambu simanunggaling*; *rambu sinageduk*.

b 12–17 *Poda ni pamusatan ni manuk di ampanq*, instructions about the quintessence of the fowl in the basket. 8 paragraphs: *djaha manuk marobotu purba*, if the fowl falls towards the east, etc.

For each direction the animal whose meat should be eaten as *pandondoni* (to hold the luck fast) is mentioned.

b 17–18 *Poda ni surat humala djolma ma inon ningon sahata do goar ni halak dohot maramani dohot siaha dohot maro(m)puni asa mauli sada huta*, Instructions about "men's talisman-letters"; to ensure luck in a village the names of the inmates should be in harmony, i. e. their own personal names, the name as "Father of N.N." and the name as "Grandfather of N.N.". For this purpose the letters of the alphabet are arranged in six groups round about a human figure on p. b 18 (see Plate 22). They are: (right-hand side, beginning from below): *a-ha-ba ma-ga-ta na-pa-wa*; (left-hand side, from below): *ra-nga-da i-u-la-i dja-ja-sa*. In the fifth group *i* is repeated instead of the obsolete *nja*.

There is a text on *tondung humala djolma*, "men's talisman-divination" in MS. Paris, Musée de l'homme, no. 85.3.17.

b 19 glued to the cover.



Pormanuhon; rasijan.

BAT. 39 (Cod. Bat. 23).

Incomplete bark book. 24 leaves, c. 22 × 11 cm. The first part of the strip of bark has been cut off with a knife.

A quite modern wooden cover had been nailed(!) to page a 1; it has been unfastened in order to make the writing on this page visible.

Poda-language; probably from Simalungun or northern Samosir.

Purchased by the library in 1971.

Subject: divination by means of a cock or a hen under a basket; horoscopes.

a 1-17 The text begins in the middle of a list of omens (*pandjahai*) in the fowl oracle (*pormanuhon*), with small black drawings representing the various positions of the cock. The last illustration is on p. a 7; the text is continued in the same way but without illustrations.

a 17-20 (no title) on the motions of the sign called *sibonggal* through the points of the compass on the 1st-28st days of the month. Cf. BAT. 37 a 22-25.

a 20-21 *pangarambui*, on the motion of various signs in the sky, with small black drawings of the points of the compass.

a 22 an illustration of the oracle cock surrounded by inscriptions stating the value of the various parts of its body as significant signs.

a 23 On this page there are faint traces of writing that has been rubbed off.

a 24 is glued to a wooden cover.

b 1-4 *Poda ni rasijan ni anak tubu na umboto anak sajur matuwa na umboto mate*, instructions about a horoscope for a newly born baby, to predict whether the child will grow up to be a man or will die.

b 4-7 diagrams for divination in the shape of two calendars but with signs in the squares that are different from those in the *porhalaan* (the divination calendar based on the conjunctions of the moon with the Scorpion).

b 8 The diagram of 5×5 squares belonging to b 1-4. It is arranged in the same way as the table of *pormamis*, but instead of the abbreviated names of Hindu gods small drawings are used. A special feature of this copy is that the names of the figures are added to the drawings in the first column. In Simalungun this diagram is called *partadjomburi-*

kan after the first figure, *tadjom burik*. In this text *tadjom burik* occupies the second place.

b 9-21 Continuation of texts on *rasijan ni anak tubu*.

b 21-24 On names to be given to a child born in a certain month; the text breaks off in the 3rd month.

Pormanuhon (manuk di ampang).

BAT. 40 (Nat. Mus. C 5327).

Round bamboo of 7 sections, 210 cm long, c. $4\frac{1}{2}$ cm thick.

Toba-Batak writing; *ta* has the southern form. *Poda*-language.

A list of ominous signs that may occur in divination by means of a cock or a hen under a basket (*pormanuhon adji nangka piring, manuk di ampang*).

Pormanuhon (manuk gantung); pangulubalang.

BAT. 41 (Cod. Bat. 16).

Bark book. 31 leaves, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ cm, some leaves smaller. No covers.

Two different handwritings, the first somewhat better than the second. Both parts are full of scribal errors. Both scribes use the southern *ta*. At the end of the first part the pupil is addressed: *ale siagian*, O Siagian (a Toba-Batak *marga*).

Acquired by the library in 1951.

Subject: Divination by means of a cock (*gorak-gorakkan ni manuk*); a charm (*songon*) against thieves; aggressive and defensive magic (*pangulubalang, sipaimbar*).

a 1-24 *Poda ni gorak-gorakkan* (spelt in this way) *ni manuk*, about the ominous signs in the inside

of a fowl, called *pormanukkon sitoho-toho*. Though the name of the cock under the basket (*adji nangka piring*) is given to the fowl, the ominous signs are not those of this oracle, but of the *manuk gantung* (the hanging cock).

a 24–28 *Poda ni songonta di panangko bonda*, instructions for a charm against people who try to steal from us. Cf. BAT. 4.

a 29–31 blank.

b 1–4 blank.

b 5–22 *Poda ni pangulubalang sibirik lumpat* (?reading very doubtful), about the *pangulubalang* 'jumping cricket'. At the end on pp. 22 and 23 are some black drawings.

b 23–29 *Poda ni sipaimbar*, to direct harm (*djea-djea*) away from us and against the enemy. Cf. Winkler, *Toba-Batak*, pp. 157, 162–165.

b 30–31 blank.

Manuk gantung; panampuhi; pangarhari; pamunu tanduk.

BAT. 42 (Cod. Bat. 18).

Bark book. 32 leaves, c. 26 × 14 cm. Two modern wooden covers of poor quality, decorated with carving. Two plaited rattan bands.

Toba-Batak style of writing, with the northern form of *ta*. Many drawings in black and red. Well preserved, except at the beginning and the end. Contrary to custom, the texts on both sides of the bark begin at the same end. The writing is much smaller on side (a) than on (b).

The MS. has a label incised: O. Hagerup, Sumatra 1916. It was acquired by the library in 1957.

Subject: a. The signs in the inside of the fowl in the oracle of the hanging cock (*manuk gantung*); divination by means of a lemon (*panampuhi*)

and by means of an egg (*pangarhari*). b. Mainly about *pamunu tanduk* (see p. 122).

a 1 is partly covered by a piece of cloth with which it has been restored. It contains some scribblings only.

a 2–19 (*Poda*) *ni gorak-gorakkan sitoho-toho*, instruction about the signs (seen in the inside of the fowl in the oracle of the hanging cock) which confirm the outcome (of any other method of divination). The paragraphs begin with the words: *djaha dumatang...*, if (such and such a sign) is found...

a 19–25 *Poda ni panampuhi na bolon panampuhi sitoho-toho*, instruction on the great lemon-oracle that confirms the outcome of any other method of divination. The paragraphs begin with the words: *djaha pangir...*, if the slices of lemon ... On pp. 21 and 22 the text is almost effaced. On p. 25 there is a model of the drawing that should be made on the winnowing-basket on to which slices of lemon are dropped.

a 25–27 *Poda ni pangarumai ni panampuhi*, a list of 'houses' in the lemon-oracle.

a 27–28 *Poda ni pangarhari(n)ta di begu na so na ga(be)*, on divination by means of an egg, used to get rid of an evil ghost. This is taught by a *datu* called Guru Niapoan ni adji to the son of his wife's brother (*simatuwa na poso*).

On p. 28 there is a small drawing of a human figure, probably the model of a puppet that should be drawn on the egg. The remainder of this page is blank. Cf. BAT. 43.

a 29–32 These leaves are glued together in such a way that any writing there may be on them cannot be read.

b 32 is glued to the cover, so that the writing on this page cannot be read.

b 31–29 The text begins abruptly in the middle of

a lacunose chain of transmission: (*na mija*)*n di tano sitahar di lumban sitor(ang?)... tonga-tonga [tonga] na borhat tijan tano pal(i)pi tijan lumban sitohang uruk mada a(le om)pung situwan ni na torop asa ulang ma ho (lupa a)le anggi doli di poda ni pamunu tanduk pinodah(on) ni hahamu bao ompu ni uhum radja namora bangk(ara) na mijan di tano palipi ahu amang na mamasa na di la(pija)n ni guru so hadjahan ni adji ale amang na mor-dja(ga-dja)ga oi.* From this fragment we learn that the book comes from Palipi on the west-coast of the isle of Samosir and that the title of this text is *Poda ni pamunu tanduk*. The paragraph immediately following is called *pandjudjur ni ari na tolu pulu*, computation of the 30 days; it is, however, an enumeration of the 12 *pormesa* (signs of the zodiac) ruling over the 1st–12th days of the month, with the means of obtaining luck on these days.

b 29–25 *Poda ni pangalaho ni pa(mu)nu tan(duk) tu (hu)ta ni musunta*, called at the end: *pandjudjur ni rambu modom ni pamunu tanduk ni musunta*, computation of the (movements of the) *rambu modom* (a certain sign) of our enemy's *pamunu tanduk*. At the end there is a drawing of the points of the compass showing the movement of the *rambu modom* and four animals surrounding a figure of unknown significance.

b 25–24 *Poda ni panibal saitan*, on the direction towards which we should put down an offering on the 1st–8th days of the month to ensure a lucky turn in the chances of war.

b 24–23 *Poda ni pamunu ni saitan ni musunta*, how to make the *saitan* (see the preceding paragraph) of our enemy ineffective.

b 23–22 *Poda ni pamunu ni bulan na sampulu dua*, how to make the influence of the 12 months ineffective. See MS. Ch. B. 1133 (*Cat. Dublin*, p. 77). Also in MSS. The Hague, Educational Museum L 69; Rotterdam, Ethn. Mus. 20010; Amsterdam 795/2.

b 21 *Poda ni panggorda na onom*, on the six *panggorda* (usually there are 8 of them), with small figures. They are:

gorda, kite (figure of a bird).

diejak gora, falling branch (human figure).

suwa, a pig rubbing its back (quadruped).

sang musiha morpispis, a squeaking mouse (quadruped).

sorpa, a snake on the road (snake).

sangbina, a bad dream (a human head).

b 20 *Poda ni pandabu sampar ni pamunu tanduk tu huta ni musunta*, how to cause an epidemic in the enemy's village by means of the *pamunu tanduk*.

b 19 *Poda ni sipadiampa ni pamunu tanduk tu huta ni musunta*, how to make the enemy's rice-ears empty by means of the *pamunu tanduk*.

b 18–16 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pamusatan ni pamunu tanduk umbahen musunta rusak morroha*, the quintessence of the quintessence of *pamunu tanduk*, to disturb our enemy's mind. With an elaborate drawing of four quadrupeds and four flower-like figures, which should be drawn on a piece of dead bamboo.

b 17–15 *Poda ni pamoltong ni pamunu tanduk*, perhaps: a means to choke the enemy. With a drawing of a human figure attacked by 9 animals.

b 15 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pamunu tanduk*, to make the enemy shiver in hot weather and sweat in a cool wind.

b 14–12 *Poda ni djuara marimbang mangidai alo-na*, another application of the *pamunu tanduk*. With a drawing of a human figure and 7 animals.

b 12–10 *Poda ni pongpang bala saribu ni pamunu tanduk*, to withhold a thousand men, with a human figure that has seven heads one above the other; it should be drawn on the outer layer of the stem of a banana plant. There is also a small drawing of a bird and a design with the legend: *radja ni*

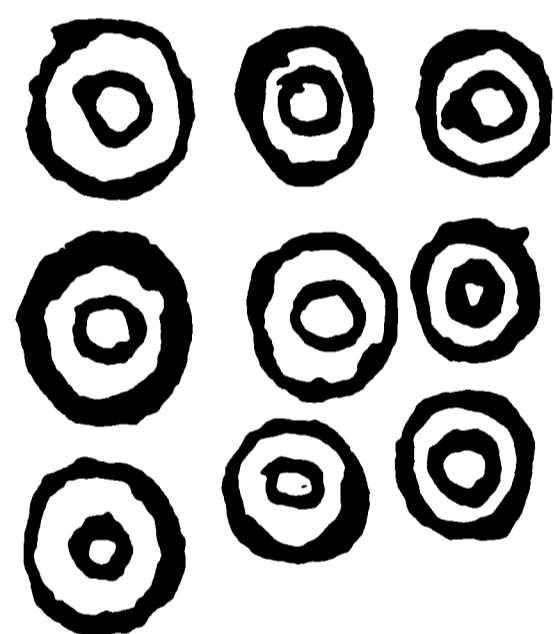
nitak ma inon ale guru so hadjahan ni adji songoni ma panggagabe ni tadjom bara, this should be drawn on a cake of dough; this is how a *tadjom bara* (?) should be made.

b 10-9 *Poda ni radja ni bulan*, drawings for the 12 months. See Plate 26.

b 8-6 *Poda ni datu madang-adang ni pamunu tanduk*, how to make a 'wandering *datu*' from an old pestle, on which 8 human figures are drawn. Cf. above BAT. 7 b 29-49.

b 6-5 *Poda ni bulu na lungunan ni pamunu tanduk*, on the lonely bamboo of the *pamunu tanduk*. One of the ingredients of this magic is: *bilang-bilang ni si tatap, bilang-bilang ni si bursok*, bamboos on which love-songs of a maiden and a youth are written.

b 4 blank; the last leaves are glued together.



Pangarhari.

BAT. 43 (Nat. Mus. C 1516).

Bark book. 63 leaves, $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ - $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Two wooden covers, 1 plaited rattan band.

Well preserved; legible except for a few lines.

Simalungun alphabet and spelling; the language also is Simalungun-Batak, but influenced by *poda*-language: often *asa* for *ase*, final *-h* is not always written, always *di* (not *i*), etc.

The beginnings of paragraphs are marked by one or two oblique strokes of the pen.

Acquired in 1907-08.

Subject: Divination by means of a hen's egg (*pangarhari*). This kind of divination is practised by many peoples in various ways. Winkler mentions it in his book *Die Toba-Batak* on pp. 114, 157 and 190. According to his informants, out of its 177 different omens only 3 are favourable. He does not describe how the oracle is put into practice. In MS. Leiden Univ. Libr. Or. 3402 p. 148 we find the following description, written for Van der Tuuk by a *datu* in Barus c. 1853:

Ia ulaon ni gorak-gorahan pira ni manuk, tu por-sili rompar-rompar pe djadi, tu na mambahen pagar ni ina pe djadi, sandok ulaon ni manisia djadi do gorak-gorahan pira ni manuk.

Ia porbagena: asa dilompa ma pira ni manuk i, hibal do dipasombu. Dung masak, asa dibahen ma aek tu dasar barang tu saoran, tusi ma dirembe pira ni manuk i. Dung borgo asa ditilik ma djolo langkat ni pira ni manuk i. Dung sun ditilik asa dilangkati ma tutu. Dung i, asa dibuat ma idjuk, dibola ma pira ni manuk i, ditilik datu i ma tutu barang aha na mandatang. Disi ma diboto datu na uli barang na roa. I ma ulaon gorak-gorahan pira ni manuk.

I. e.:

The hen's egg oracle can be used when giving an image to the spirits on behalf of a child that has begun to walk about, when making a protective medicine for a pregnant woman (in this case, Dr. Winkler tells us, l. c. p. 114, the egg is an ingredient of the medicine), and on every occasion in human life one may consult the omens of the hen's egg.

The practice is as follows: The hen's egg is boiled, leaving it whole. When it is done, water is poured into half a coconut shell or into a basin, and the egg is put into it. When it has cooled down, the shell is carefully observed. After that the shell is peeled off. Then the *datu* takes a long black fibre of the sugarpalm and with this he cuts the egg in

two. While doing this he carefully observes every ominous sign. From these signs he knows whether the oracle is favourable or unfavourable. That is the hen's egg oracle.

The usual name of this kind of divination in the bark books is *pangarhari*. It means: releaser (of bad influences); *harhar* means loose, and in the incantation we find: *asa maharhar ma ho tian uluna, tian abarana...*, that you may be released from his head, his shoulders, etc. Our MS. does not use the word *pangarhari* in the title, but it is found in the incantation. From the texts we learn that a human figure is drawn on the shell of the egg before it is boiled. Cracks and dints caused by the boiling have special meanings, depending on the part of the figure that is 'wounded'.

a 1 blank.

a 2-62 *Poda ni hata-hata ni pandjahai ni tinaru ma i(3)non ase panorijan na mauli dohot na marowah ase di sahit pe in ma bani panorijan na ra malum dohot na (4) so ra malum ase didji ma hita manori ase hudja pe in ma datori ale ho datu e pagijan*, these are instructions about the text of the table of omens to be taken from a hen's egg, to ascertain a favourable or an unfavourable result. In the event of illness it may be consulted to predict whether the patient will recover or not; by this oracle we shall ascertain it. For every purpose this oracle may be consulted, O datu of future days!

(First paragraph) *Djaha dibere halak tinaru (hu hi)ta ma..... (ma)(5)rsapu daroh, djaha di sahit marsilihi asa mauli, djaha di sinta-sinta tumaram ma halak i(6)non agowan, manabari asa mauli; hu dija pe boti do amang*, if people give us the egg (...illegible) smeared with blood, in the event of illness an image should be made to be given to the spirits to make the omen favourable;

in case the oracle is consulted for a feast, the patron is in danger of suffering loss and a ceremony to ward off evil ghosts should be held to make the omen favourable; and likewise in other cases, O father.

The other omens are as follows:

Djaha dumatang manggarut barang sijambilo, if the patron gives us the egg whilst he is scratching his skin, or with his left hand...

Djaha diloppa tinaru mallotuk djanah humaritik hatani djanah dobop-dobop hatani, if the egg makes a cracking, rustling or bubbling sound whilst being boiled...

Djaha ruma ni manuman-numan, perhaps: if the egg breaks and the contents form various shapes in the water...

Djaha bau mangaus(?), if it has a burnt(?) smell...

Djaha malum bauni, if it has a fresh smell...

Djahu bau migar, if it smells acid...

Djaha nang marbau, if it has no smell at all...

Djaha tinaru manrissan budjur nassa gandjang ni radjah, if the egg has a fissure as long as the human figure, from which the contents protrude...

Djaha luha nahe ni radjah sihamun, if the right leg of the figure is wounded; ... *sijambilo*, the left leg; ... *tulan*, the bones (ribs?), right or left; ... *binenge*, the waist; ... *boltokni*, the stomach; ... *kihik*, the arm-pit; ... *a(?)bara*, the shoulder; ... *borgokni*, the neck; ... *babahni*, the mouth; a 63 glued to the cover.

b 1 blank.

b 2-38 Continuation of a 62: *djaha luha igungni*, if the nose is wounded; ... *matani*, the eyes; ... *pinggolni*, the ears; ... *parsalimbubuan*, the top of the head; *djaha tinaru suwang marhundulan*, if the egg appears to have a (flat) base; *djaha dumatang sitapi na rumondok ija ma di hundulan songon tinuldukan ni djarum sina*, if the sign *sitapi*

na rumondok occurs, i.e. a spot on the base as though it had been touched by a needle; *djaha misir(?) hundulan*, if the base; *djaha tombuk hundulan*, if there is a hole in the base; *djaha nang marbunijan tondi djanah nang marpogu djaha rotap rambu*, if there is no cicatrice and no 'bile' and the chalazas are broken. . . 'Bile' may mean 'yolk', as the word *pogu* means 'middle' in some expressions; Karo *la ěrpěgu*, 'bileless' = a wind-bag.

Various other purposes for which the oracle may be consulted are: a journey; the annual festival for the rice-crop (*mangase ome*); war, etc. Several kinds of religious ceremonies are prescribed to avert evil omens, in some cases 'andohar sijat', in the hope that it may find acceptance.

b 39-41 The human figure that should be drawn on the egg, with a short legend.

b 41-61 *Tabas ni pangarhari*, the incantation. This is as follows:

Asa turun ma hamu debata di atas, manangkih ma hamu debata di toruh, humundul ma hamu debata (di) tongah, asa turun ma hamu pangulubalangku, pangulubalang ni gurungku, pangulubalang ni pangarharikku sangke mangau ama ni manik mangimpal, ase mangimpal mangobol ma hamu, suwasa ma hamu na gorsing, tanggo ma hamu rambu sipatiga-tiga, djodjak tulak botara guru, porngis pogu, isijan buni tondi, ase d(?)odangkon ham ma ruma ni parlaba-laban parsahulijan, ija dong do mara bingkolang ase madete marosak ma hamu, (dja)ha suwada mara suwada bingkolang, asa manuppak ma simagot. Ase ho ma dainang na padjudjung-djudjung na suwang bunga-bunga mirah, na marpagutkon na suwang pagut ni onggang, na mardilahkon na suwang dilah ni lajung, na marigungkon na suwang ombusan sina, na marmatahon na suwang panduja saga, na marpinggolhon ombingan djawa, na marambuluhon na suwang pidjor

holing, na marhabongkon na suwang pangaju, na marlajuhon na suwang pandji mejal-ejal, na marosangkon sisahang na uwaluh, na martolonankon na suwang baluran, na marbituhahon na suwang tali donda di lautan, na marpusu-pusuhon na suwang ponggung-ponggung, na marbilalangkon na suwang punga lijan-lijan, na marate-atehon na suwang batu pasagi, na marorak-orakkon na suwang simumbak-umbak, na margilang-gilangkon na suwang purul-purul, na martukkupkon na suwang ulambu djati, na mardarohkon na suwang bunga-bunga mirah, na martulankon na suwang tinombu tunggal, na mar(na)hehon na suwang pandjabat koling, na mardjari-djarohon na suwang porang nialis, na marsisilonkon na suwang piso pornabung, asa podahon ham ma, nimu ompung nebata hasi-hasi, asa ulang ham mangomou u(lang) ham marmismis ulang ham manlansuh ase masintong pe gan s(i)basoh b(o)lon [sa] sintongan do debata ni pangarhari(k)ku sitoho-toho hamu daompung. I.e.:

Come down you gods of the upper world, mount you gods of the underworld, sit down you gods of the middle world. Come down, you, my *pangulubalang*, *pangulubalang* of my teacher, *pangulubalang* of my Releaser, (called) Sangke manga(h)u, father of the coagulating germ, that you may be solid and invulnerable; you, yolk, be as gold; be concave, you threefold string (the chalaza on the side of the air space?); be steady, you shuttle of Batara Guru (the other chalaza? reading *tuldak* for *tulak*); the 'bile' be full, the cicatrice containing (life); point to(??) the mansion of profit and prosperity; if danger threatens, you must . . . and crack; if there is no danger, may the ancestors' ghosts bless us. You, mother, are wearing on your head something resembling a red hibiscus flower; your bill is like a hornbill's, your tongue like that of a *lajung(?)*, your

nose resembles Chinese bellows, your eyes are like *saga*-beans, your ears have large lobes like the round trinkets worn by the Javanese, your feathers are like (the leaves of) the *pidjorholing* plant, your wings are like oars, your tail resembles a fluttering streamer, your chin is *sisahang na uwaluh* (having eight gullies?)¹, your throat is like a drain, your bowels are like an anchor-cable at sea, your heart is like, your craw like a whetstone, your liver like a square stone, your lungs are like the pistons of a pair of bellows, your *gilang-gilang* (one of the inner organs of a fowl) are like marbles, your *tungkup* is like a costly curtain, your blood is red like hibiscus flowers, your bones are like the largest bamboo filled with meat at a festival, your two legs are like a pair of tongs, your toes are like the nicely pointed bamboo markers used in gambling, your nails are like razors. May you teach us! These are the words of our grandsire god Hasi-hasi. Do not lie, do not utter a falsehood, do not cheat. The female shaman may speak the truth, the more so the god of my hen's egg oracle. Be reliable, grandsire!

From this incantation it becomes clear that the hen's egg oracle is only a substitute for the divination by means of a cock. The incantation is addressed to the hen, and the description includes the inner organs, from which omens are taken in the oracle called *manuk gantung*. The *datu* has not been very careful in the choice of his epithets; a hen has no *laju* (the long feathers in the tail of a cock), and the 'nose resembling Chinese bellows' sounds more appropriate when describing a buffalo. The god Hasi-hasi is often mentioned in this way at the end of an incantation.

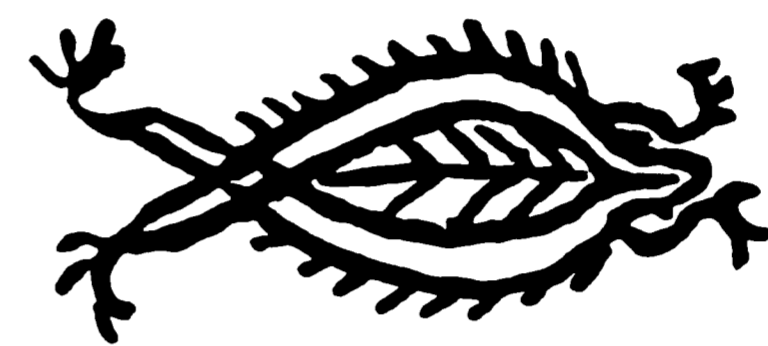
Another text on *pangarhari* is in the Chester Beatty Library, MS. Ch. B. 1129 (Cf. *Cat. Dublin* p. 66, with a reproduction of the human figure on p. 67).

There are copies of texts on this subject in many collections.

b 62 some scribblings.

b 63 glued to the cover.

¶¹ Cf. p. 155. In Simalungun-Batak *sahang* means: a gully in which water flows only during a rain-shower. Another explication is given by J. M. Hariara, *Hata Batak maninggoring* p. 121: *sahang* = *tahal* or *sangkan*, facing (the eight directions).



**Parmunian; ari rodjang na pitu;
si pinang rambe.**

BAT. 44 (Cod. Bat. 5).

Bark book. 41 leaves, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ cm, some leaves smaller.

Of the wooden covers only one remains. Clear Simalungun-Batak writing. Two oblique strokes of the pen are sometimes used to indicate the beginning of a paragraph. Southern form of *ta*. Well preserved and legible throughout. The dialect is that of Purba, one of the seven Simalungun princedoms.

Probably acquired when the late Dr. Kurt Wulff was librarian at the Royal Library. Nothing is known about the provenance.

Subject: Various methods of divination.

a 1 no writing, only a schematic figure probably used to count the five points of time of the day and night.

a 2-21 *Poda ni parmunijan ma inon pandjahai ni nipi ase niboto nipi madejar oppa nipi djahat barang djuppahan na so mauli ase binoto paralongni*

barang na mauli ase niboto panajurini ale amang na mamasai e ulang lupa di podah ni guru paralamat si lumijap goranna ase ipodahon ma hu sijadin, instructions about the interpretation of omens, the explanation of dreams, to know good dreams and bad dreams, to know the means of calling the soul back if something unfavourable happens to us, and the feast to be given for a lucky omen, O reader; do not forget the instructions of the master soothsayer whose name is si Lumijap; he teaches it to si Adin.—There are eight paragraphs for the eight points of the compass. As a sample I transcribe the second paragraph: *Djaha di agoni marmuni sogot ro ma dorbija hu bana pangului pe soni do ija tonga borngin adong tahi ni na sadjabuhon di na guling pe soni do ija di na bot ro ma omas hu bana*, if somebody dreams that he hears an ominous noise in the south-east in the morning: cattle will come to him; half-way through the morning: idem; at mid-night: a housemate plots evil against him; in the afternoon: idem; but if it is in the evening: gold will come to him.—Then for each of the eight points of the compass the *sininta* (the soul's desire) and the *parsili* (substitute for evil) is mentioned and this part of the text ends with two short incantations.

It may seem peculiar that a person who is dreaming should be conscious of the exact orientation of his dreams. Still there can be no doubt that in Simalungun the *parmunian* is connected with dreams. This is, however, not the original meaning. In the text on divination written for Van der Tuuk the following paragraph is devoted to this oracle (Leiden, Univ. Libr. Cod. Or. 3402 p. 149): *Ia ulaon ni pormunian molo adong halak na djumpangan djea didokkon ma dirior datu pormunianna asa diboto barang aha haroanna barang aha parsilina asa diboto na djumpangan i paulionna. I ma ulaon ni pormunian*. The use of the *pormunian* is

as follows: if somebody has observed some ominous sign, he tells the *datu* to consult his *pormunian*, to know what kind of meal should be eaten or what kind of substitute should be made, so that the person who observed the omen should know what to do. This is the use of the *pormunian*. A Toba-Batak *pustaka* on *pormunian* in Van der Tuuk's collection (Cod. Or. 3464) begins: *Poda ni pormunijanta ma inon di ruma ni halak djaha tihus morpispis di ruma ni halak beja rangkop halak morhatahata. Djaha mormuni di purba...* etc., instructions about our *pormunian* in another person's house, if a mouse squeaks there, or people speak obscene language (*rangkop*, unknown, cf. Karo *rangkēm*, to rape?). If the omen is in the east... Though *mormuni* originally means: to make a noise, other kinds of inauspicious signs are also treated under this heading, e.g. if one sees snakes copulating, etc. Cf. BAT. 67 a 29–35. Another text on *pormuni-munian* is contained in MS. Amsterdam 2761/51 pp. a 19–34.

a 22–37 *Poda ni ari rodjang na pitu ma inon*, instructions about the seven days of the week, here (as in BAT. 65) most inappropriately called *ari rodjang*. No names of animals etc. are given to the days, as one would expect if it were a real table of *ari rodjang* such as found in BAT. 48. The first paragraph is: *Djaha di adintija hita tandang sogot djahat, pangului maruli, tongarijan salang sae, guling djumpahan musu ma hita, bot djahat, ija pinangan ni arina bulung-bulung barangsi darambuskon, pitpit mata mambuwat, manabasi pe soni do, di purba gorahani di otara sorini*, if we go visiting on Sunday, early morning is unlucky, half-way through the morning profitable, noon indifferent, afternoon: we shall meet an enemy; evening unlucky. The food for the (spirit of the) day is: leaves of any kind, suddenly torn off, whilst we shut our eyes; also the incantation

should be recited with closed eyes; danger is in the east, luck in the north. At the end we find the incantation for the seven days, still widely known in Simalungun (*tabas ni ari na pitu*): *Adintija sangkanti suma sudangbarita anggara batu porkas mudah sampetuwa boraspati madoras sihora samusori samisara sangbinaja binajahon begu binajahon adji ni halak binajahon utang ni ari utang ni panorang sah mat mat mat*, to be recited seven times. The ingredients used with it are betel and pepper; after the incantation has been uttered over these spices one chews them, spits them on the forefinger, stretches this finger forward seven times, blows on it seven times, recites the incantation seven times over the fingers and stretches them forward. *Ham tuwan katebat, di suma tuwan palekah, di angkara (sic) puwang putori hidjo, di mudah tuwan sihudji-hudji, di boraspati tuwan sarindang-rindang, di sihora tuwan sidjamuning, di samisara tuwan sihosa-hosa parondosan*, i. e. the offering should be dedicated on each day to the spirit whose name is mentioned in this formula. Cf. the same list with some variations in BAT. 47 b 27–28 and BAT. 48 a 24–28. A somewhat different version is given in the *pustaka* which has just been cited on *pormunian* (Leiden Cod. Or. 3464). Here the names for the (spirits of the) seven days are: *arintija hatebat, suma si deang salehat, anggara putori hidjo, muda morhata djadi, boraspati sarindang-rindang, singkora si djamuning, samisara marhata osap*. The formula is called *tabas ni pamahani*, the feeding-incantation. Other versions are found in the Leiden MSS. Or. 2281, 3503 and 3524.

a 38–39 No title, but it is: *tuwah ni djuhut*, a list of seven pairs of lucky and unlucky pieces of sacrificial meat, apparently for the seven days of the week: *di uluni tuwahni, di ate-ate gorahana*, in the head is luck, in the liver danger, etc.

a 40 blank.

a 41 was glued to the cover but has come unstuck.

b 1 blank.

b 2–38 *Poda ni si pinang rambe ma inon ale amang na mamasa ije i ma siboto barita na tongon dohot na so tongon i ma na djadi mula sahit na djadi boru sunggulon nini gurunta ase dimangsihon sijadim ma di lapijanta inon ale amang guruwe*, instructions about *si pinang rambe*, O reader; hereby one knows whether tidings are true or not; it also serves as *mula sahit* (to know the origin of an illness) and as *boru sunggulon* (meaning unknown). So said our master, and si Adim has written it in this bark book.—It may be assumed that Adim is the same person who was called Adin in the introduction. The second paragraph is as follows: *Djaha halak ro han agoni hundangan ni radja bana ulang hita ra ijaradjaradi bonar pe hatani ilat do uhurni mabirong rupani magerger matani tangga mariring luhani pisoni onga do madabu halangan bangke hapilinni nidindjam pe ra do djolma horbo halahinon lojo do guleni lasina hapilinni djaha barita mago di biding lombang di bona ni haju hapilinni djaha barita mauli na so tongon do baritani djaha barita djahat sunggu djahat ija ma halak tinongos ni homban ni djuma bonar pe hatani lang da halak porsaja mago so mago mamora so mamora bana tumaram mate anakni pahiduwa daparsilihon ulos haholongan ni ate ase mauli djaha (di) sahit botara guru manahiti madokah lang nibere binoba ni uhur ni tondi ro homani adji ni halak daambangani bani bulungudjungan di sirpang dagalangkon desa mate partibalni da*, if a person comes from the south-east he is a trusted bondman of the king, we should not let ourselves be persuaded by his words, for however reliable his words may seem, his character is deceitful; his complexion is dark, his eyes are red;

his wounds are (numerous) as a row of steps in a steep mountain path; his knife has fallen once; if not, it is fit to put a corpse on it (? *halangan bangke*), or it may be a borrowed one; he is a buffalo-man; vegetables are his green food, or otherwise red pepper; if he brings tidings about something being lost, it has been put at the border of a valley, or at the foot of a tree; if he brings good news, it is untrue; if he brings bad news, it is really bad. He is a person sent by the spirit of the sacred spot in the middle of the rice-field; though his words may be sincere, people do not trust him; he is poor, but not really poor; rich, but not really rich. There is danger that his second son will die; his most beloved garment must be given as a substitute to avert the evil. In case of illness, *botara guru* (the ghost of a child deceased at a tender age) causes illness; the offerings to this ghost have long been neglected because of the whims of the patient's soul, and moreover there will come some magic sent by other people; it should be met by an offering of food put on the top end of a banana-leaf placed at a cross-road towards the 'dead' point of the compass.

There is a Mandailing-Batak text on *si pinang rambe* in the Chester Beatty collection (Ch. B. 1141, *Cat. Dublin* pp. 84 et sq.).

b 39-40 A small table for computing the luck of the day, probably by counting along the following list of 8 possibilities:

djolma ulang dapalaho disinon, on this day do not sell (give in marriage) a human being.

dajok ulang dapalaho di ari i, do not sell a fowl on this day.

babi ulang dadjuwal di ari inon, do not sell a pig on this day.

sibanguwa ni horbo ari i ale, buffalo is taboo on this day.

sibanguwa ni bosu, iron is taboo.

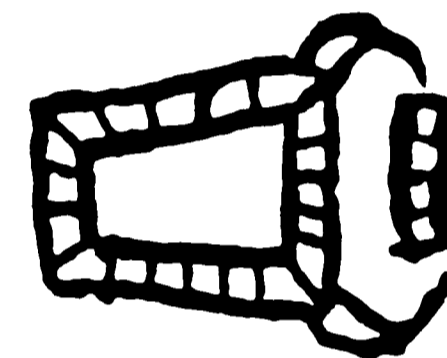
guru ni ome, forbidden rice on the field.

guru ni tano, forbidden ground.

ulos ulang daparseda age dadjuwan (l. *dadjuwal*) *di ari inon*, do not destroy or sell a garment on this day.

Similar tables are often found, beginning: *sibanguwa ni djolma*, man is taboo, e.g. BAT. 49 and 60 (Plate 16), *Cat. Dublin* pp. 71, 81; MS. Amsterdam A 4170 d, 1772/158; Leiden Mus. 464/57, Univ. Libr. Or. 6245 (the most elaborate text); London Br. Mus. Add. 19379; Bremen Mus. A 12305. In the present copy and the Bremen text the nature of the taboo is more clearly stated than in the other MSS.

b 41 was originally glued to the (now lost) cover.



Tëndung.

BAT. 45 (Nat. Mus. C 5336).

Bark book. 57 leaves, 6,8 × 7¹/₂ cm. Two wooden covers decorated with scratched figures.

Karo-Batak spelling. *Sikurûn* here denotes not only *u* and *ě* but also *o*. Final *-h* is written by the same sign as *-ng*. The beginning of smaller paragraphs is noted by three, mostly oblique, strokes of the pen. Neatly written but full of mistakes; well preserved. There are many illustrations, well drawn, but somewhat spoiled by a too copious use of red paint, which has become brown and in some places almost obliterated the black lines of the drawings. Some roughly drawn magical designs are a later addition.

The dialect is mainly *poda*-language with a few Karo words.

Acquired in 1937.

Subject: A kind of divination called *tëndung*. In Neumann's Karo-Batak dictionary this word is explained as follows: an instrument of divination, especially one made of small strips of bamboo, threaded on a string; these are turned round several times over a person's head and then he seizes one of the strips. The words written on this piece of bamboo give the information required. The Simalungun dictionary by J. Wismar Saragih s. v. *tondoeng* gives the same explanation. In Toba-Batak *tondung* is used in a more general sense, denoting various kinds of divination. In our text the oracle is obtained by seizing at random one of the illustrations in the book. How exactly this copy was used we do not know. Perhaps a finger or a piece of bamboo was put between the leaves and the book was opened there.

Another copy (BAT. 46) has pieces of string to be grasped at random. That copy will be described next. In comparing the two copies we shall call BAT. 45: A and BAT. 46: B. C refers to a MS. in Cologne (see p. 179).

a 1-2 blank.

a 3, after a *bindu*: *Djaka tērdjabat api na laga djahat djaka [baguda] di sakit b(e)gu nini na manakiti dēkēt siputah na manakiti asa dibere di asi (l. asu) na birēng dēkēt dengke nidalang di alaman di bulung ni bagēt dabēre dē(m)pak nareti ||| djaka kita bingkas ku banuwa ni kalak marulih ma kita ulang malawēn dx kita ija malawēn agowan dx kita na lako mērbanuwa ||| djaka lako bingsak (l. bingkas) sarabakta ari pitu kita bingkas djahat ale gurunami na mērdjaga*, if one seizes the (figure of) 'blazing fire' it is inauspicious. In the event of illness, the grandfather's ghost causes illness and a curse causes illness (*siputah*, curse, according to Neumann's dictionary *sipēsta*, *sipista* or *sipusta*, Sim. and Tob. *sapata*,

Skr. *śapatha*); a black dog and fish which has been chopped up should be offered to these ghosts in the village-square; the offering should be given on a leaf of the sugar-palm in a south-westerly direction. When we go on an expedition into foreign parts, we shall get gain; we must not loiter; if we loiter, we shall suffer loss in the expedition an hour after sunrise on the seventh day, it is inauspicious, O teacher who reads this.—The drawing that belongs to this paragraph is on the other side of the bark, p. b 21. It shows several dubious objects, one of them perhaps a fireplace. The legend is: *aku ma api na la(ga) manutu(ng) dipahat (l. djahat) andiba datu*, I am the blazing fire that burns; it is inauspicious, O *datu*.—Not in B. Cf. C a 31/b 9 (In the Cologne MS. the b-page with the illustration is always at the back of the a-page with the text that belongs to it).

I shall now give the names only of the signs which come after *djaka tērdjabat* and translate them where the meaning is more or less certain.

a 4 *rungrung bahuta*; drawing (b 20) with legend: *aku debata rungrung bahuta badjik andiba datu*. Cf. B VII; C a 30/b 10.

a 5 *kalak na mate usungan*; (b 19) *kalak na mate di usungan djahat ma inxn ale*, a dead person being carried on a bamboo pole, as shown in the picture. Cf. B I b; C a 29/b 11.

a 7 *gadjah di udjung bukit*, an elephant on a promontory; (b 18) the words are illegible and I do not see an elephant in the picture. Cf. C a 28/b 12.

a 9 *madabu pungrung (l. punggur)*; (b 17) *kalak mate dikadabui punggur djahat andiba datu*, a person who dies by a falling branch; inauspicious. Cf. C a 27/b 13.

a 11 *dēlēk simanabun*; (b 16) *aku debata ni gunung simanabun badjik andiba datu*, I am the deity of Mount Simanabun; auspicious. The

mountain may be discerned in the picture; a person carrying something on his head is climbing it. Cf. C a 26/b 14.

a 12 *panggala bunga*; (b 15) *aku debata ni pangkala bunga djahat andiba datu*. In C a 25/b 15: *djambu ara*.

a 14 *ikan si radja mena*; (b 14) *aku debata ni ikan si radja mena badjik andiba datu*, I am the deity of the fish Prince Pisces, auspicious. Much imagination is needed to see a fish in this picture. Cf. B VIII a; C a 24/b 16.

a 15 *buwaja manangkap*; (b 13) *aku ma debata ni arimo manangkap djahat*, a snatching crocodile (a) or tiger (b); inauspicious. The picture shows two animals and a human figure torn to pieces. Cf. B VIII b, IX a; C a 23/b 17 (*buwaja manangkap*).

a 17 *sarabulan rumarede*; (b 12) *aku ma debata ni sarabulan rumarede badjik*. Cf. B XVII; C a 22/b 18.

a 19 *kalak di takal ni arimo* (not in b). This reading is very doubtful; if correct, it would mean: a person on a tiger's head. The *o* is written with *sikurûn* followed by *pěněngěn* (the Skr. *virāma*). In C a 21/b 19: *arimo manangkap*.

a 21 *si dajang gapati*; (b 11) *aku ma debata ni si dammang gapaki badj(i)k ma inxn dibah datu*. The picture (Plate 25) shows four people sitting with crossed legs, each with a kind of ring (a plate?) before him. Cf. B III; C a 20/b 20: *nang-gapati bėrhala di ampuwan*.

a 22 the name is missing; (b 10) very doubtful reading: *aku ma debata karalingan dibėlit sa djahat*. Cf. C a 19/b 21: *kalak dibėlit sawa*, a person encircled by a python.

a 24 *radja n(i) malaju (gu)ru debata tunggal*; (b 9) *aku debata ni radja malaju badjik andibah datu*. A Malay king, auspicious. Cf. C a 18/b 22: *rumah ni debata tunggal*.

a 26 *kalak mėsěng mate banigatang* (l. *bintang*) *bėtėkan*; (b 8) *aku debata bintang bėtėkěn djahat dibah datu guru*. I do not know which star is meant by the 'arm-star'. The picture shows four persons, one of whom is losing his head. Cf. C a 17/b 23: *kalak mate mėsěng*, a person dying in a fire.

a 27 *nejur mėrbėras*; (b 7) *aku debata nijur mėrbėras badjik andibah datu*, I am the deity of the fruit-bearing coconut tree, auspicious, O *datu*. The tree in the picture is richly laden with fruit. Cf. C a 16/b 24.

a 29 *rumah ni b(e)gu na mago-mago na mahxl*; (b 6) *aku na mago-mago di na malawěn djahat andibah datu*, (the ghost of) an unlucky person, inauspicious. Not in C.

a 31–32 blank.

a 33 *putėri*; (b 5) *aku ma debata ni bėru ni dutėri* (sic) *badjik andibah datu*, a princess, auspicious. Not in C.

a 34 *balujang*; (b 4) *aku ma debata ni ijang balu djahat andibah datu*. Cf. B XVI; C a 15/b 25.

a 36 *debata di purba*; (b 3) *aku ma debata ni purba badjik andibah datu*, the god of the East, auspicious. Cf. C a 14/b 26.

a 37 *kalak diikit kalak*; (b 2) *aku ma debata ni adj(i) badjik andibah datu diikit kalak*, I am the gods of evil magic, bound by another person, auspicious, O *datu*. The picture shows two aggressive persons (with large open mouths), being bound by another person. Cf. C a 13/b 27: *kalak dikėt kalak*, someone bound by another person.

a 39 *dajang tamijang*; (b 1) *aku ma debata ni dajang badjik andibah datu*. By *dajang* the soul of the rice may be meant; cf. Neumann's dictionary s. v. Cf. B XI and C a 12/b 28: *gadjah tamijang*, an elephant of Tamiang?

The following paragraphs have no corresponding pictures on the reverse.

a 41 *kalak matutung djahat*, a burnt person, inauspicious. Cf. B VI; C a 11/b 29.

a 42 *si dajang bėru ni adji pangutusan badjik*. Cf. B XIV b; C a 10/b 30.

a 44 *panėpa mate ma na upas utang djahat* (obscure). Cf. B XIV a; C a 9/b 31.

a 45 *kalak nitangkap buwaja djahat*, a person seized by a crocodile, inauspicious. Cf. C a 8/b 32.

a 47 *putėri* (again), brings good fortune. Cf. C a 7/b 33: *bėru ni mangaradja*, the daughter of a king.

a 48 *balik kurna djahat*. Cf. C a 6/b 34: *balik kurma*.

a 50 *baringin matimbu djati* (a fabulous banyan-tree) *badjik*. Cf. B V; C a 5/b 35.

a 51 *urang kabegan djahat*. Cf. C a 4 (*urang kabeguwan*) /b 36 (*urang kabangkejėn*).

a 53 *parau sarat badjik*, a heavily laden vessel, auspicious. Cf. C a 3/b 37.

a 55–56 The beginning of the incantation (*pėda ni pėrmangmang ni tėndungta*).

a 57 is illegible as it is glued to the cover.

Probably at this end of the strip of bark at least 9 leaves are lost; on the reverse they must have had drawings belonging to the last 9 paragraphs of the text. In the part of the incantation that has been preserved, the *datu* addresses himself to the *bėru* (daughter), *ulin* (?) and *pangulubalang* of the *tėndung*, to the *rambu* (strings), *kusip* (small beads)¹, *simata* (beads), *mangsi* (ink), and *alim* (bark). This shows that the book should have strings such as are found on the other copy that will be described next, but there are no signs that this copy ever had them.

b 1–26 the drawings mentioned above. From the order of the pictures and the direction of the writing it appears that this part was written from p. 26–p. 1, and originally continued on some leaves that have broken off.

b 27–56 On the right half of these pages there is

a series of figures representing signs to be observed in the sky, each with a legend mentioning its auspicious or inauspicious meaning. This text has no title; it is known in *poda*-language as *parombunan*. The first paragraph is: *aku ma debata ikan raja diatas kuta ni musuh ija diatas kutata djahat ma inxn mago ma kalak*, this is the deity of the great fish (to be seen) over the village of the enemy; if it is over our village it is unlucky, people will perish. This list ends on p. b 45 and is followed by a list of the 12 *pėrmesa* (signs of the zodiac), likewise accompanied by drawings. Still on the same half of the pages there is a list of the 8 *panggorda* with their figures; this, however, is written in the opposite direction (b 56–52).

On the other half of the pages we find some scribbled magical designs (b 39–41) and a list of the 7 days of the week with mention of the kind of person who should not take part in a campaign started on such a day. This list is repeated twice, in opposite directions and with some variations (b 42–48 and b 56–49). Some names of Karo-Batak *mėrga* are mentioned in this text. It looks like a later addition.

The left half of pp. b 27–38 has been left blank. b 57 is glued to the cover.

¶¹ In a Mandailing *pustaha* (Leiden Ethn. Mus. 741/7 a 46) *simata usip*.



Tėndung.

BAT. 46 (Nat. Mus. C 1518).

Fragments of a bark book, which has broken into many pieces. There are: 1 piece of 8 leaves (one

of them glued to a wooden cover decorated with carving); 1 piece of 5 leaves; 2 pieces of 3 leaves each; 4 pieces of 2 leaves each, one of them blank and glued to a plain wooden cover; and 10 loose leaves, c. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ cm.

The spelling follows the same system as in the preceding copy; *sikurûn* stands for *u*, *ě* and *o*; only in the word *so*, not, the special sign for *o* is used (here transcribed *sou*). The sign for final *-h* is used in this MS; it is put over the consonant, sometimes a little to the right. The *na* often has the 'old' form.

The language of this copy too is *poda*-language with some Karo-Batak words.

Subject: This is another book of *těndung* similar to the one which has just been described. One side (a) contains the text, the other side (b) the illustrations with short legends. Near the right-hand edge of every illustrated page a small hole has been pricked, through which a short piece of string (*rambu*) has been fastened. The method of consulting this oracle was probably to select one of the pieces of string protruding from the closed book; then the book was opened and the name of the illustration indicated by the piece of string read; further details were looked up in the text on the other side. Whereas in the other book each illustration occupies one page only and has its legend on the same page, in this copy most illustrations extend over more than one page, and when the book broke into pieces some illustrations became separated from their legends. It is now uncertain how the fragments were originally arranged, and a piece of text in which no beginning of a paragraph is found, or an illustration without its legend, can no longer be identified. After the book was broken somebody tried to change the legends of some illustrations to

bring them into accord with the text on the other side of the fragment. Some illustrations were perhaps added so as to agree with the text on the back.

I shall now describe the fragments one by one.

I. 8 leaves.

a 1 glued to the cover.

a 2 blank.

a 3 the beginning of the text, after a *bindu*: *Pěda ni těndungta na měrgěrankěň těndung (pa)rahu tinandangan barang kita měrdjalan beja kita mangali* (for *poda*-language *mangoli*) *barang tuměndungkěň parulihan beja tuměndungi pěrdjuma-wěnta beja kita tuměndungi sakit na děrsa na umbětě(h) na manakiti pělejěň ningěň mahuli dx didxk těndungta inxn asa k(i)ta lako diěntang kalak manambari ningěň mahuli dx těndungta na měrgěrankěň těndung parahu tinandangan ma inxn pinědah ni gurunta guru pěrgagx* (l. *pěrgěgěh*, *poda*-language *porgogo*?) *datu sxdip ma guru ngeli pe mědah i datu sxdip aka da mintěra ni i mama ninta datu mangguru pagijan pagi uwe*, Instructions about our instrument of divination called *Parahu tinandangan* (this is the correct reading: ship to which people come), used when starting on a journey, for marriage, to predict profit and harvest, to find out the spirit to whom offerings should be given in the event of serious illness; only when our *těndung* says it is auspicious we should go to treat a patient. The instructions come from a teacher called *Datu Sědip* (or *Sudip*).... (some words obscure); what is the incantation to be used? thus should we ask.— In this incantation the spirits of the following objects are invoked: the oracle as a whole (*těndung*), the book (*lapihan*), the beads (*simata*), which we may suppose were fastened at the end of the strings, the strings (*rambu*), the small beads

(*kusip*), the ink (*mangsi*) and the *pangambi(h)i* (? litt. annex to a house). Then the *datu* addresses himself to Debata Kasi-kasi: if no evil threatens my patient, may he seize *baringin tunbuh* (sic) *djati*, *salabulan rumere*, *sěh* (?) *simanabun*, *baringin měrbuah*, or *dajang bėru sinumbah ni batara guru*. If danger threatens him, may he seize *tanėh baruk*, *kalak mate di bajangėn*, or *kalak mate di usungan*.

Aku tėrpangan sikabang(ke)jan kamu sou tėngka kabangkejan

Aku mangan nitėstėš kamu sou tėngka lėslėš,

i.e.: if I have eaten something impure, do not show an inauspicious sign;

if I have eaten something broken, let no evil word by you be spoken.

At the end of the incantation the *datu* prays for the favour of the gods of the 8 points of the compass, asking them to indicate every threatening danger, and he closes with the usual mention of Debata Kasi-Kasi.

a 8 The beginning of the list of signs: *djaka kita mėrtanakėn tėndung tėrdjabat kamara djati badjik*, if we ask (*tana*, a special *poda*-language word, Mal. *tanja*, to ask) the oracle and seize the sign *kamara djati*, it is auspicious. Special injunctions are given which should be followed in case of illness, of loss of property, etc. In a military expedition begun under this omen one of our *pėrrangin* will die, i.e. a person who uses a *rangin*, a shield used in funeral dances. The picture belonging to this paragraph is on p. IV b 3.

b 1 the last picture of the series: *aku debata kalak mate di usungan djahat ma inxn tuwanku u(we) bah ale datu pagi*, I am the deity of a dead person being carried on a bamboo pole; inauspicious. Cf. A a 5.

b 2–8 blank.

II. 5 leaves.

a 2 *dipangan buwaja djahat*; picture see b.

a 3 *pxti..ba* (?).

a 5 *di mata ni bulan djahat*.

b 1–2 drawings in red ink with an incomplete legend by a later hand.

b 2–3 *aku ma debata kalak dipangan buwaja barang pada kėrdja djahat ma inxn*, deity of a person being eaten by a crocodile, a bad omen for a ceremonial feast. The crocodile is visible in the picture.

b 4–5 *aku ma debata ni na mago na sapapas* (sic; for the correct reading see text XIV a) *ni utang barang pada kėrdja djahat*.

III. 3 leaves.

a 2 *dajang nanggapati*, picture see b, and cf. A a 21.

b 1–2 drawings without a legend.

b 3 *dajang nanggapati badjik*. See IX b.

IV. 3 leaves.

a 1 *badja ni kalak djahat*, other people's lamp-black offering, inauspicious. Picture see b.

a 2 *radja(h) ni tėndung badjik*, the oracle's magic design, auspicious. Picture see b.

b 1 On the left side of this leaf a strip of bark is broken off. The drawing and the legend on this page were made afterwards. They represent the *radjah ni tėndung*.

b 2 *aku ma debata badja ni kalak*, see a 1. The drawing probably represents some pieces of banana leaf with smudges of lamp-black and oil, as used in offerings.

b 3 *aku ma debata ni kumara djati badjik*. (Skr. *kumāra*?). See I a 8.

V. 2 leaves.

a 2 *baringin tumbuh djati*. The continuation of

this paragraph is found on X a. If we join these two fragments together we get on the back:

b 1-2 *aku ma debata ni baringěn tumbuh djati badjik*, deity of the fabulous banian-tree, auspicious. The picture shows a tree in a square enclosure on a hill, with a human figure on one side and on the other side two animals resembling crocodiles. See Plate 24. Cf. A a 50. The next picture has the legend: *aku ma debata ni talan-djahan djahat barang pada kěrdja (dja)hat ma inxn kuwanku uwe bah*.

b 3 At the bottom of this page is the beginning of a third legend: *aku ma debata ni putěri radja pi...*

VI. 2 leaves.

a 2 *kalak mate matutung djahat*.

b 2 At the bottom of this page there is a legend belonging to a picture that must have been on the next page: *aku ma debata ni kalak matutung*, a person who dies by burning, inauspicious. Cf. A a 41.

VII. 2 leaves.

a 1 *rungrung bauta badjik*. Cf. A a 4.

b 2 A legend at the bottom of this page, belonging to the next leaf, has been made illegible and replaced by: *aku ma debata ni rungrung bahuta*.

VIII. 1 leaf.

a *ikan si radja mena badjik*. Cf. A a 14.

b *buwaja manangkap djahat*. Cf. A a 15.

IX. 1 leaf.

a *arimo manangkap djahat*. Cf. A b 13. The continuation of this paragraph is found on III a 1.

b The second half of the picture of *dajang nanggapati*; legend belonging to the next page: *arimo manangkap*.

X see V.

XI. 1 leaf.

a *gadjah tamijang-tijang badjik*. Cf. A a 39.

b Drawing without a legend.

XII. 1 leaf.

a *běрма kamxtəri*.

b legend in a later handwriting: *běрма kamxtəri badjik*.

XIII. 1 leaf, the part with the string is broken off.

a *dunija* (Arab.: world?) *badjik*.

b Picture of a tree; legend belonging to the next page: *debata ni bunta butu...*

XIV. 1 leaf.

a *na sou lěpas ni utang djahat*, a debt never paid off, inauspicious. The continuation of this paragraph is on p. II a 1. Cf. A a 44.

b *si dajang běru adji bajik*. Cf. A a 42.

XV. 1 leaf.

a *bajo manandangi badjik*.

b *baju* (written with *kěběřětěn*) *mannandingi badjik*.

XVI. 1 leaf.

a No beginning of a paragraph.

b Legend belonging to the next page: *aku ma debata ijang babi* (indistinctly written, probably *ijang balu* is meant; cf. A a 34, b 4) *barang pada kěrdja djahat*.

XVII. 1 leaf.

a *salabulan rumere*. Cf. A a 17.

b Drawing without a legend.

XVIII. Two blank leaves with a plain wooden cover.

Probably many leaves are missing. Out of the lucky signs mentioned in the incantation we found *baringin tumbuh djati* and *salabulan rumere* in the text, but *simanabun* (cf. A a 11) and *baringin mērbuwah* are missing (the tree on the picture XIII b might be the 'fruit-bearing banyan-tree'); *dajang bēru sinumbah ni batara guru* is perhaps identical with XII a: *bērma kamxtxri*, of which the text says: *sinumbah batara guru marula(h)i*, the holy Batara Guru causes illness. Of the unlucky signs mentioned in the incantation only *kalak mate di usungan* is found in the remaining fragments, but not *tanēh baruk* (barren ground?) and *kalak mate di bajangēn* (a person who died in the stocks).

The agreement between the two books of *tēndung* is remarkable. The sign *dajang nanggapati*, whose name is without obvious meaning, is depicted in both books by four seated persons with four 'plates'. This proves that the series of drawings and their interpretation is not a whim of some *datu*, but is founded on tradition. This conclusion was confirmed by the finding of other copies.

MS. Amsterdam 2761/36 is a complete and well-preserved specimen of this text in Simalungun-Batak dialect. It has the strings (*rambu*) but no beads. The drawings are done with black ink only. Each one is accompanied by a legend that mentions its name and some omens.

More omens are mentioned in the longer text that is on the other side of the same pages. In some instances the texts on the two sides are at variance. e.g.: if one consults the oracle in the event of illness and draws 'Mount Simanabun', the legend with the figure says that the *djinudjung* (the ghost of the clan's ancestor) causes the illness, but according to the text on the back it is the mountain spirit. The names of the figures in this book are:

parahu tinandangan, a boat to which people come. The picture shows a boat with a steering rudder and a smoking funnel. Two people are standing upright in it. Cf. B I a 3.

tinangkap (ni) arimo, a man assailed by a tiger. Cf. A b 13, B IX a.

pariba langlang marbuwah, on the other side: *parimba lang marbuwah(?)*.

tondung saroha-roha.

parkahul ni tondung, other side: *tondung subutan mula djadi*.

buwaja manangkap, snatching crocodile. It is difficult to recognize this animal in the picture that looks more like two centipedes. Cf. A a 15, B VIII b.

parahu harom di tongah-tongah ni lautan, a boat sunk in the middle of the sea. The picture shows floating objects and human members.

halak porbadjo-badjo, raiders (four men in a line and some slain foes).

si Singa Mangaradja, the Divine King at Bangkara (see R. Heine-Geldern, *Le pays de P'i-k'ien, le Roi au grand cou et le Singa Mangaradja*, BEFEO XLIX (1959), pp. 361 et sqq.). On one side the following words are added to the name *si Singa Mangaradja*: *ija ma tinongos ni sibaganding tuwa*, he (or: this sign) is sent by the auspicious *sibaganding* snake. This snake is very important in Batak magic, e.g. MS. Leiden, Univ. Libr. Or. 8776.

radja mantan, perhaps the Radja Malaju mentioned above (A a 24). In the picture he is somewhat smaller but nearly as fat as *si Singa Mangaradja*.

halibutongan, rainbow, pictured without the heads that are usually found in Indonesian pictures of the rainbow.

si mate di bajangan, people who die in the stocks, or *halak di bajangan*, people in the stocks. The

picture shows three persons fettered in the stocks and some free. Cf. the incantation in B I.

gunung simanabun, Mount (the Malay word is used) Simanabun. Cf. the incantation in B I, and A a 11.

punggur madabuh, a falling branch. The picture shows several large warriors and a small human figure that may have been killed by a falling branch. Cf. A a 9.

baringin tumbuh djati, the mythical banyan-tree. It has little resemblance to a tree in this picture. Cf. A a 50 and B V.

Another Karo-Batak *tëndung* manuscript, complete with strings and beads, (Cologne, Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum No. 15059) is described in Dr. L. Manik's catalogue of Batak MSS. in Germany, no. 341. Its title is *tëndung rau*. The comparative notes referring to this manuscript (C) were kindly supplied by Dr. Manik.

In the same catalogue a copy of this text found in the Berlin Ethnographical Museum (I. C. 30849) is described under no. 20 (cf. also no. 285).

A text in which the paragraphs begin: *djaka těr-djabat ...* (but without pictures) is found in a small and badly damaged bark book in Paris, Bibl. Nat. mal.-pol. 16.



Astrological divination.

BAT. 47 (Cod. Bat. 7).

Bark book. 41 leaves, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ cm, some leaves smaller. Two wooden covers. Karo-Batak writing; *sikurûn* stands for *ě* and *u*, seldom for *o*. Karo-Batak language with many expressions from *poda*-language. The writing is well preserved, but many

folios were broken long ago and the loose pieces had been sewn together in wrong order. Moreover from the beginning the writing had not been continuous. On one side (which I shall call a) a text starts on p. 5, being continued on p. 6, etc.; another text starts on p. 4 and runs back over pp. 3 and 2 to p. 1, to be continued on the reverse (b 40, 39, etc.). This fact, combined with the wrong arrangement of the leaves by the first restorer, had brought the text into what seemed to be a hopeless confusion. In this confused state the MS. underwent a second restoration, technically perfect, but making it still more difficult to find one's way through the text. I have only succeeded in restoring the correct order of the pages after having cut all the wrong sewings.

This MS. was donated by the Danish professor Ingholt, 1947.

Subject: Various kinds of divination.

The text can be divided into three parts: I. pp. a 5–40; II. b 1–28; III. a 4–1, continued on b 40–29.

I.

a 5–14 *Pěda ni katěgahanta di kalak na těrěp pagija(n) datu gurunami (u)lang lupa di pėdah ni (gu)ru si kalěbe pagijan datu guru si kalěbe kijan. Mesa di bulan si[ka]pakasada měrguru kambing ija palěmukni*, etc. Instructions about our support against the crowd in the future, O *datu* our master, do not forget the instructions of the masters of olden times, O *datu*, the masters who were the very first. *Mesa* in the first month, its master is the goat; to tame it use (a certain kind of leaf), etc., the usual list of the 12 signs of the zodiac (*poda*-language *pormesa*), each with a small illustration. The names and Batak equivalents are: *mesa* (*kambing*), *měrsěba* (*kaba-kaba*), *metuna* (*gaja*), *měrkata* (*rikrik*), *singa* (*arimo*), *kanija* (*kaliki*),

tula (*timbangěn*), *dahanu* (*kaju buruk*), *makara* (*gajo*), *kumba* (*ta(m)pajan*), *měrtika* (*babi(n)-tang*), *mena* (*ikan*).

a 14–17 The 8 *panggorda*, beginning: *Panggurda-ha mērguru gēndang ma desa inxn*, i. e. *panggurda-ha*, the drum is the master of this point of the compass. The other seven are: *gěra* (*manuk*), *suwana* (*bijang*), *musika* (*tikus*), *sěrpa* (*abalabal*), *singa* (*arimo*), *sangbinaja* (*api*), *měrsa-buwa* (*buwaja*).

a 17–20 *Pěda ni pěrmamista nipědahkěn guru(n)-ta si mangadji bata* (l. *banta?*) *si nguda asa mērtěnah ma (n)dube silih sibirih* (l. *simbiring*) *měrgana kuta buh* (l. *buluh?*) *si siwah sada gi(n)ting asa lako ma (n)dube karo-karo mērgana si matahat kakapan mērbapakěn talu mērdjudi mērna(n)dekěn lahang madji(ng)kat maka enam kata nu lapihan o silih si mērdjaga-djaga ale datu guru*. After this not very clear introduction the 5 moments called *pěrmamis* are enumerated with the means of 'taming' them, etc., and an illustration: *Ija kěna di mamis mērguru ka(m)bing katika inxn*, if one hits on *mamis* (in counting on the divination-table of the *pěrmamis*) the goat is the master of that moment. The other four are: *bisnu* (*běras*), *sěri* (*ka(m)pil*), *kala* (*katjip-katjip gělang*), *běrma* (*pola*). The figures illustrating pp. a 5–20 have been used as vignettes in this catalogue. (See the list of illustrations, p. 19).

a 20–29 Without a title. In Toba it would be called: *pagar surat na sampulu sia*, the alphabet used as an amulet. It begins: *Aku ma debata ni si a a di banuwa suratěnkěn di banban punggur duruk(ě)nkěn tu aděpan ni musuhta di atiha bulta(?) arina radja(h) ma inxn*, I am the deity of si a a in the world, to be written on a broken stalk of the *banban*-plant, to be pushed towards the enemy on (the first day of the month?); this is the drawing: a a a a a.

The order of the alphabet is: *a, ka, sa, pa, na, ga, da, dja, ta, ba, ja, ma, nga, uwa, la, nja, ra, i, u*. The end of this paragraph is: *ale datu guru si mērdjaga-djaga lapihanta bangan ta(m)bar lungunna na(m)bari ate masuwi na(m)bari kakapan matahat o silih si mērdjaga*. For *bangana* = *ban*, cf. p. 89.

a 30–34 *Pěda ni pěrsilihi ni pěrmesa sampulu duwa asa nipědahkěn guru(n)ta kaka panawar kuta li-baru ki asa nisu(ng)kun agina panawar rumah bale bapana bėru radja manggilsa asa ras silihna purba mērgana mērgěrankěn si so gěm....be asa ena ma kata-kata pěrsi(li)hi ni pěr(mesa) na so lěbih na so kurang nina guru(n)ta ale*. Instructions about the substitutes to be given to the 12 *pěrmesa*. What is said about the origin of these instructions is not clear. Kuta Li(m)baru may be the name of a village ('New Village'), but I cannot think what can be meant by the *ki* after it. For each month the substitutes to be given for our warriors are mentioned and portrayed in small illustrations. E.g. *rangin (ba)buwut tjurik tēm-tēm buntal pěrsilihi ni paranganta di bulan sipakaěněm radjahna ma inxn*, a shield made of a tiger's hide, a dagger, and the thorn of a box-fish are the substitute for our warriors in the 6th month; this is the drawing.

a 34–37 Title illegible; the text is about the substitutes for our warriors according to the 8 *panggurdaha* combined with the 8 points of the compass. The same kind of illustrations. The last paragraph is: *Rangin bakul-bakul tjurik buntal pěrsilihi ni parangěnta si uwaluh desa pangalako ni panggurdaha so těngka pěkěrdjankěn ale datu guru si mangadji panuruni ni guru ngapuwa(?)*. Cf. BAT. 5.

a 38–40 Incantations to render the weapons of the enemy powerless.

a 40 The well-known *kětika* with figures with and

without heads, called *ketika Djohor* in Celebes, but in this case the figures are quadrupeds, not men. Cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, plate 26, fig. 2, upper half, and H. van den Brink, *Dr Benjamin Frederik Matthes*, p. 489 fig. L.

a 41 glued to the cover.

II.

b 1–2 A diagram in the form of a kind of fat centipede with the initial letters of the names of the *pěrmamis* arranged in five different ways on its back.

b 2 A diagram of 7×7 sections, all containing the letter *nga*, some forward, some backward.

b 3 A diagram of 4×6 sections; four are empty, the other 20 contain the 19 letters of the alphabet and the other form of *ta*; every letter except this last one is accompanied by one or more small circles (grains of rice?), as follows:

| | | | | |
|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| a (6) | ba (2) | pa (7) | na (5) | wa (6) |
| ma (5) | ta (4) | sa (4) | ja (9) | da (4) |
| ra (2) | ga (8) | dja (7) | la (3) | nga (9) |
| ka (6) | i (1) | u (1) | nja (5) | ta |

This table belongs to the following text:

b 4–12 *Pěda ni rasija(n)ta di kamusuhan inxn asa sipasang kata-kata nu rasijanta si mětěh mara si mětěh kita měnanng si mětěh kita talu asa sirasi-kěn kita guru ras sukut ras anak běruna ras musuhta asa sitěnggěr ma lěbe pangidahanta asa kita lako měr(pě)rangkěn musuhta asa ulang lupa pědah ni guru(n)ta si(m)biring měrgana ni taněh si nēm kuta nari si bělang pěrdalan ni taněh pakpak nari maba-maba ate masuwi so (written su) těrulak datu ale guru. Talu na sada bahan duwa... etc. Instructions about our divination-table in war; we put in operation the text of our divination-table that knows danger, that knows our victory, that knows our defeat; we test (the names of) ourselves (the*

datu), of the principal and his *anak běru* (assistant from the bride-taking group) and of the enemy. Before we go to fight the enemy we should first consult the indications. Do not forget the instructions of our master, a man of the *měrga* Simbiring from Si Nēm Kuta (i.e. Sukanalu on the Karo-Plateau and 5 neighbouring villages), who has widely travelled, coming from the Pakpak country always with a sad heart, unconquerable by any *datu*, O master! *One* is defeated by *two*... etc. A manner of operating the *rasin* is described in Neumann's dictionary s.v. *rasi*: the numerical values of the letters of a boy's and a girl's name are compared; to ensure a harmonious marriage the sum of the boy's letters should be higher than that of the girl's. In our text the biggest number mentioned is 9, and this is also the highest value for any single letter in the diagram. So probably only the first letter of each name was used for comparison. The end of this text is: *na uwaluh děkět na siwah talu na uwaluh di(ba)-kěn na siwah bangan ajam-(a)jam(?) sakuta ...na silih guru pak(pak?) asa rěh ma (n)dube ku taněh kubu asa (n)imangsikěn silih si(m)biring měrgana ma (n)dube ni dja(m)bu(r) pangulu rumah bale ale amang. This seems to mean that the text was written by a man of the měrga Simbiring in the village Kubu, in the sleeping-house for bachelors of the chief of the quarter Rumah Bale. In poda-language this table of divination is called *simonang-monang*. See BAT. 36 b 34–40.*

b 12–16 Various diagrams for divination. In the diagram on p. b 12 some of the words in the sections can be recognized as names of angels (*borajil*, Gabriel) or prophets (*mukaměmat*, Muhammad).

b 17–23 *Pěda ni tabas ni panggurdaha beja di bulan sapulu duwa beja di pěrmamis beja di raksa tunggal beja ari rědjang beja di ari si pitu beja uwari rxta(?) asa ena ma tabasna managuta*

(l. *man gurunta?*) *nini bapa runggaran pang(u)lu suka na mērkandu-kandukēn bapa djinabun asa nisusurkēna tu kaka tabo asa nisungkun(?) panawar bapa ma(ng)gil nimangsikēn ma (n)dube tanēh kubu asa ni rumah bale mērupuwangkēn silih bapa malih kade ma dija pangguru o silih nina anak si(m)biring mērgana matahat kidah kakapan nibahan lahang bēluh ngatakēn kata ena ma tabasna ma in.xn ale guru.* Instructions about the incantation of the *panggurdaha*, etc. In three incantations the names of all kinds of astrological spirits are invoked to harm the enemy. The chain of transmission gives some names that were not mentioned before but it ends again in the place called Kubu.

b 23–26 *Pēda ni sipētjah pērang di kasukutan na bēlēn* (written with the Toba-Batak sign for *u* in the first and *sikurūn* in the second syllable), about *sipētjah pērang*, some kind of protective magic (to break (*pētjah*) the enemy's line of battle?) to be used in war; the ingredients and the incantation; followed by *pēda ni tēpung idup ni sipētjah pērang*, 'life-flour' of this *pagar*.

b 27–28 Four drawings of the points of the compass, belonging to the preceding text. Three of them have legends; one of these is: *Tuwan Katebat bulu manuk magara badja m(i)nak.*

Tuwan Sidjamuning rimo mungkur ale.

Tuwan Saudji-udji badja minak pitu bēllo sinubul(?)

Tuwan Sari(n)dang-ri(n)dang badja minak ale.

Tuwan Sausah-usah badja minak rudang marijēm um(bu)-umbuwan ale.

Tuwan Saudjoh-udjoh(??) badja minak ale gurunami.

Tuwan Putēri dan batjir tu panurungi sangkababah dēmpak utara kita nabasisa ale gurunami, i. e. the names of the spirits of the seven days with their offerings. Cf. BAT. 44 and BAT. 48.

III.

a 4–1, b 40–36 No title: *pērmamis*. On p. a 4 is a diagram of 5×5 sections with the initial letters of the names of the five *pērmamis*. The diagram has two human heads, two tails and four legs. On the same page are 7 diagrams illustrating the turning about of some special signs (*rambu*) through the points of the compass, and two other drawings (see Plate 29).

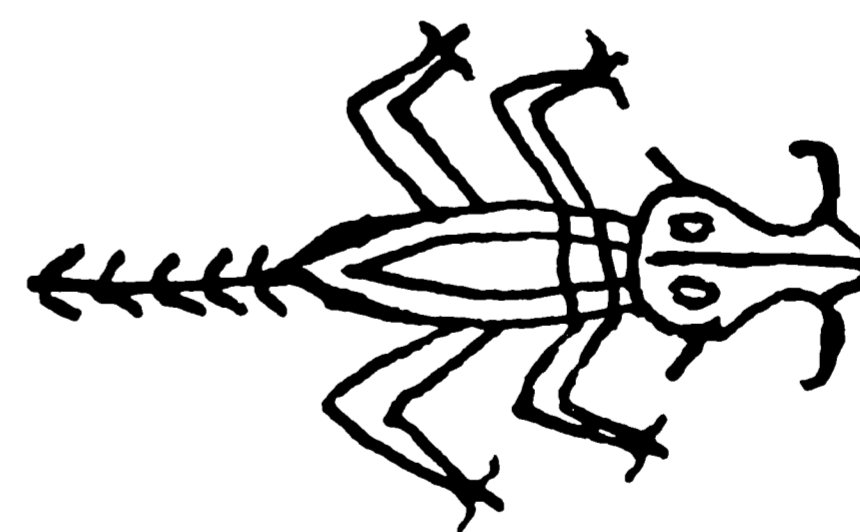
a 3 *Djaka kita mērpērangkēn musuh di mamis di purba sēri ni katika di (pus)tima gēraha ni katika*, if we fight our enemy on *mamis*, the luck of the moment is in the east, the danger in the west, etc.; likewise for the other *pērmamis*.

b 41 glued to the cover.

b 36–34 *Pēda ni ra(m)bu pērlako ni ra(m)bu sikabang-kabang*, the revolution of the *rambu sikabang-kabang*, indicating its compass position for every day of the month.

b 33–31 *Pēda ni parēmbunanta di kasukutan na bēlēn*, on the ominous meaning of clouds in wartime (without illustrations). Cf. Index s. v. *parombunan*.

b 31–29 written with a steel pen by another hand: the favourable times for starting on an expedition (*bingkas*) on the seven days of the week.



Ari rodjang, etc.

BAT. 48 (Cod. Bat. 13).

Bark book. 42 leaves, c. 9×8 cm. Two loose wooden covers; one plaited rattan band.

Simalungun dialect. A good specimen of modern Simalungun-Batak writing (see Plate 19). Probably written with Indian ink and a steel pen. Well preserved.

Bought in 1951 from Ing. E. A. Hagerup, who lived in Java and Sumatra in the years 1912–1918.

Subject: *ari rodjang* and other astrological divination.

a 1–24 *Poda ni ari rodjang ma inon na marhaso-mankon pane bolon ma inon ale amang gurunamije*, Instructions about the *ari rodjang*; this belongs together with the Great Pane, O teacher.

In the series of 30 days called *ari rodjang* (Malay *redjang*), every day of the month has a special name, mostly that of an animal. The system is apparently derived from the Hindu *nakṣatra*, lunar mansions (see Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 551), though apart from the first day there is no agreement in details. A further trace of Hindu origin is the occurrence of the words *sunija* (Skr. *sūnya*, empty) and *punija* (Skr. *puṇya*, auspicious) for some of the last days of the month.

The note about this divination in the text written for Van der Tuuk (Cod. Or. 3402 p. 142) is very short. It says only:

Ia ulaon ni ari rodjang, molo halak laho mordalan barang laho mangoli barang laho mortunggu barang laho mortiga-tiga ditilik ma i; disi ma diboto na denggan barang na dae. Molo tole ma ibana borhat dibahen ma pangalomuk dohot panahut. I ma ulaon ni. I.e.: The use of the *ari rodjang* is as follows. If one goes travelling, or goes to marry a woman, or to dun a debtor, or to trade, this (divination-table) is consulted; in this way one knows whether (the day) is auspicious or inauspicious. If one is about to start, one should bring the soothing and deterring offerings (to the spirit

of the day, as indicated in the table). This is the use of this (oracle).

In our copy no *pangalomuk* (soothing) and *panahut* (detering) are indicated, but only *pinangani ari*, 'what the day eats', i.e. an offering for (the spirit of) the day.

Malay lists of *redjang*-days are fairly numerous. There is also a Lampung list, apparently translated from Malay (Van der Tuuk, *Les manuscrits lampongs*, pp. 11–12), a Javanese list in a Lampung MS. (*ibid.* pp. 133–137), and a Macassar list in a MS. belonging to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden (see: G. K. Niemann, BKI 17 (1870), pp. 138–141), which was transcribed for me by Dr. J. Noorduyn. Most of the names are in the Macassar language, e.g. *meong*, cat = Malay *kutjing*, but some have been taken over in their Malay form, e.g. *lambu* = Mal. *lembu*, cow. The Malay lists I have consulted are:

Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 664.

MS. Leiden Univ. Libr. Or. 6074, Or. 6090 (copied in Or. 5832), Or. 7230 (table), *idem* (text), Or. 7255, Or. 7263 (table), *idem* (text).

MS. Amsterdam, Royal Institute for the Tropics, 674/814.

MS. Delft, Ethnographical Museum, 240/280/51 b.

MS. London, Royal Asiatic Society, Raffles 33(4), Raffles 74(2), Maxwell 15(42).

Notes by Van der Tuuk in the margin of the Leiden MS. Or. 3401 pp. 67–70.

By comparing these texts the original Malay list can be reconstructed fairly accurately for the 1st–25th days, and with less certainty for the 26th and 27th. The Sanskrit *nakṣatra* list had only 27 or 28 names; the last three days are a later addition to make the number of *redjang*-days agree with a calendar that had months of 30 days. The Malay names are:

1. *kuda*, horse.
2. *kidjang*, barking-deer.
3. *harimau*, tiger.
4. *kutjing*, cat.
5. *simpai*, a monkey, *Semnopithecus melalophos*, often misread in the Malay-Arabic script as *sampi*, *sapi*, cow.
6. *kerbau*, buffalo.
7. *tikus*, mouse.
8. *lembu*, cow.
9. *andjing*, dog.
10. *naga*, dragon.
11. *kambing*, goat.
12. *majang*, palm-blossom.
13. *gadjah*, elephant.
14. *singa*, lion.
15. *ikan*, fish.
16. *babi*, pig.
17. *helang*, kite.
18. *lipan*, centipede.
19. *baning*, tortoise.
20. *hantu*, ghost.
21. *harang*, charcoal.
22. *orang*, man, or *udang*, shrimp (there is only a small difference between these words in the Malay-Arabic script).
23. *belalang*, grasshopper.
24. *pari*, ray, skate.
25. *pasak*, peg.
26. *pukang* (?), slow loris.
27. *ulat* (?), worm.
28. *punia* = Skr. *punya*, auspicious (Macassar: *mulia*, noble).
29. *sunia* = Skr. *sūnya*, empty (Macassar: *punia*).
30. *panah*, arrow, or *dahanu* = Skr. *dhanu*, bow, sometimes corrupted to *daun*, leaf (Macassar: *sunia*).

I consulted 13 lists of *ari rodjang* in Batak manuscripts. They are without any doubt of Malay

origin, as some Batak names of days are loan-words from Malay, e.g. *simpe* = Mal. *simpai*, *holang* = Mal. *helang*. There are, however, many deviations from our Malay standard list. The Batak lists often mention the sign of the zodiac that rules the day, together with its *rodjang* name, e.g. *morguru hanija ari lipan*, (the 18th day of the month) is ruled by Virgo, it is a centipede-day. But one also finds *rodjang* signs mentioned as ruling the day, e.g. *morguru lombu*, ruled by the cow, and signs of the zodiac as names of days in the *rodjang* series, e.g. *ari mena*, a Pisces-day. Moreover, alternative names are often given for the same day in the same list, and the number of scribal errors and misunderstandings is very large. For all these reasons it is impossible to construct a Batak standard list. The Batak texts I consulted, without success, for this purpose, are:

Simalungun-Batak.

- A. Copenhagen, BAT. 48.
- B. Copenhagen, BAT. 50.
- C. Amsterdam, 543/9.

Toba-Batak.

- D. Copenhagen, BAT. 2.
- E. London, India Office 3 (Van der Tuuk's transcription in Leiden, Cod. Or. 3401 pp. 67-70).
- F. Leiden, Ethn. Mus. 1239/267.
- G. Leiden, Univ. Libr. Or. 3489.
- H. Amsterdam 1671/1.
- I. Leiden, Univ. Libr. Or. 8911.

Dairi-Batak.

- J. Rotterdam, Ethn. Mus. 17578/19372.

Karo-Batak.

- K. Copenhagen, BAT. 13 (17th-30th days only).
- L. Amsterdam 1659/1.

Batak.

- M. Notes by Van der Tuuk in the margin of E.

A Mandailing-Batak text on *ari rodjang* is described in my article 'Four Batak Manuscripts in Princeton' in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* vol. xxx(1969) pp. 161 et sqq.

The following is a survey of the names as found in the Copenhagen manuscripts (A, B, D and K) with references to the Malay standard list, and a choice of variants from the other sources.

1. The first paragraph in our text (A) is: *Djaha hita mordjalan hu banuwa ni halak di adintija ni poltak ari huda ari inon girah do hita mulak ija pinangan ni arini hambili pitu dongan lapok (l. lapung) ni ome dongan boras dongan batu di tongah ni aek dongan urat ni padang toguh pitu di purba gorahani di pastima sori ni ari in, i.e.:* if we go travelling on the first day of the month, it is a horse-day; we shall soon come back; the offering for the day is: 7 peanuts, empty grains of rice, husked rice, stones from the middle of a stream, 7 roots of *padang-toguh* grass. Danger is in the east; the luck of the day is in the west.—The word *mordjalan* for Batak *mordalan* again shows the Malay origin of this divination. The names in the other Copenhagen MSS. are: B *tadjak*, a hoe; D *hoda*, horse. Malay: *kuda*, horse. The other Batak MSS. have 'horse' except F, which has *hidjang*, barking-deer. This is generally the name of the second day. Very often in these lists some day is given a name that belongs to the next or to the preceding day; also we sometimes find the same name for some consecutive days (e.g. in A, the 3rd–5th days). I must leave it to the specialists to decide whether or not there is any foundation for these anomalies in astronomical facts.

2. A *ari tikus ari manuk*, mouse or fowl; B *hidjang*, barking-deer; D *singa*, lion (cf. 3–5), *huting*, cat (cf. 4). Malay *kidjang*, barking-deer.

3. A *ari singa ari babujut*, lion or tiger; B *mira* (? probably corrupt); D *babijat*, tiger. Malay *harimau*, tiger.

4. A *ari sanga* (l. *singa*? but cf. 26) *ari huting ari sampe*, lion(?), cat or ?; B *huting*; D *simpe*. Malay *kutjing*, cat. For *sampe* or *simpe* cf. 5.

5. A *ari singa ari sampe*, lion or ?; B *singa*; D *simpe*, (*si*)nga. Malay *simpai*, a monkey, see above.

6. A *morguru hanihata*, ruled by ?; B and D *horbo*, buffalo. Malay *kərbau*, buffalo. The word *hanihata* looks like a mixture of *hania*, Virgo, and *harahata*, Cancer.

7. A *ari tikus ari tola*, mouse or balance, Libra; B *tikus*; D *monsi*, mouse. Malay *tikus*, mouse.

8. A *marguru lembu*, ruled by the cow; B no name; D *ari na somotan* ?. Malay *lembu*, cow.

9. A *morguru asu*, ruled by the dog; B *mangga-mangga* ?; D *asu*. Malay *andjing*, dog.

10. A *marguru ari malih* ?; B *gadja-gadja*, 'that which resembles an elephant'; D *gadja*, elephant (cf. 13). Malay *naga*, dragon.

11. A *marguru bintang*, ruled by the moon (*bintang*, star, in Simalungun = moon); B *simbaling* ?; D *hambing*, goat. Malay *kambing*, goat.

12. A *ari ihan marguru mena*, fish (cf. 15), ruled by Pisces; B *meang-eang* ?; D *rama* ?; other Batak texts and Malay *majang*, palm-blossom.

13. A *ari gadjah marguru mena*, elephant, ruled by Pisces; B no name; D *gadja*, elephant. Malay *gadjah*, elephant.

14. A *ari radja*, king; B no name; D *singa*, lion. Malay *singa*, lion.

15. A *ari ihan*, fish; B *hidjang*, barking-deer (cf. 2); D *singa* (cf. 14). Malay *ikan*, fish.

16. A *marguru mata ni alapan* ?; B missing; D and other Batak texts *lipan*, centipede (cf. 18). Malay *babi*, pig.

17. A *ari mena*, Pisces; B missing; D *hole*, a tree,

a paddle (made of *hole* wood); it is, however, a corrupt reading for *holang* (as in G), which is Malay *helang*, kite; K (this incomplete Karo-Batak text begins here) *kuliki*, kite. Malay *helang*.
18. A *ari babi ari lipan*, pig (cf. 16), centipede; B *babiat*, tiger (but perhaps a scribal error for *babi*, pig); D *lipan*; K *pari*, ray-fish (cf. 24). Malay *lipan*, centipede.

19. A *ari tola ari baning*, Libra, tortoise; B missing; D *baning*; K *limbat* (? not in the Karo-Batak dictionaries; in Toba-Batak and Malay it is an edible catfish). Malay *baning*, tortoise. Some Batak and Malay texts have forms that are misreadings of *baning*, such as *batang*, stem; *bin-tang*, star; and *benang*, thread.

20. A *ari ihan ari hantu ari hulam*, fish (cf. 15), ghost (Malay) or uncooked vegetable food (Malay); B missing; D *lipan* (cf. 18). Malay *hantu*, ghost.

21. A *marguru maradja hita* ?; B missing; D *rija*.. (last letter illegible); K *djëlma*, man (cf. 22). Malay *harang*, charcoal.

22. A *marguru paja*, ruled by the swamp; B missing; D *arijar* ?; K *arang* (cf. 21). Malay *orang*, man, or *udang*, shrimp.

23. A *morguru mortu ari lomos ari huda*. The word *mortu* may be corrupted from *mortuha*, Scorpio; *lomos* means fearful; *huda*, horse (cf. 1); B missing; D *lomos*; K *timbangan*, scales (translation of *tola*, Libra). Malay *belalang*, grasshopper. In M we find the Batak word for grasshopper, *siapor*.

24. A *morguru ari lomos*, see 23; B missing; D *pir*, hard, but this is a misreading for *pari*; K *dano*, Sagittarius. Malay *pari*, ray-fish.

25. A *marguru ma mesa ari samsam*, ruled by(?) Aries (*mesa*); the word *samsam* is not in the dictionaries; B *pasak*, peg; D *pasak*; K *përkis*, ant. Malay *pasak*, peg.

26. A *ari sanga ari ombun ari singa, sanga* (?), cloud, lion; B missing; D *dunija*, world (Malay-Arabic), but probably a misreading for *punija* or *sunija* (cf. 28, 29). Malay *pukang*, slow loris? This may explain why one Batak text (G) has *tulan*, bone, for in Malay there is another word *pukang* meaning perineum, *tulang pukang*, ilium.

27. A *morguru mena*, ruled by Pisces; B *hatu* (for *hantu*? cf. 20); D *olang* (Malay, kite, cf. 17), *ulat*, worm; K *panah*, arrow, cf. 30; Malay *ulat*, worm?

28. A *marguru matahari sunija ma ari inon*, ruled by the Sun (the Malay word is used instead of Batak *mata ni ari*), this day is empty; B *holang* (cf. 17); D *sunija*, empty; K *danu*, Sagittarius (cf. 30). Malay *punia*, auspicious, in one MS. explained as: *sarwa semesta segala selamat*, everything absolutely safe.

29. A *ari ulat ari tamaning*, worm (cf. 27) or ?; B *humasusa* ?; D *punija* (cf. 28), *ulat*; K *ulat*. Malay *sunia*, empty.

30. A *ari hompuni ari lipat ari montat* ??; B *dilat* (to lick); D *singa punija*, lion, auspicious; K *aras*, rapids in a river. Malay *panah*, arrow. In the Sanskrit *nakṣatra* list there is a word meaning arrow on the 8th day.

a 24–28 Two tables of lucky and unlucky moments on the seven days of the week.

a 28–30 A combination of 8 days with the points of the compass and the names of spirits to whom offerings should be made (cf. BAT. 44 a 36). The text is as follows:

Ija di adintija Tuwan Katibat di pur(ba) nagalangkon.

Ija di suma Tuwan Pa(le)kah di agoni nagalangkon.

Ija di anggara Tuwan Sarindang-rindang di dak-sina dagalangkon.

Ija di mudah Tuwan Sihudji-hudji di nariti nagalangkon.

Ija di boraspati Tuwan Putori Hidjo di pastima dagalangkon.

Ija di sihora Tuwan Djamuning di mangabija dagalangkon.

Ija di samisara Tuwan Sihosah-kosah di otara dagalangkon.

Ija di tuwan najok Tuwan Mudjadji di risanni nagalangkon.

The spirit to whom an offering should be made on Thursday in the west, Tuwan Putori Hidjo, is the patron saint of the Simalungun principedom of Dolog Silou. Legends about this mysterious princess are very popular in northern Sumatra. A modern Malay rhymed version was printed by the Bureau of Popular Literature (Balai Pustaka) under the title: *Sjair Puteri Hidjau*. It ran into several editions. Cf. P. Voorhoeve, *Volksverhalen*, no. 152 (p. 155). The allegoric interpretation given to this legend by W. Middendorp in *Feestbundel van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1929) is rather far-fetched (the Green Princess is explained as a Portuguese invasion of Sumatra).

a 30–31 What one should do on the seven days of the week before starting on a journey (on Sunday: dress before you go; on Monday: wash your clothes, etc.).

a 31–36 An incantation to obtain invulnerability for one day (*hobal sadari*).

a 37–38 An incantation scribbled with pencil by another hand.

a 39–42 blank.

b. The text begins at the same end of the strip of bark as that of a.

b 42 was glued to the cover.

b 41–40 Instructions about *pane na bolon*, the Great Dragon (the introduction only).

b 39–38 blank.

b 37–36 a *hatiha* (divination-table) with human

figures, some with and some without heads (*ketika Djohor*, see BAT. 32, cover).

b 35–27 Drawing of *pane bolon* (2 pages), followed by a list of possible circumstances in this divination (*pandjahai*) and the description of the course of *pane* through the points of the compass. b 27–19 On the left half of the pages the *parmesa* (signs of the zodiac) with clumsy drawings. On the right half of pp. 20–25, in the opposite direction, the *panggorda*; on the right half of pp. 20–17 a divination-table (*hatiha*) without inscriptions.

b 16–8 *Poda ni pormamis na bolon ma inon na mamboto rupa ni halak*, the usual table of the five *pormamis* with descriptions of the kind of persons who will die in a war waged under each of these signs.

b 8–6 Scribbled pencil notes about *pormunian* (ominous dreams). Cf. BAT. 44 and 67.

b 5–2 blank.

b 1 was glued to the cover.

The text of the two pages reproduced in Plate 19 begins in the paragraph on the 12th day and ends in the 15th day. It reads as follows:

mangabija sorini ija pinangan/ni arini oma-oma hubang ni h/orbou sampohul dapot ma mu/suhta na malimbei¹ pordalan/ni ale amang gurunamije pagi.

djaha hi²ta mordjalan hu (ba)nuwa/ni halak di singkora purasa a/ri gadjah marguru mena hu³lang be hi/ta laho di nariti gorahani/di risanni sori ija pina/ngan ni arini hubang dongan bu/nga-bunga dongan rudang dongan batu/ale amang datu na mangadjije pagijan.

djaha hita mordjalan hu banuwa n/i halak di samisara purasa ari/radja ari inon marulih ma hita /samuwana ma halak makasih di h/ita di daksina gorahani di /otara sori ija pinangan ni ar/ini ultop wu⁴pok ni padang to/guh dongan bunga-bunga

*mirah dapot/musunta na Teppang ale amang datu.
djaha hita mordjalan hu banuwa ni ha/lak di tula
marguru metu⁵ ari i/han parbijar ma na laho jin
/wulang laho salang so matei hosah wutang da/tang
di nariti gorahani di risa/nni sori ija pinangan ni a*

¶ 1) There is no difference in Simalungun writing between *-e* and *-ei*. 2) A cancelled syllable. 3) In Simalungun writing it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ha* and for *wa*. Though in this place the syllable is definitely more like *hu* there can be no doubt that *wu* is meant. In Simalungun *wu* is often spelt for initial *u-* and *ji-* for initial *i-*. 4) *wupok* for *upok*. 5) *metu* for *metuna*, the Twins (sign of the zodiac); perhaps *-na* has been omitted accidentally, but it is also possible that the scribe thought the word was *metu* and *-na* the possessive pronominal affix of the third person.

Ari rodjang; pagar.

BAT. 49 (Nat. Mus. C 1520).

A small bark book, badly damaged by wear and tear. 30 leaves, c. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ cm. No covers. Ink of poor quality. Karo-Batak spelling with *sikurûn* for both *u* and *ě*. As only disconnected pieces of text can be deciphered no regular description of the contents can be given.

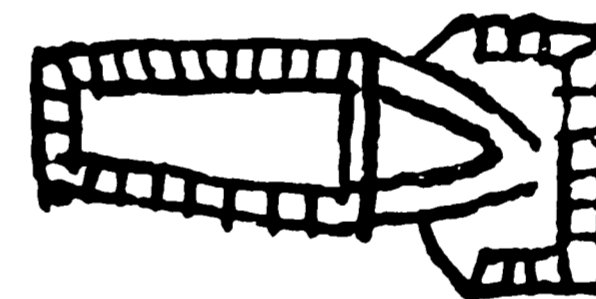
Acquired in 1907–08.

The main subject seems to be various kinds of divination for the purpose of choosing lucky days. Some beginnings of paragraphs are: *Pěd(ah n)i kata-kata ni (pa)ndjakai uwari rodjang*, a table of the *rědjang* days. Cf. BAT. 48. It is peculiar to find this word spelt *rodjang* in Karo-Batak, where one would expect to find *rědjang* as in Malay. Another paragraph begins without a title: *Ija di adintija sibanguwa ni djělma*, on Sunday man is taboo. Cf. BAT. 46 and 60. At the end of this side there are some drawings of the points of the compass.

At the other side we find paragraphs beginning: *Djaka kalak rěh kěna di irisan nari*, if a visitor comes from the north-east, and likewise for the other directions.

An incantation begins: *edi ma tabasna pagijan: ung bissumirlah irrahman dirahim*, this is the incantation to be used: *Om, bismillāhi 'r-raḥmāni 'r-raḥīm. Edi*, according to Neumann, is a dialect word of Gunung-gunung and Kěmbarěn, meaning 'this'.

Other paragraph headings are: *Pěda ni subutan kita laku měrdjalan pagijan: bissumirlah...*, instructions for a charm to be used when we go travelling: *Bismillāhi...*, and: *Pěda ni kata-kata ni pagar adji malim*, about the protective magic called Adji Malim. This *pagar* is also the subject of MSS. Amsterdam A 4152 d and Paris, Musée de l'homme no. 85.3.2.



Ari rodjang.

BAT. 50 (Nat. Mus. 5481 a and b and one stick without a number).

21 bamboo sticks, out of a set of 30 (9 are lost); length c. 21 cm. Acquired in 1938, from Toba according to the museum files.

The script is in the Simalungun style, but the language is *poda*-language, even with some special Toba forms such as *unang* (do not), for which Simalungun has *ulang*. The latter form is also used in our text, and twice the Simalungun preposition *i* is used instead of *poda*-language *di*. The copyist may have been a Simalungun-Batak who followed a model in *poda*-language.

Sets of small flat sticks of bamboo (*rudji*) are used for divination; see Winkler, *Toba-Batak*, pp. 187 et sq. In this set each stick contains the name of one of the 30 days of the month; mostly its name in the series of *ari rodjang*; an indication whether the day is lucky or unlucky for beginning a journey; the direction from which danger and luck come on that day; and the offering for the spirit of the day. Many errors of spelling occur, so that sometimes the meaning becomes obscure, but the following sample is clear:

Ija di boraspati ni poltak ari singa djaha hita mordjalan-djalan maruli ma hita wulang (Simalungun spelling for *ulang*) *simbe panorangta tongariijan* (a double vowel is sometimes used in Simalungun to indicate the stress) *borhat di dangsina gora ni ari di otara sori ni ari huling-kuling ni babiat pinangan ni a(ri)*, i. e.:

On the fifth day of the month it is 'lion's day'; if we start on a journey (*djalan* is Malay for Batak *dalan*, an indication of the Malay origin of the *ari rodjang*) we shall have luck (provided) we do not err in the choice of our moment but start at noon; the danger of the day is in the south, the luck of the day is in the north; the offering for the (spirit of the) day is a tiger's skin.

Some of the *rodjang*-names on these sticks are different from the usual series; they have been mentioned in the description of BAT. 48. The sticks for the 16th, 17th, 19th–24th and 26th days are missing. The *rodjang*-names for the 8th, 13th and 14th days are not mentioned.



Panggorda, pormamis, pormesa.

BAT. 51 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 229).

Bark book. 32 leaves, c. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ cm. Only one wooden cover, half broken off.

Coarse writing by an inexperienced copyist; spelling as of a child. Toba-Batak language, from Silindung, as appears from the names in the chain of transmission.

Acquired in 1889.

Subject: divination, etc.

a 1 glued to the cover.

a 2–20 *Poda ni pamusatan ni panggaroda*, the quintessence of the oracle of the 8 *panggaroda* (see Winkler, index s.v.) with small figures. The word is consistently spelt *panggaroda*, and as this form is found in some other pustahas and the word is derived from Skr. *garuḍa*, this is probably not a mistake but an alternative form.

a 20–27 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pormamis na lima*, the quintessence of the oracle of the five *pormamis* (see Winkler, index s.v.).

a 28–32 blank.

b 1–7 blank.

b 8–26 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pormesa na sanpulu* (sic for *sampulu*) *duwa*, the quintessence of the oracle of the 12 *pormesa* (the signs of the zodiac; see Winkler, index s.v.) with small figures.

b 26–29 *Poda ni pormamis silima-lima na umboto musu bingkas*, to find the auspicious moment for the beginning of an expedition by consulting the *pormamis*.

b 29–31 *Poda ni panogu-nogu ni si lali piuwan* (almost wholly effaced), instructions about the alluring magic of *si lali piuwan* (a kind of *pagar*, see *Bull. John Rylands Libr.*, 33, p. 291 et sq. and pl. 4).

b 32 blank.

Divination-sticks.

BAT. 52 (Nat. Mus. C 1496): 11 bamboo sticks.

BAT. 53 (Nat. Mus. C 1497): 7 bamboo sticks.

Acquired in 1907–08.

Karo-Batak. The text on BAT. 52 is part of the lamentation of a lover (*bilang-bilang*) and quite out of place on an instrument of divination. The text on BAT. 53 is nearly illegible. These *rudji* were apparently made for the curio trade.

Divination-sticks.

BAT. 54 (Nat. Mus. C 3033).

7 bamboo sticks (*rudji*). Acquired in 1927.

Karo-Batak. For choosing a lucky time of the day to start on a journey.

Days of the month; lamentation.

BAT. 55 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 119).

Two round pieces of bamboo, a) $33\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ cm, b) $31\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Acquired in 1857.

Mandailing-Batak inscriptions. One of these is a list of the 30 days of the month, the other a lamentation in the traditional Mandailing style: O bamboo, do not be angry because you were cut, it is the fault of the chopper that was too sharp, etc. Cf. H. N. van der Tuuk, *Bataksch Leesboek*, II p. 105.

Pěrmamis.

BAT. 56 (Nat. Mus. C 1416).

Bamboo box with wooden cover. 23×4 cm (with the cover). Genuine, perhaps old specimen. Blackened by smoke. Acquired in 1907–08.

Karo-Batak writing. Table of the *pěrmamis* consisting of a square with 5×5 sections which has human heads on two sides, two small feet(?) on

the opposite sides, and long arms or legs at the corners. (Cf. BAT. 57). *Pěrmesa* (signs of the zodiac), etc.

Pěrmamis.

BAT. 57 (Nat. Mus. C 5330).

Round bamboo, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Acquired in 1937.

Karo-Batak inscription, a hotchpotch of divination and lamentation, written in the open spaces between several drawings. One of these is a table of the *pěrmamis*, written in a square with animal heads on two adjoining sides, tails on the opposite sides, and four legs at the corners. Dr. Schuster's Figure 33 is taken from this MS. Cf. BAT. 47 (Plate 29) and BAT. 56.

Porhalaan.

BAT. 58 (Nat. Mus. C 2299).

Bamboo box with wooden cover, $15\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ cm. Acquired in 1919 'from Toba'.

A modern specimen in *poda*-language. Calendar (*porhalaan*). See *Cat. Dublin* p. 67.

Porhalaan.

BAT. 59 (Nat. Mus. C 5329).

Round bamboo, $33 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Acquired in 1937. Calendar (*porhalaan*) with a table of days that are lucky for ceremonies, in *poda*-language.

Sitiga bulan; sibanggua.

BAT. 60 (Nat. Mus. C 5328).

Round bamboo, 36 cm long, 5 cm thick. See Plate 16. Acquired in 1937.

Southern *ta*, Toba-Batak *poda*-language. A dialectal form is *ginompar*, for *pinompar*, descendant.

I knew this form only from Simalungun, but Dr. Ph. L. Tobing informed me that it is also used in the island of Samosir.

The text was written by Guru Pinasunggu, presumably of the *marga* Pohan, a man 'na sangap na hinan na bile nuaeng dibahen halak', formerly of high standing, now held in contempt. He wrote it for his brother-in-law 'djuara tulis Simarakkir', a clerk (in a Government office) of the *marga* Simarankir. We can easily imagine how this Christian official, asked by a European visitor for a specimen of Batak writing, applied to a heathen relative. The old gentleman felt honoured by this appeal to his knowledge, which was, alas! rather despised by his Christian neighbours, and could not refrain from adding at the end his own genealogy. 'I am a descendant of Tumonggo Tua Sibursok Patima, whose son was Tumunggu Tua, whose son was Sibursok Pati Badia Pohan, whose son was Badia Pohan Ompu ni Hatahutan, whose son was Ompun Tuan Sorga, whose son was Ompu ni Sihopol, whose son was Ompu Radja Mesa, whose son was Ompu Maradang Tunggal, whose sons were Radja Solobean and his two brothers Ompun Tuan Djodjor (that is Ompu Radja Singa Siatandohan) and the youngest Ompu Boksu Radja, that is the grandfather of si Barnang, who now lives in our family-house (*parsantian*). The son of Radja Solobean was Ompun Djuara Huta (as he was called in his village), who in his capacity as a chieftain was named Gadja so Dompahon (irresistible elephant). He was the father of my father. All the persons I have enumerated were *datu* from the beginning'.

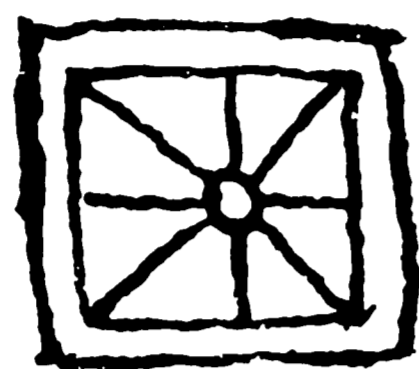
The text written by this *datu* of old lineage begins: *Ija hita djumudjur ari todo-todo poda ni pamumpunan ni parhalaan ninta sitiga bulan situa hoda-hoda ma inon poda ni daompung ompu ma-*

radang tunggal na mian di siandjur lumban maradang na marsangap na martua panarahan ni anak panarahan ni huta djumadihon matorop matangkang tumpahon ni debata asian ni mula djadi na bolon tumpahon ni tuhan djedjus, i. e.: When we compute a lucky day, we refer to this computation as: instructions about the summing up of the calendar called *sitiga bulan situa hoda-hoda*. These instructions come from my ancestor Ompu Maradang Tunggal, who lived in Siandjur, (the alleged place of origin of the Batak people) Lumban Maradang, the holy, the auspicious place, from whence sons went forth, from whence villages were founded, which makes (its descendants) numerous and strong, by God's blessing, by the favour of the Creator, by the blessing of the Lord Jesus. Then follows a table of the places where *naga lumeang*, the hovering dragon, 'eats' on every day of the month. (Cf. Leiden, Ethn. Mus. 769/34 and 970/1). *Sitiga bulan* or *sitigo bulan* is found in: Leiden Univ. Libr. Cod. Or. 6246; Djakarta D 33, D 76, D 78; Paris, Musée de l'homme 78.30.1.

At the end, after the genealogy, there is a drawing with eight compartments, each one having an inscription and the image of the object named in the inscription:

1. *sibanggua ni djolma inon*, on this day man is taboo.
2. *sibanggua ni siopat pat*, on this day quadrupeds are taboo.
3. *sibanggua ni bos ma inon*, on this day iron is taboo.
4. *sibanggua ni ulos*, on this day cloth is taboo.
5. *sibanggua ni eme*, on this day paddy is taboo.
6. *sibanggua ni mas ma i*, on this day gold is taboo.
7. *sibanggua ni hau ma inon*, on this day wood is taboo.

8. *ari gurgur ma inon*, this a very lucky day (*gurgur*, literally: boiling). For the meaning of these taboos we may consult BAT. 44 pp. b 39–40. Cf. also BAT. 49 and *Cat. Dublin* pp. 71 and 81.



Naga lumeang.

BAT. 61 (In a private collection).

Bamboo box, 12,8 cm high, with a diameter of 5,5 cm. It has a modern wooden cover decorated with some carving.

On the lower half of the bamboo there are 3 drawings of the points of the compass with the names of the 8 directions indicated in writing. The upper half has the following inscription: *Ia di artia di tapian naga lumeang dohot papa di hortuk di lautan sabulan nai ro ma gora tu halahi sahit hapilingna*, i. e. if, on the first day of the month, Naga Lumeang (the Hovering Dragon) is at the bathingplace, together with Papa di Hortuk di lautan (? otherwise unknown), in one month misfortune will come to those people, or otherwise illness. *Di boraspati ni poltak do si papa di hortak (sic) di lautan mangan naga lumeang di tonga djabu sabulan nai ro ma gora sahit tu halahi ago(a)n hapilingna ale amang su(h)utnami*, i. e. (if) on the

fifth day of the month Papa di Hortak di lautan eats (and) the Hovering Dragon (is) in the middle of the house, in one month the misfortune of illness will come to those people or they will suffer a loss, O my principal.

In addition to the text there are some decorative designs, two small dragons with 6 feet each and one four-footed dragon.

Buffalo-ribs (rangrang kërbo).

These were mostly used for divination. The specimens found in European collections are usually Karo-Batak and have often been made for the curio-trade, but buffalo-ribs were also used for divination in the Toba region; see Winkler, *Toba-Batak*, p. 190.

BAT. 62 (Nat. Mus. C 5335). Acquired in 1937. Karo-Batak table of lucky days for travelling.

BAT. 63 (Nat. Mus. C 6448). Broken, and one half lost. $18 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Acquired in 1951. Karo-Batak. Found on the island of Amager outside Copenhagen!

Amulet.

BAT. 64 (Nat. Mus. C 3024).

A girdle with seven flat pieces of bone. Acquired in 1927. Apparently it served as an amulet but also as an instrument of divination. On the back there are incantations and tables of lucky moments in Karo-Batak writing.

MEDICINE

Tambar.

BAT. 65 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 118).

Bark book. 35 leaves, c. 8×7 cm. Two wooden

covers. Clearly written by one hand; very bold black writing. The *ta* has the northern form. To indicate a closed syllable, especially in the last

syllable of the word *tambar*, a sign like the *hamisaran* (-ng) is sometimes added as well as the *pangolat*.

Acquired in 1857.

Subject: mainly medicines.

a 1 glued to the cover.

a 2–20 *Poda ni pamusatan ni tambar ni na pitu hali taor ma inon*, these are instructions about the quintessence of the medicine of the “sevenfold healing (magic medicine)”. It is said that this *tambar* is cooked together with the *taoar na pitu hali taor*. For the distinction between *tambar* and *taoar* see Winkler p. 96 et sqq. In some regions, e.g. in Simalungun, *tambar* is the common word for an ordinary medicine (called *daon* in Toba), whilst *tawar* is an antidote against magical poisons. But in this text both *tambar* and *taoar* are magic medicines, and so probably Winkler’s distinction holds good here: *tambar* is used against the kind of poison called *bisa* and *taoar* against *rasun*. *Taor* is an alternative form of the word *taoar*. The instructions are from Guru Setan ni adji to Guru Piongot ni adji to Guru Pangaluan ni adji in Lumban Ina-ina. (Dr. Ph. L. Tobing informed me that there is a village of this name near Tarutung on the way to Banuadji). The ingredients are enumerated, and prescriptions are given for the preparing of the medicine. The incantation is abracadabra with some Arabic words: *arlah di hummat sala di hummat ale papaubingku ahu porsu adji naboru alas*. *Adji naboru alas* is mentioned in MS. Berlin, Schoemann VIII, 2. *Naboru Alas* is mentioned as a teacher in MS. Amsterdam 543/7 p. b 21.

a 20–29 *Poda ni pamusatan ni taoar na pitu hali taor*, about the *taoar* mentioned previously. In preparing this magic medicine omens are taken

from the forms it assumes when poured into a plate.

a 29–33 *Poda ni pamusatan ni tambar na so hasihatan*, the quintessence about a medicine which cannot be superceded by any inimical magic. On p. 32 the *datu* says: *ija so dilehon upanta tapana-ekkon ma bisa ni tambarta*, if the patient does not pay our fee we shall cause the poison in our medicine to rise.

a 34 blank.

a 35 A scribbled human figure drawn by a later hand.

b 1 is glued to the cover.

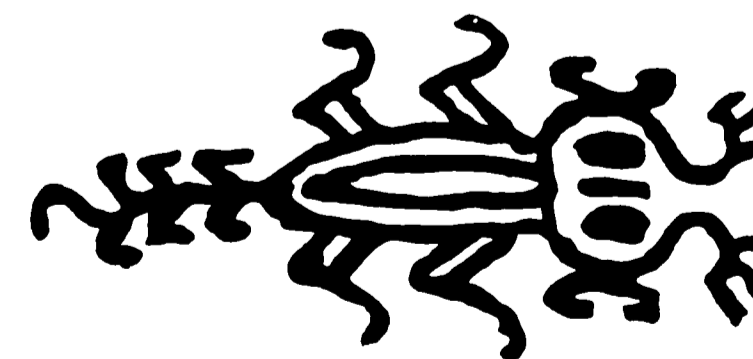
b 2–13 *Poda ni pamusatan ni pagar sipaimbar simanuk mira*, about a *pagar* that averts evil (from us towards another person) called “red cock”. In the text, however, no description is given of the preparing of this *pagar*; it gives only prescriptions for divination from signs that are observed on a tuft of long-grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) which slants towards our village (*ri na djo(m)ba do(m)-pak hutanta*).

b 13–16 Prescription for a *taoar* against wounds by rifle-bullets.

b 16–21 *Poda ni ari rodjangta*, instructions about our *ari rodjang* (cf. BAT. 48), but only for the 7 days of the week and without names of animals etc. This is followed by a short list of lucky and unlucky days.

b 21–28 *Poda ni tambar ni na hosongon*, a medicine against asthma. At the end some words are scribbled in a Mandailing style of writing.

b 29–35 blank.



Tambar.

BAT. 66 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 250, II; cf. BAT. 36).

18 leaves, originally c. $17 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cm but some leaves are now smaller as pieces have been torn off. 2 wooden covers, much too small, have been sewn to the leaves that are now the first and the last ones by means of thin wire, but the strip of bark must once have been much longer.

The old form of *na* is used. There are a few drawings, probably of *adji ni pangulubalang*, but from p. a 6 onwards the subject of the text is *tambar*, medicine. On p. a 16 there is a *poda ni tambarta*, instructions about our medicine, which begins with a chain of transmission. The following words can still be read: *i ma salusu na toding urang ra asa ro..... guru sunggu na mijan di angkola asa ro ma di ho magondjak siregar siagian asa di guru hatahutan asa ro ma di ho ale le namora pasaribu anak na di borboron ulang do ho mormuda-muda padjihonsi di halak sileban*, i.e. this is a medicine facilitating delivery in child-birth from the people of Rao (the northernmost district of Minangkabau, bordering on Mandailing), to Guru Sunggu in Angkola, to Magondjak Siregar Siagian (an Angkola *marga*), to guru Hatahutan, to of the Borbor *marga* Pasaribu; do not be so careless as to teach it to an outsider. Borbor is the name of a large group of margas, to which Pasaribu belongs. According to the map in Ypes, *Bijdrage*, the upper-course of the Kualu river belongs to the territory of the *marga* Pasaribu, so it seems very probable that this *pustaka* does indeed come from the Kualu region, as mentioned in the Museum files.

Tambar, pormunian, etc.

BAT. 67 (Cod. Bat. 8).

Bark book. 35 leaves, 10×7 cm. Two wooden

covers, one of them with two holes for a carrying-string, which is missing. Somewhat coarse writing. Many letters are effaced by the crumbling of the surface. Northern *ta*, and the *ba* always with a notch, which is not a common feature. Toba-Batak *poda*-language.

Acquired 1950 from a person in the Danish seaport Esbjerg, who had inherited it from a brother-in-law "who was a sailor in his young days". Restored.

Subject: Medicine (*tambar* and *daon*); ominous signs (*pormunian*); signs in the sky (*alamat*); forbidden parts of meat (*porguruwan ni djuhut na so tupa panganon*); incantation for smoking-tobacco (*tabas ni timbaho*).

a 1–28 *Poda ni pamusatan ni tambar babijat so sunggulon ma inon ale guru manarsar ni adji i ma na tijan guru ni adji na morhuta di tano siango* (or *siado*?) *ma inon*, Instructions about the quintessence of the medicine 'Tiger that cannot be awakened', O Guru Manarsar ni adji; it comes from Guru ni adji in the village Siango (the correct reading of this name is uncertain). The ingredients are mostly vegetable. On p. a 15 a new paragraph begins, which describes the use of this medicine as a *tamba tuwa*, giver of fertility to a childless woman. The incantation begins on p. a 24.

a 29–34 *Poda ni pormunijan nipi na sambor ma inon ale guru manarsar ni adji barang halak djumpang banedoli barang ulok di sombaon na laga barang babi harom barang asu harom barang manuk sumopsop pirana barang amporik marasar di tonga ni uma ni halak barang djonggi meong bongot tu djabu ni halak barang lampu-lampu barang ulok barang sihapor barang nipi na sambor ale amang sisejan*, this is a table of the signs of bad

dreams, O Guru Manarsar ni adji, (indicating what it means) if somebody happens to find a *banedoli*-snake (which is supposed to have fallen from the sky) or a snake in a dangerous holy place, or a litter of pigs all of one sex, or a litter of puppies all of one sex, or a hen that eats her own eggs, or a paddy-bird's nest just in the middle of his rice-field, or a dung-beetle that has entered his house, or a butterfly or a snake or a grasshopper in his house, or a bad dream, dear pupil. The paragraphs are as follows: *Ija di na sogot do halak mormuni-muni dipangan ma dengke sajur haroan ni asa mauli ija so do dipangan inon djaoat ma inon ale datu*, if one finds such an ominous sign in the morning, one should eat a fish cooked whole to welcome the omen; if this is not done, the omen is unlucky, O *datu*. The other paragraphs are for *pangului* (middle of the morning), *hos* (noon), *guling* (afternoon) and *bot* (evening), and then for Thursday and Friday. This is continued on the reverse.

a 35 glued to the cover.

b 1-2 continuation of *pormunian* for Saturday and *tula* (the fifteenth of the month).

b 2-12 some medicines (*daon*): *Poda ni radja-radjaan ni daon burnung ma inon ale datu i do tabasni i do podani ija burnung ni horbo laho tu badak ija burnung ni hoda laho tu ursa ija burnung ni lombu laho tu bedu ija burnung ni babi laho tu aili ija burnung ni asu laho tu bungaihur ija burnung ni huting laho tu tampulak ija burnung ni djolma laho tu pongkalan asa tarsangkil torpilit ma ho burnung sagumana burnung ale ompung debata asi-asi inon(?) olo*, Instructions about the magic drawing for the medicine against cattle-plague (*burnung*), with incantation and instructions (for the preparation). The plague of the buffalo may go to the rhinoceros, the plague of the horse to the deer, the plague of the cow to the mountain-goat,

the plague of the pig to the wild boar, the plague of the dog to the *bungaihur* (a kind of weasel whose tail is white at the tip), the plague of the cat to the tigercat, the plague of man to the *pongkalan* (a shed in the woods where fresh palm-wine is sold), that you may be warded off, averted, every kind of cattle-plague, O Grandsire God Asi-Asi. So be it. The drawing, a *bindu matoga* with four human figures on the corners, black and red, is on p. b 5. It should be drawn on the cover of a basket in which fowls are kept; this cover, chopped small and mixed with some other ingredients, is the medicine. This is followed by a medicine against toothache (*daon ni tungkol*) and one against burns (*daon ni na matutung*).

b 12-25 *Poda ni alamat*, on the ominous meaning of signs in the sky. Only the first one, *hariara sundung di langit*, the slanting banyan-tree in the sky, is accompanied by a small illustration.

b 26 A divination-table (*hatiha*) of 7 × 6 sections.

b 27-32 *Poda ni porguruwan ni djuhut ma inon na so tupa panganon*, indication of the parts of meat that may not be eaten in the 1st-10th months. See above p. 111, on *debata na helung* in connexion with *guru ni djuhut*.

b 32-34 *tabas ni timbaho*, incantation to be recited over the tobacco before smoking a pipe.

b 35 glued to the cover.



Tambar.

BAT. 68 (Cod. Bat. 15).

Bark book. Fragments of two books, one made of thin bark (2 + 4 + 2 leaves, 8½ × 8 cm); one of

thicker bark (1 + 15 leaves, 7–8 × 8¹/₂ cm). One of the small pieces of the first book has been glued to the end of the long piece of the second book. Two modern wooden covers; one plaited rattan band.

Both fragments are in Karo-Batak spelling.

Acquired from Prof. K. Grønbech, 1951.

Subject: the text on the thin bark is about *tambar*, medicine, and it seems that this is also the subject of the second text, which is for the most part illegible.

Tambar.

BAT. 69 (Cod. Bat. 20).

Bark book. 36 leaves, c. 7 × 6 cm. Two coarse wooden covers, apparently modern. One new plaited rattan band.

Simalungun-Batak writing and language. Probably from the district Purba.

Peculiarities of spelling are: final *-n* is sometimes used for *-ng*, e.g. *gilin* = *giling*; for *-t* (*luman* = *lumat*); for *-k* (*iton* = *itok*); for *-g* (*moson* = *mosog*); *tambar* is sometimes spelt *tanbar*; *mamboto* is spelt *manboto*.

Peculiarities of dialect are: *halabas* = elsewhere in Simalungun *halawas*; *sitorulabanku* = *poda*-language *sitorilawanku*; *sarim* = Sim. *sarib*; *si-* is used as a pronoun in the first person plural inclusive, just as in Karo-Batak, but unlike Simalungun, which uses *i.....hita*.

Acquired by the Library in 1963.

Subject: mainly *tambar*, medicine.

a 1 blank.

a 2 *Poda ni hata-hata ni tanbarta ma inon ... asa sipamalum na milas*, on a medicine against fever.

The title only; perhaps this is meant as a general title for the book.

a 3–20 *Poda ni tambar tampijas*, on a medicine against worms: prescriptions for a potion, for an ointment and for a preparation that should be added to the patient's food; and an incantation. The same subject is treated in MS. Amsterdam 2761/21 p. a 6.

a 20–29 *Poda ni hatotoganta*, on 'our support', i.e. a magical preparation that should be buried in order to kill an enemy. One of the components is a lemon; a slice taken off its top is thrown down on the ground; from its position success or failure is predicted, just as in the lemon-oracle called *panampuhi*. This is followed by the text of the incantation.

a 29–34 *Poda ni tambarta tambar ni sahit anlari*, on a medicine against *anlari*. If this is the Dutch (and English) word malaria, the book must be quite modern. After the first prescription there is another one for a medicine called *siboltang panggu*, cleaver of palm-wood (i.e. so strong that it can cleave the hard wood of a palm-tree).

a 35–36 blank.

b 1 glued to the cover.

b 2 blank.

b 3–7 *Poda ni tambar sahat*, prescription for an ointment, used as an antidote against *sahat*, i.e. Karo-Batak *sakat*, 'a poison that causes the teeth to split' (Neumann). According to the Simalungun dictionary, *sahat* affects the feet of a thief against whom it is directed.

b 7–9 *Poda ni tambar panapu*, another ointment.

b 10–11 An incantation to make the enemy's *sahat*, *panapu* and *siboltang panggu* harmless.

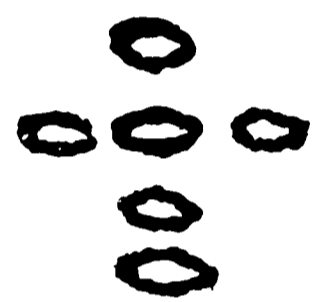
b 12–18 *Poda ni paranggirona ... na margoran si adji habonaran*, instructions on ritual purification in case of bad dreams, or against inimical magic. An uncommon derivative from the root

suro is used here: *asa dapasuro ma saborngin di babo modom dibagas bahul-bahul na baju dohot boras*, (the ingredients) should be (dedicated to the spirits??) during one night above our sleeping-place, in a new plaited bag, together with uncooked rice. Muhammad and the archangels are invoked in the incantation.

b 19–34 *Poda ni guro-gurota di datu portandang*, on a magical device (made from a watersnail) to harm a wandering *datu* who despises us, followed by various incantations.

b 35 blank.

b 36 glued to the cover.



Tambar, tawar, tondung boras.

BAT. 70 (Nat. Mus. C 1519).

Fragment of a bark book. 23 leaves, 25 × 13½ cm. The two wooden covers, decorated with some carelessly scratched drawings of a human figure etc., are a later addition; one of them is glued to a written page. 2 plaited rattan bands.

Fairly well preserved and legible, but the second half is missing. The alphabet is not very characteristic. It has the southern *ta*. Final *-h* is sometimes written. The word *manuk* (fowl) is once spelt *manok*, which shows that the copyist knew the Karo-Batak system of spelling. A few characteristic Simalungun words are found: *goran*, name; *angkula*, body; *bapa tuwa*, uncle; the pronominal suffixes *-ni* and *-si*. The Simalungun district of Purba may have been the place of origin of this MS.

Acquired in 1907–08.

Subject: Medicine (*tambar*), magic medicine (*tawar*) and divination (*tondung*).

a 1 some scribbled writing.

a 2–20 *Poda ni tambarta di adji ni halak, beja djadi lapikta di adji ni halak beja di sibonggur-bonggur ni halak, beja lapikta di pusu-pusuta, beja lapikta toding baliya(n), beja di adji kihir ni halak beja di ardom ni halak. Ija ma inon na toding Ama ni Pulung ni adji, asa ro ma di anakni datu Ta...go, asa ro ma di Datu Ruhut ni adji, asa dipodahon ma di anakni si Ladjo, asa ulang lupa di poda ni tambar sisahan rasun na bolon. I. e.:*

Instructions about our medicine against people's magic, which can be used as a preservative against people's magic or people's *sibonggur-bonggur* (apparently some kind of harmful preparation, from *bonggur*, hot) or a preservative to protect our heart, or a preservative for outward application, or against poisons which cause loss of teeth or itching. From *Ama ni Pulung* to his son (or nephew) *Datu Ta...go*, to *Datu Ruhut*, to his nephew *si Ladjo(h)*. Do not forget the instructions about the medicine called Great Poison-drinker.—It seems that *sisahan rasun* is also the name of a tree, whose leaves are one of the component parts of the medicine. The preparing of the medicine is described in some detail. In counting the ingredients a little rhyme is used as an incantation: *Ung djomita mordjomita tampe di para-para, djumpa pinorsinta sae suwada mara*, may we obtain the object of our desires and may every danger be gone. In another incantation the spirit of the medicine is asked: *Ongkal ma sorba rasun, sorba sibonggur-bonggur, ongkal ma panahit ni pusu-pusu, ongkal ma panahit ni ate-ate ni sidang sisejanku*, i. e.: uproot every poison, every *sibonggur-bonggur*, uproot the illness of my heart, the illness of the livers of my disciples. A special

incantation must be uttered if the medicine is used to make confinement easy (*tabas ni salusu*); in this the child in the womb is addressed as follows: *ija ho anakboru, parajak ma sege-segemu, ija ho anaklahi parajak ma duruk-durukmu*, if you are a girl, come to your winnowing basket; if you are a boy, come to your hoe. Several methods of applying the medicine are mentioned; every new one is introduced by the words: *ija so naba disinon*, if the patient does not recover by the previous method...

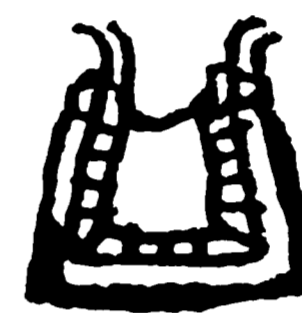
a 20–22 *Poda ni tambar di adji ni halak beja djadi lapikta laho tandang beja di adji kihir ni halak. Ija ma inon na toding Aman Tahan, asa ro ma di Datu Ruhut ni adji, asa ro ma di anakni si Ladjoh. Asa i ma na margorankon tambar siradja bulung.*
I. e.:

Instructions about a medicine against people's magic, which can be used as a preservative when we go travelling as a practitioner, or against poison which causes loss of teeth. From Aman Tahan to Datu Ruhut, to his nephew si Ladjoh. It is called *siradja bulung*-medicine.—In the middle of the prescription for this medicine the text breaks off. a 23 though written upon, is glued to the cover. b 1–15 The text begins abruptly in the middle of an enumeration of ingredients for a *tawar*, probably called *minak tondi sahupang*, i. e. twopence worth of life-oil. The chapter ends with excuses made by the copyist si Ruhut (= Datu Ruhut ni adji) on account of the shortcomings of his work. b 16–18 A series of incantations, all of them beginning: *um pagari mahu nahompungku...*, om! protect me, my grandson... (or perhaps in the dialect of this pustaha *hompung* is used for *ompung*, grandsire). Some of these are addressed to spirits of the points of the compass, e. g.: *nahompungku di purba si radja manik mangoboli* (cf. the *tabas ni pangarhari* in BAT. 43: *ama ni manik*

mangimpal, ase mangimpal mangobol...). The last incantation has some abracadabra which appears to be Arabic from the last two syllables: *Ung dibudita dibadadegat badit dibadunglah.*

b 19–22 *Poda ni tondung boras*, divination by means of husked rice put into water; from the floating or sinking of the grains the *datu* sees whether the patient, who has a stomach-ache, will survive or not. It is not clear whether the text ends on the last visible page (22) or not.

b 23 is glued to the cover.



Tawar.

BAT. 71 (Nat. Mus. C 1521).

Fragments of one or two bark books, in all 20 leaves, c. 11 × 9½ cm. There are: 1 piece of 9 leaves, 4 pieces of 2 leaves, and 3 pieces of one leaf each. Only in two cases does the text run on without interruption over two disconnected leaves. Two or three different handwritings may be discerned. Karo-Batak spelling, with *sikurún* for both *u* and *ě*; peculiar spelling of final *-h*: the sign denoting this sound is placed between the consonant and the vowel-sign, not above the consonant as is usual. See Plate 27.

Acquired in 1907–08.

The main subject is *tawar*, the preparation of a magic medicine against poison. A title found on a piece of two leaves having 3 blank pages and 1 page of text, is as follows: *Pědah ni tawar bugang beja kalak kěna bėdil beja kalak kěna lěmbing asa sipadabuh tawarta inxn rěh bapa kuta buluh asa rěh bapa amun pantjari ěmas ni taněh kěmbaran*

surbakti mērgana sibuwe tadingan asa (remainder broken off), instruction about a magic medicine for wounds. If somebody is hit by a bullet or wounded by a lance, we apply this *tawar*. It comes (from) father (in) Kuta Buluh, (from him) to Bapa Amun who came to earn gold in the land of Kēmbārēn, a man of the mērga Surbakti, who left many descendants; (from him) to

On the largest piece of bark there is an incantation which I shall transcribe, though I cannot translate it, as it mentions the mythical origin of the *ipuh-poison*:

Aum bērusumirlah irahmani rahim ung bēru sandana bēru sandana inggap di batagina ko na kaju duldal[mu] mulamu djadi anak ni tuwan radja bēndahari kēmpu ni tuwan rubijah tubuh ni babo ni tapijan lēbe anak bēru sangkan anak laki tubuh ma kape sidibēru rēmbang di bēlah purna asa tubuh ma kape sidilaki rēmbang di tula bintjar mata ni ari asa nigēran na(n)dena sidibēru si bēru dajang angge-angge asa digēran na(n)dena sidilaki tuwan sajih muda kaju duldal mulamu djadi anak ni tuwan radja bēndahari kēmpu ni tuwan rubijah asa mērturang dx kita alo tuwan sajih muda tawar bisa ni turang(n)du alo bēru dajang angge-angge mērturang dx kita tawar ipuh sigira-gira tawar ipuh ramin tawar ipuh dakanan tawar ipuh matah tawar ipuh mirah tawar ipuh putih tawar ipuh itam tawar ipuh tawar ipuh matu tawar ipuh dawar tawar ni(n)ta tawar nina malum ni(n)ta malum nina malum sakalijan ni(n)ta pagijan. The incantation speaks of a sister and brother, children of Tuwan Radja Bēndahari, grandchildren of Tuwan Rubijah; their origin is the *duldal* tree. Their mother gives them names: si Bēru Dajang Angge-

angge to the girl, Tuwan Saih Muda to the boy. Through his knowledge of their names and origin the *datu* renders their poison harmless: cooked and raw poison, red, white and black poison, etc.

Some of the larger writing belongs to a table of the five *pērmamis*.

The text of the two pages reproduced in Plate 27 is:

tu dēngan sira pitu kali/pitu dēngan kapur sakupang/dēngan tinaruh ni manuk/putih tēlu kibul dēnga/n bawu-bawuwan ni djawi t/ēmbal ija gēnēp kēsa/ja inxn giling tērluma/t kijan asa dabxrbxr/tinaruh inxn si magēr/singna dabuwat si bēn/tarna djadi panda(m)pēlna a/sa dabuh di pi(ng)gan putih/dēkēt tji(m)pa ni si sarangsang/sagantang asa dabadjajimina/ki dipulpul-tabasi d/ēmpak katika manggēluh/asa sibuligakēn ma sa/lada sulah lima puluh ku/rang duwa bahan deba ma saabal/abal ni tanganta datu pē/dah ma inxn asa disēmak/ēn ni bē(na) ni ingil-ingil/dēngan tinaruh bētjih galuh/badja minak pērsēma(n)ta.

Tambar mata.

BAT. 72 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 222).

Round bamboo. Acquired in 1886 (early for a Simalungun specimen!).

Inscription in Simalungun-Batak beginning: *Poda ni hata-hata ni tambar mata ma inon asa nabuwat ma pulunganni langkitang sada . . .*, instructions about the prescription for a medicine against diseases of the eye. Take the following ingredients: one water-snail . . .

LETTERS

Bilang-bilang.

BAT. 73 (Nat. Mus. C 1417).

Bamboo box with cover. Acquired in 1907–08. The text is a Karo-Batak *bilang-bilang*, a lover's lamentation.

More elaborate specimens have been published by Neumann (*Feestbundel Kon. Bat. Gen.*, 2, pp. 215–222 and TBG 73, pp. 185–215). Cf. *Cat. Dublin* pp. 88–90.

Bilang-bilang.

BAT. 74 (Nat. Mus. C 2174) and BAT. 75 (Nat. Mus. C 2175).

Two round pieces of bamboo with some designs and Karo-Batak writing. 53.7 and 50 cm long. Acquired in 1913.

Made to be sold to tourists. The beginning of the inscription on BAT. 74 still makes some sense: Here I relate the feelings of my perplexed and undecided heart, O friends and brothers all, etc., but soon the artist reached the end of his repertoire of lamentations and as the bamboo had some more space left open, he filled this up with a meaningless series of letters, such as: *runa kana kana kuna pana kana kana rana paru haru karinga kana kana kana kana kana kana kapa řdana*, etc. The text of BAT. 75 is only nonsense from the very beginning: *Maka nuri kaku kuku ani galu kukitu edu buru*, etc.

Bilang-bilang.

BAT. 76 (Nat. Mus. C 1493) and BAT. 77 (Nat. Mus. 1494).

Inscriptions on buffalo-ribs. Acquired in 1907–08. Karo-Batak. BAT. 76: a lamentation beginning *o nandeku*, O my mother. BAT. 77: mostly illegible scribbling.

Shuttle-case.

BAT. 78 (Nat. Mus. C 5331).

Bamboo shuttle-case (*tuldak*). 32 × 2.5 cm. Acquired in 1937. These are made by a young man for his sweetheart. A poetical description of the feelings of his heart is written on it. This specimen has a Karo-Batak text beginning: *Enda kul mē kusurat buluh sęngawan man tuldak ingan sinimběk pęrtęnunan*... Here I write on a section of bamboo, to be used as a case for a weaver's shuttle...

Suman-suman.

BAT. 79 (Nat. Mus. C 1418).

Bamboo box with cover. Acquired in 1907–08. Simalungun-Batak text beginning: *Ijo ale amang na mamasa ije in ma alu(?) suman-sumanta ale amang*... It is a lamentation of an orphan.

Pulas.

BAT. 80 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 86 (?) and 86 a).

Two copies of the same incendiary letter, written on bamboo. According to the museum files there should only be one piece, acquired in 1849.

Toba-Batak language. Northern *ta*. A *tompi* of one dash is sometimes used to indicate *ka*.

Text: *Ija ho ale radja si anu mardjaga ho musu borngin musu arijan na maramahon daling do ahu na maringan di sapipil na so marhuta na so maralaman na dung mulak do uhum ni radja indadong mangoloi ho ale radja paulakkon tuan-boruki* (the other copy: *mas i*), 'You, chief N.N., take care, I am your enemy night and day; the roots of a tree are my father (i. e. I seek protection between them); I dwell among the ferns; I have no village, no village-square; the sentence of the chiefs was, that it should go back, but you, O chief, refuse to give back my wife (my money)'. This means that the author has made himself an outlaw who dwells in the jungle and has taken the law into his own hands, threatening his enemy by day and night until his demands are granted. Such a letter is called *pulas*; it is hung up somewhere in a conspicuous place accompanied by symbols of burning and killing. Specimens of *pulas* have been published in *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums*, VIII, Leiden 1914, pp. 144 et sqq.; *Bijdragen ... 6e Internationale Congres der Orientalisten*, 1883, Taal- en letterkunde, pp. 237-241; BKI 35 (1886), pp. 390 et sqq.; BKI 108 (1952), pp. 395 et sq.



Surat tjanggung.

BAT. 81 (Cod. Bat. 4).

Round bamboo without nodes, length 36 cm, diameter $4\frac{1}{2}$ cm. A bunch of black fibres of the sugar-palm, representing a torch, is fastened to it with a piece of string (see Plate 17).

$8\frac{1}{2}$ lines of Karo-Batak writing. The sign for *ě*

is written under the syllable. Karo-Batak text.

Administrator Fr. Lassen, Ludwigsburg, Deli, Sumatra, sent it to a friend in Denmark, 1901; he gave it to the Royal Library in 1919.

Enclosed is a document containing a transcription of the Batak text and a translation into Malay, made by a 'mantrie tjatjar' (vaccinator) whose name I cannot decipher, in Bindjei, dated 9/9 1896, and a copy of this document, to which a Danish translation has been added by Fr. Lassen. The text was probably written in 1896, shortly before the date of the transcription.

Subject: Incendiary letter (*surat tjanggung* or *pulas*).

Transcription: *E(n)da su(rat) kutja(ng)gun(g) nina si Nganai sabap upahku ngěřme la aku niga-lari Sibajak Djěgorap, nai pe ěnggo aku ěngga(n)-tung surat, asa gu(n)da(ri) pe langa niěmbah-k(ě)nna galanna (l. galarna) ba(ng)ku nina si Nganai, e(n)da pudunku ě(m)pat¹ běrngi, de la kin niě(m)bahkěň Sěbajak Djěgorap galanna (l. galarna) ba(ng)ku nina si Nganai, bitjara me ředalan, dju(m)pa aku si ba(n)tji nasuluh kusuluh, dju(m)pa aku djělma, djělma kubunuh. Upah kalak ngě(m)bahkěň surat duwa puluh.*

Translation: This is a letter I hang up, so says si Nganai, because my wages for 'soaking' are not paid to me by the Sibajak (chief) of Udjung Gorap. I have already hung up a letter once before, but until now he has not brought me the payment, so says si Nganai; now I put my limit at four nights; if the Sibajak of Udjung Gorap does not bring me his payment (before the end of this time), so says si Nganai, then the custom will have its way: if I find something that can be burnt, I shall burn it; if I meet with men, I shall kill them. The fee for the deliverer of this letter is twenty (dollars).

Djėgorap could also be the Sibayak's name, but the Malay translation has Ujung Gorap. If this is correct, it must be the name of a place, and Djėgorap must be a shortened colloquial form.

A small but interesting problem is the meaning of the word *ngėrėme*, that indicates the kind of work for which payment is demanded by the author of the letter. According to the Karo-Batak dictionaries by Joustra and Neumann, there are two homonymous words *rėme*, one meaning small-pox, and the other the stem of a verb meaning to soak. The Malay translation has: *oepah saja djaga jang kena sakit ketoemboehan*, my wages for looking after small-pox patients. The translator was certainly not a Karo-Batak (he was probably a Mandailing Batak or a Minangkabau Malay, as his name begins with St. for Sutan), but he knew the Karo-Batak alphabet and language fairly well, and as he was a vaccinator it is not probable, that he would have misunderstood a word meaning 'to take care of small-pox patients'. So we shall have to accept the fact that in Karo-Batak the same word can mean 'soaking' and 'taking care of small-pox patients'. And indeed, water is the remedy *par excellence* for small-pox in Indonesian folk-medicine. It is applied, not by soaking the patient in it, but by pouring it over him from a kind of watering-can made from a coconut-shell. He certainly gets soaking-wet by this treatment, which accordingly might well be called *ngėrėme*. Names for small-pox are often taboo-substitutes, and the original meaning of *rėme*, small-pox, may have been: the illness cured by soaking. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in Toba-Batak also the word for small-pox (*ngenge*) is etymologically related to the verb-stem *engge*, 'soaking'. Cf. Toba-Batak *ngenge tahu-tahu*, measles, lit. 'the small-pox cured by

pouring water with a ladle (*manahu*) over the patient'.

That there was an epidemic of small-pox in 1896 was confirmed by Mr. E. J. van der Berg. When for the first time he visited the Karo-plateau in 1903 as a missionary, he found many villages deserted because the people had fled from the small-pox. With the help of some Toba-Batak assistant-vaccinators Mr. Van den Berg vaccinated hundreds of people with vaccine obtained from the military hospital in Medan. Before the introduction of vaccination there was an epidemic regularly once in seven years; the Karo-Batak used to compute their ages by these periods. So the last epidemic before that witnessed by Mr. Van den Berg in 1903 must have been in 1896.

The word-for-word translation of '*bitjara merėdalan*' is: custom is that, going. For *ėrdalan* (or *ėrdalin* in the dialect of the Karo-plateau) meaning: 'to have its way'. Mr. Van den Berg gave me the example: *aturėn radja-radja ėrdalin*, the order of the chiefs will have its way, said after a meeting in 1906, in which it was decided to open a leper hospital.

A remarkable grammatical form would be *nasu-ıuh*, to be burnt. The form with *na-* is common in Simalungun-Batak, but not in Karo. The transcription has: *si batjina suluh*, and this is how Mr. Van den Berg would read it, but I think it is more likely to be a scribal error for *nisuluh*. The last sentence of the letter says, that a fee of 20 Straits-dollars is due to the person(s) who delivered the letter. This is at variance with the custom that the author of an incendiary letter should hang it up himself. He would then expect to find his money in the same place a few days later. In this case we may surmise that the author of the letter did not dare to come near the village of his debtor, as he was already a *musuh bėrngi*,

an enemy at night, by his previous letter. Therefore he used a go-between, who had of course to be given a substantial fee.

¶¹⁾ Up to this point the text is visible in the plate.

Letters.

BAT. 82-84 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 87).

Three Toba-Batak letters, two of them written on flat pieces of bamboo. The third one, which has no number, but probably belongs to the same lot, is written on a round bamboo. According to the museum files the round bamboo does not belong to this number. The two flat pieces of bamboo were acquired in 1849.

BAT. 82. $27 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. 5 lines of writing. Both the southern and the northern *ta* are used. Text: *Ahu surat tinongos ni mandijam tu ho ale humondur ponsan tuwannami datok ponsan radja di topi angkup ni humondur ponsan ija boti nangkenon padjumpang hita di onan tungka dibuwat hamu lom...* the remainder is broken off. A letter from Mandijam to the Dutch 'controleur' (a civil service officer) and the native chief on the isle of Pontjan about a meeting in the market of Tungka. Pontjan, a small island near Sibolga on the West-coast of Sumatra, was the seat of the Dutch administration until c. 1843.

BAT. 83. $30\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Text: *ahu surat ni guru manungsang tu ho ale gumponi asa diboto ho di roham dohot pe ahu mortaban binuat ni sosang di ahu aut so ra ahu mangoloi ahu do tabanonna ija anggo ahu naingon do ahu...* (the remainder is illegible). A letter from Guru Manungsang to the Dutch government about an accusation of complicity in a case of abduction.

BAT. 84. Round bamboo, 25 cm long. Northern *ta*. Text: *Ahu surat tinongos ni radja-radja ni silindung tu tuan rasiden na di ponsan hutongos hami surat naenganon mangido suruammu ro tu silindung manolongi hami pauli uhum i inda ro ija i pe tuan nungma sappe mate radja ompu ni manonggara dibunu halak di pangaribuan dipangan di silindung pe tuan nungnga halak masiihotan di pudi ni surat na hutongos hami i ia i pe tuan ija so hatop ro niolat ni tula tongos surat tu hami pabo(a) na so dipogang ho silindung alai songoni pe i nadong do padan di ponsan dohot tuan djuris dohot tuan rasiden air bangi na pinangan horbo parpadanan susa di silindung susa ni gumponi nannon susa di silindung ro ahu manopot ho hutongos dohot surat paboahon na masibunuan di silindung indadong ra ho manolong hami manguhumi parhataan ni halak ija i pe ija na so tolhas suratnami nainganon tongos surat tu hami ale tuannami.* The translation of this interesting letter is as follows: This is a letter from the chiefs of Silindung (in the independent interior of the Batak country) to the (Dutch) resident in Pontjan. Some time ago we sent a letter to ask that you should send a representative to Silindung, to help us administer justice. He did not come. Now, sir, things have gone so far that people have killed the chief Ompu ni Manonggara in Pangaribuan and eaten him. Also in Silindung, after we had sent that letter, there have been cases of people tying each other up. Now, sir, if (your representative) does not come quickly, before the next full moon, you had better send us a letter to say that you have no authority in Silindung. And yet, there has been a solemn agreement made in Pontjan, in the presence of the Judge and of the Resident of Air Bangis (Residency of the West-Coast of Sumatra); together we have eaten a buffalo to confirm the agreement: trouble in Silindung is the Govern-

ment's trouble. Now, there is trouble in Silindung; we have applied to you and sent you a letter, to let you know that people are killing each other in Silindung, but you will not help us to settle the disputes. But, if our previous letter has not reached you, sir, let us know this by writing to us.

Letter.

BAT. 85 (Nat. Mus. C. a. 251).

A round piece of bamboo, 18 × 3 cm. Acquired in 1893 'from Kwaloe' (see BAT. 36).

The inscription, in Mandailing-Batak writing, is a letter from the chief of Bongbongan, probably to an employee at an estate, about people who cannot come because they are ill.

Letter.

BAT. 86 (Nat. Mus. C 5332).

Two flat pieces of bamboo, $23\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ and $21 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

Bound together with a string made of the fibre of the sugar-palm. Acquired in 1937.

The text is an incomplete Karo-Batak letter, which seems to contain a message for the chief of Sukanalu, a large village on the Karo plateau. One of the bamboos has a pencil-note: Brandbrev Batak 12/5 06, but as far as I can see it is not an incendiary letter.



APPENDIX



BATAK TEXTS ON HEADHUNTING

A. Copenhagen, BAT. 5, b 25-29.

Poda ni panungkuni tahal-tahal ni musunta pamuhui ni panuruni ni musunta asa dabuwat ma bulu parapat na pungguron hongkomon do gandjangni dongan bulu na punuk dongan bulung ni pangulubalang hinan dohot pusukni do hapea pitu be na so buha mata asa dabahon ma di sambubuni pitu di matana duwa hali pitu di pinggolni duwa hali pitu di (i)gungna pe duwa hali pitu pitu di baba ni bugangni pitu dohot pusuk dohot tutup portibi dongan pusuk ni sirarapusuk dohot pusuk ni simananggali dongan pusuk ni simorlangkop-langkop ulang hurang ulang lobi asa dasihatton ma sibijangsa panaluwan dohot pandalo ni onggang dongan damar dohot hamin-djon dongan ambalo dongan pantis dohot puli asa dasihatton ma ganup sondi-(26)sondini asa dalangkopi ma di bulung ni andulpak niradjanta inon asa simbo-simbona inon asa pandalo ma panangkopini asa dapasak ma ulu ni musunta inon di bulu parapat na pungguron sada lampis di songkir na suwak dohot di andalu na tarulang pula do gandjangni na mamunuk buhu na mate dibahon(?) asa dabisi ma di manuk hulabu.....
.....ambu-ambuwan indahan dohot nitak dohot sagu-sagu tombal ija arini di ari na topik di(?) dalam bulan pe boti do asa daahon(?) ma tu pangulubalang pamuhuinta inon dohot bulan(?) masitaugapan(?) ma dabahon dohot ari dohot pormesa dohot pangorda dohot pormamis dohot ari na pitu dohot ari sumbahorna asa sondot ma tu hosa ni musunta asa bulan pormamis tolu-tolu pamunu hosa ni musunta sada ina sada ompu sada huta sada djandji so marusap so mormuni musungku si anu surung mate buhu

ma ho si anu. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ni pamuhuingku ama ni buhu bulan sipahasada sipaha
(27) musungku si anu ama ni buhu di pormesa ama ni buhu di pangorda ama ni buhu di pormamis ama ni buhu di purba ama ni buhu di portibi ama ni buhu di ahasa ama ni buhu di banuwa ama ni buhu di tano surung mate buhu ma ho di tano ma ho musungku ro di pahompungku hapoltongan hatutupan ma ho [hatin] hatindijan ma ho musungku so marusap so mormuni mate mona mate moni lusut di ambalalungun madabu di patala djonggi ma ho hira-hira ni musungku ro di pahompungku. Ija dung do dat(?)onai asa daguwal ma gondang pitu hali dudu asa morsarama ma hita asa dadabu ma tu lubang tano tahal-tahal ni musunta asa datonggor ma pangidahanta ale datu. Djaha maguling tu sihamun beja tu adopta so be mauli morpangir ma hita na sada huta inon ale datunami. Djaha maguling tu sihambirang beja tu djolo-djolo monang ma hita di hasuhuton inon. Ija dung do asa dasangkopi ma di anduri asa datanoi ma asa daradja ma uwalu desa di anduri dohot tano (28) asa dapatibal ma porbue na bontar di sihamun hinunihan di sihambirang badja dohot minak dohot napuran sada be porbue inon ija torang do ari asa dailigi ma ija tu sihambirang do porbue inon laho talu ma hita ija tu adopanta do laho porbue inon lodja palaho pordjuhut do hita ija tu sihamun do monang ma hita beja badja beja minak beja napuran ale datunami. Ija hita umbahon umpasak ulu ni musunta asa dapatohon ma bosu suwang agat djop ma dabahon ija di toru ni datumpa

ma saringgupan simorhihik sadangkibul di sambubu ni musunta asa hita manonggor disinon ale datunami e. Radja ni ma inon di simbora di andulpak ija pangaradjanta piso na ponggol di simbora (29)
(Drawing of the points of the compass with a circle surrounding the centre, and the word *mate* written in 8 directions).

Radja ni bulu tagan na pungguron di bulu parapat pe i do hongkomon gand(j)angni tombal pusuk ni pangulubalang hinan ale guru so dumpangon ni adji. (Drawing of a quadruped).

B. Fragment Paris Bibl. Nat. mal.-pol. 3. Dairi-Batak. With *variae lectiones* from C.

B is written on a kind of fibrous material which looks like paper, but there is only one suture in the whole strip. Probably it is a kind of tree-bark that has been softened by beating. This is called *tangki* in Batak. In Van der Tuuk's day scarfs made of this material were still worn by the Lubu, the 'Malay savages in Mandailing', as Van der Tuuk calls them.

(Ija kita dapotan di bulan sipakasada bukna ma dabunikon kapitkon di kabatu na godang asa dabunikon ma deba ale sisijan. Ija di bulan sipakaduwa di¹) lahna ma dabunikon di paja² dung ma kasukuton. Ija di bulan sipakatolu djari-djarina ma dabunikon di lijang batu dung ma kasukuton. Ija kita dapotan di bulan sipakaompat matana ma dabunikon di ruwang kaju³. Di bulan sipakalima pusuhna ma dabunikon di na potpot porsara-sarakon kapilinni dung ma kasukuton inon. Di bulan sipakaonom djari-djarina ma dabunikon di tanoh mate dikapitkon batu dung ma kasukuton. Ija di bulan sipakapitu matana ma dabunikon di na salang⁴ [di ruwang tanoh] dung ma kasukuton inon. Di bulan sipakauwaluh uluna ma dabunikon di ruwang tanoh dung ma kasukuton. Ija kita dapotan di bulan sipakasiwah tanganna⁵ ma dabunikon di lijang

batu dung ma kasukuton inon. Ija kita dapotan di bulan sipakasampuluh uluna⁶ ma dabunikon di na salang dung ma kasukuton inon ale. Ija kita dapotan di bulan li tongtang (l. tangtang)⁷ pinggolna ma dabunikon di bona ni buluh dung ma kasukuton inon ale. Ija kita dapotan di bulan kurung parijama uluna ma dabunikon⁸ di tanoh tolbak dung ma kasukuton inon asa tindih ma di rangin asa minaki tibali ma di adopanna asa sungkuni barita ma ulu-ulu ni musunta ija dung do (di)sungkuni asa pa(?)lu ma di songkir asa lejami ma asa pabongot tu kuta al(e) guru tijan toru ni panungkowan ale datu gurunami. --- . Poda ni kita pabongot ulu-ulu ni musunta dung disungkuni di balijan asa tonggor ma djolo beja tabanta daidah ma djolo. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakasada dasongsong ma igungna sikamun di tanoh dondang dokot kalimbubuni asa bongot tu rumah asa buku ma kasukuton inon datu gurunami. Ija kita dapotan di bulan sipakaduwa dasongsong ma igungna sikambirang dokot pinggolna sikambirang di bulung ni silong mate⁹ asa dapalit ma di⁹ manuk buruk sopang asa taktakkon¹⁰ ma daroh ni manuk di pinggolna sikamun labuh ma ko musungku ninta tanganni ma djolo pabongot degekon ma djolo di pintuta tangan ni musunta asa bongot ulu-ulu tu rumah asa sungkuni ma ale datu gurunami o. Ija kita dapotan di bulan sipakatolu djolo dasongsong ma djolo utok-utok n(i) panampulan karahung di bulung ni podom-podom pitu tangke di panampulan djolo ate-ate ma djolo tu rumah dapalit ma isang-isang¹¹ ni musunta di¹² duruh ni rahu¹² asa pabongot tu rumah asa buku ma musunta. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakaompat¹³ patna ma djolo tu rumah sikamun asa sarai ma djolo alaman sada borngin di balijan ma djolo ulu-ulu dibunbunkon di bulung ni podom-podom datindih¹⁴ ma di batang-batang buruk ija torang do

ari asa baba ma tu rumah ¹⁵dijan datas ni¹⁵ pagar¹⁶ daku(n)duli ma patna manungkuni ulu ni musunta ale datu gurunami. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakalima sarai ma djolo di balijan ija dung do andjaki asa porkorin-korinkon ma djolo tu djahe tu djulu asa pabongot tu rumah dampak kuta ni musunta ¹⁷ija didatas pagar ma ulu-ulu ni musunta asa bokita ma djolo tibali¹⁷ di manuk so langkah lalu mornakan mornitak matah morboras banu badja minak asa tanom ma¹⁸ manuk inon di batang buruk dung dapalikon buruk ma ko musuhku buku ma ko musuhku ninta ale datu. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakaonom bitukani ma djo(lo) tu rumah dasongsong ma djolo babahna di buluh parapat beja di bulung ni tutup portibi ija so do bitukana datondol ma ulu ni musunta didatas¹⁹ pagar dasurakkon disinon ma dasungkuni ro di rumah buku ma ko musu(h)ku ninta ale datu gurunami. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakapitu pinggolna ma djolo tu rumah datanomkon ma djolo di toruh ni balatuk rumah ni sukut di balijan do ulu-ulu ni musunta sada borngin di tanoh mate sada borngin patindang ma djo(lo) kaju ni podom-podom di babo ni ulu-ulu inon datamponi di batang-batang buruk sada borngin tanganna ma daku(n)duli manungkuni ale. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakauwaluh²⁰ djukutna ma djolo boban tu rumah ²¹di balijan do ulu-uluni sada borngin²¹ asa palit ma di daroh ni debata asa pabongot tu rumah asa sungkuni di rumah ale datu. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakasiwah silekon ma djolo napuran di balijan timan toruh ni panungkowan ulu ni musunta djari-djarina ma djolo (si)ku(n)duli manungkuni ale Kail ni adji. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan sipakasampuluh datutupi ma djolo matani sikamun di bulung bidulang²² badjora bunikon ma djolo bukni (di) na sahe²³ ale datu. Djaka kita dapotan di bulan li tangtang

tangkukuk²⁴ ma djolo tu rumah dasungkuni daku(n)duli ma patna sikambirang asa buku ma kuta ni musunta utok-utokna ma djolo dapangan asa kita mananom di kurung parijama pe boti ale Pardosa olo tulangku Dadiri suwada aku lupa di podah inon. --- . Poda ni panungkuni ulu-ulu ni musuhta barang dung ma dapotan paranganta dung di porsipantoman nari asa dasu(ng)-kuni ma barita ni ulu-ulu inon asa paima di babah ni pintuta dasu(ng)kuni ma barita ni ulu-ulu inon asa katakon ma dibulot di ulos na mate inon a(sa) ontatkon badja minak ma dokot dahupa dokot rangin dokot gi(n)dorang tangting asa ontatkon songkir na suwak bahan palu-palu ulu-ulu inon asa sungkuni ma baritani asa palu asa ulakkon ma pitu kali dasungkuni pitu kali datindih pitu kali di rangin babujut gindorang pitu kali timan toruh ni panungkowan dabakon ija dung do sondot di rumah asa tindih ma di gi(n)dorang djangat asa tataja ma di alaman asa dagasingkon ma dampak desa na mate inon asa tonggor ma karorobo ni na mate inon asa ida ma kasukuton inon ija dung do dagasingkon dabotoh ma mordjaja dokot so mordjaja kasukuton inon. --- . Aka baritamu sang kapala e asa ko morbaring-baringan di tongah ni portibi bari-tamu kaputusan lihir asa ko katalpokan kite kako-kako kasoranan dolok simanabun kako-kako kabolonan ajok kako-kako asa ko kusipat di kaju pasagi dorma-dorma e samandakuwe kulakon simandakuwe kumari kumari samandakuwe ninta pitu kali. Aka ba.... (*cetera desunt*).

¶ 1) Up to here in C only. 2) C paja-paja. 3) C + beja na salang dung ma kasukuton inon talu ma musuh. 4) C sahe; [] not in C. 5) C tangan-tanganna. 6) C ulu-uluna. 7) C si liji na tangtang. 8) End of the fragment in C. 9-9) C bangkaji. 10) C tektekkon. 11) C osang-osang. 12-12) C gotah rahu. 13) C + debata panaluwan. 14) C ti(n)dihi. 15-15) C tijan atas. 16) C + do dabakon. 17-17) C dabaon bokina patibal asa bangkaji. 18) C + dokot

19) C tondol bona ni. 20) C + dedaroni ni debata ma inon. 21-21) C sigarisang siadji ma djolo. 22) C idem. 23) C salang. 24) C pana(m)pulan tigoruhna.

C. Rotterdam, Ethn. Mus. 17578/19372.

A very large Dairi-Batak MS. broken up into many fragments. Two fragments contain part of the same text as found in B, see above. The text of another fragment can only be given here with some reserve. I have transliterated it without any emendation, and I may sometimes have made a mistake in dividing the words.

Poda ni pamukui goraha ma inon asa dabuku ma ulu musunta so be kita torbalos musunta a ale amangnami sasa dabuwat ma bulung ni dulpak pitu rabar di kalibubuna bahan tutupna ma inon tutup salibonna pitu sikambirang di sikamun pitu di pinggolna pitu sikambirang sikamun di sakasi salibonna pitu di sikamun pitu sikambirang di igungna pitu di di kalibubuna pitu di tagoruhna pitu di babahna asa daradjahkon ma gowan-gowar ni musuhta tinadingna sada pe so kalawonas kalawosan sisuratkon gowar tinadingna u lupa podah ale amangnami ija lubalang do dapot kita asa dabuwat ma bulu parapat pasok pos ni ulu ni takal-takal inon dongan bulung pagom-pagom dongan bulung podom-podom asa sidokkon ma dibahan pade rompu begu asa dakapit ma di lalu tarulang ulu ni musuhta asa antari ma di idakan binorna-bornana panganan ni ulu-ulu ni musunta dongan manuk buruk sopang dongan ombu-ombuwana sada pe so kalaosan songon mangulak ija sudipta manibalkon nakan panganan ni ulu-ulu inon mangan ma ko nakan binorna-bornana sidungi donganmu mangan niantarku onon mari ma ko kubuku bunuhun ni paranganku kupolnat nat di babo ni portibi domuna ko mate mona mate moni ma ko musuhku si anu mamading(?) di punggur labuh labuh ma ko musuhku si anu nita ganup musuhta datu.....

D. Marburg, Staatsbibliothek MS. 330/Ar. 31. Dairi-Batak. Transliterated by Dr. L. Manik, but I have consistently rendered the second letter of the alphabet by *k*, never by *h*.

Compared with B, the text of D is somewhat more corrupt in consequence of faulty copying. It has *hang* instead of *he* or *e* as an interjection—the difference in writing is only that the sign for *e* is more to the left than that for *ang*. It has *kaputusan di ari* for *kaputusan lihir*, 'whose neck is broken'. In Dairi spelling there is no difference between *ari* and *hari*, and the difference between *hari* and *hir* is only a small stroke of the pen at the end of the syllable. In careless Batak writing *di* and *li* may be more or less alike. So the old Malay word *lihir* (*lèhèr* = neck) was changed into *di ari* by a copyist who did not understand it. These look like Batak words but are meaningless in the context.

Poda ni pa(nung)kuni ulu-ulu ni musuhta barang dung ma dapotan paranganta toding porpantoman nari asa sungk(uni) ma ulu-ulu inon asa sungkuni barita ma ulu-ulu inon barang ro ma paranganta toding porpantoman nari morboban ulu-ulu ni musuhta asa paima di[ra] porpada-ngan ontatkon rangin babujut dokot songkir na suwak dokot badja minak boras banua (sa)put ma di ulos ni na mate inon napuran sada karo-(pit) dongan dahupa asa (d)itindi(hi) di rangin inon pitu kali asa badjai dokot dahupa asa sungkuni barita ma ulu-ulu inon asa palu ma di songkir na suwak inon asa gasingkon ma pitu kali disinon asa boban ma tu rumah ija dong di rumah asa ulaki ma tindihi di rangin babujut di rumah asa sungkuni barita di alaman asa gasingkon ma ulu-ulu inon asa tonggor ma karorobo ni ulu-ulu inon disinon ma daboto kasukuton mordjaja kita monang ale gurunami ulang lupa. Aka baritamu sang kapala hang asa ko morbaring-baringngan di tengah ni portibi baritamu kaputusan di ari ma ko katalpokan kite asa ko katorbanan dolok simanabun asa ko kabolonan ajok kako kako asa ko kusipat di kaju pasagi dormae(?) simandakuwe kulakon simandakuwe

kumari kumari simandakuwe ninta manu(ngkuni). Aka bari(tamu) sang kapala hang asa ko morbari(ng)-baringan di tongah ni portibi bari-tamu kaputusan di ari asa ko katalpokan kite asa ko katorbanan dolok simanabun asa ko kabolonan ajok kako asa ko kusipat di kaju pasagi dormae simandakuwe kumari kumari simandakuwe ninta manu(ng)kuni ulu-ulu ni musuhta barang dung ma dapotan paranganta toding porpantomani nari ulang lupa di podah ni gurumu ale guru manalom (sa)ngap andiba ko(?) datunami ingot do ko podah ni guru. Aka baritamu anak sang kapala e asa ko kusipat di kaju pasagi dorma dorma e aka mula ma dikan bapamu dilaban ibumu dikandung inangmu mate (d)ormamu mate sinontangmu mate si manontang ko mate kokom ma ko musungku si anu mate simangandungkuwe ini ma(?) pinorsintamu baing na sor pinorsintamu aka pinorsintamu boras ni gala-gala pinorsintamu aka pinorsintamu boras ni bungbung do kapeja pinorsintamu aka pinorsintamu badja minak boras banu do kapeja pinorsintamu napuran do kapeja pinorsintamu asa ko kusipat ni kaju pasagi dorma dormae sipandakuwe kaputusan di ari kaputusan kosah mate sinontangmu domu na ma ko mate mona mate moni ma ko musuhku si anu asa katompowan dolok simanabun kadondonan debata sitompo langit katindijan debata sigandamana sigandamoni ma ko musuhku si anu mate mona mate moni ma ko musuhku si anu surung bunu ninta manu(ng)kuni. Poda ni lejam ni taban dokot palit ni porompakan ni ulu-ulu ni musuhta asa dabuwat ma tanoh dondang ija lejam ni tabanta inon asa dabuwat ma bulung ni podom-podom lejam ni takal-takal pe inon do ale guru pangarambu ulang lupa di podah ni gurumu ale guru manalom (s)angap olo ma. Poda ni pangir ni ulu-ulu ni musuhta barang dung ma dapotan paranganta

laho bingkas asa dabuwat ma boras ni latujung boras ni kimang pe mauli dongan bulung ni tutup portibi pistikon tabasna ma inon ija porpangiranna dipantil ni (ping?)gan ma dabakon ija portabasta napuran in(on ma?) ale gurunami olo amangnami andiba. Surung ma ko pangulubalang ni gurungku pangulubalangku pangulubalang ni pangir ni ulu-ulu ama ni katutupan kapolnatan ina ni katutupan kapolnatan batara si katutupan kapolnatan surung katutupan kapolnatan ma ko musuhku katutupan kapolnatan ma ko inang ni musuhku katutupan kapolnatan ma ko bapa ni musuhku katutupan kapolnatan ma ko kira-kira ni musuhku katutupan kapolnatan ma ko babah ni musuhku si anu tidang marusap tidang mormuni (djaka) marusap mormuni katindijan pustaka djati ma ko kira-kira ni musuhku kadabuan punggur labuh ma ko kira-kira ni musuhku si anu so malo aku surung bunuh ninta mortabas ale guru.

Asa palu ma[ma] di songkir na suwak ija[ija] dung do palu asa da[a]kapit ma asa baling ma asa sungkuni ma asa garijangkon ma ija so do mauli asa daulaki ma dakapit asa daulakkon ma ningon ba(?) ge(?) kapatena do asa patadi datu guru disi ma dabotoh kalak ra bu(?)kuwan dokot so ra disi ma datonggor kasukuton mordjaja dokot so mordjaja asa antari ma di manuk buruk sopang di nakan salusung dongan ombu-ombuwan (t)ombal dongan ditak m..... dongan rondang dongan sipora bosih di langki binonom dongan boras (ba)nu badja minak napuran ija pangantari(n)ta saput ni pangulubalang tombal dongan andiru talkas-talkas dongan tanduk dongan pola di limas lajo di limas ija dung do lukut asa antari ma di alaman asa pijo ma tondi musuhta dokot tondi ni kapungna ija dung do simangmangkon asa sitanom di paspas ni rumah ni sukutta ija obanna podom-podom ija bagas ni

lubang sipat teunta pitu borngin sibarna dibagas tanoman asa dungkohkon(?) ma opat kali sada borngin disinon ma daboto kasukuton inon mordjaja dokot so mordjaja ale gurunami ulang lupa di podah ale. Ija pakapitta lalu na tarulang pitu pula godangna ija pakirakutita andor sape ate pitu kalijat pakaup-kaup. Ija sumpol ni babahna bulung ni pagom-pagom dokot bulung ni podom-podom ija tutup ni kalibubuna bulung ni kalibang-bang ija tutup ni pinggolna sikamun bulung ni dulpak ija pinggolna sikabirang bulung ni sampelulut pitu rambar ija tutup ni matana bulung ni sirahrah ija tutup ni tanggoruhna bulung ni tambalakup pitu rambar ale gurunami ulang lupa di podah ale. Ija pasok ni ulu-ulu kita mangantari di alaman ija kalak na torop sada ina indalu ma pasok ni kalibubuna ija kalak ulu-balang buluh parapat ma dapasokkon di kalibubuna radjahkon ma radjah inon di kalibubuna ija pangaradjahta dongan kunik na mabalu kapur pe mabalu ale gurunami ulang lupa di podah ni gu(ru). Radjah ni kalibubu ni musuh ma inon ale guru siluwak ma kalibubuna asa siradjah dokot sipasok asa siantari ale guru.

E. Leiden, Ethn. Mus. 1468/186. Dairi-Batak.

Under the title: *Poda ni kata-kata ni panggasingon takal-takal ni musunta*, instructions about the spinning of our enemy's severed head, we find only an enumeration of ingredients, beginning: *asa buwat bulung itom-itom dongan panom-panom dongan poldok-poldok dongan songkir masuwak dongan bulung dulpak dongan pusuk pangulubalang gonap . . . sa . . . podom-podom*, etc.

F. Amsterdam, Royal Institute for the Tropics, 1772/157 b 33 et sqq. With *variae lectiones* from G.

The chain of transmission in F counts 17 names; the first eleven of these are identical with those in the chain of transmission in G. The fifth teacher in the list brought the tradition (from Toba?) to Mandailing. In MS. G there is only one more name after the eleventh

teacher, the name of a man of the *marga* Nasution (*anak na di sutijon*) who lived in Panjabungan, the capital of Mandailing. In MS. F there are six names after the eleventh teacher. No. 17, the disciple for whom the book was written by no. 16, lived in Pakantan Tua. Pakantan is the southernmost district of the Batak country, bordering on Minangkabau. The population of this region was converted to Islam in the first half of the 19th century. A document of headhunters' magic can scarcely have been copied there after c. 1850, and as MS. G was still considerably older it must have been written in the 18th century or even earlier. G is the 'curieux manuscrit rapporté de l'Inde', about which D. Ducom published a note in 1877 (see my *Volksverhalen*, p. 11). Ducom's uncle had acquired it in Calcutta in 1845.

(33) Poda ni pamapai ulu¹ ni musunta ma i barang hita dumabu hasuhuton ia hita dapotan manaban ulu ni musunta asa dapagukguk ma adop mata ni ari sundut asa dapandol ma pitu hali² asa dasungkun ma baritani: aha do baritamamu ale hapala simanduhe asa ho diparang surik soribindjaja da ulu hapa-hapa da ulu hopo-hopo haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan (34) busisamu ma ho ale hapala simanduhe surakkon sarionon bo ale paranganku asa datuktuk ma musengan pitu hali asa sungkun ma musengan niporsintahon ni inana: ale hapala simanduhe aha do pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe asa ho p(i)narang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu bulung haju niompakon ma ulani hapala simanduhe surakkon sarionon ale paranganku asa tuktuk ma pitu hali asa pandol pitu hali aha do ulani niporsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe itak di losung-losung ulani pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale huroha hapala simanduhe asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja asa ho haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu pitu sundut ma tidang marusap tidang mormunji (35) ma ho sianu ningta surakkon sarionon bo ale paranganku aha do ulani niparsintahon ni inamu

di ho ale hapala simanduhe njior na poso huroha asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja asa ho haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu pitun sundut ma ho sianu so mangalo ah(u) tidang marusap tidang mormunji sianu ningta aha do ale pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe antap ma ulani itak ni dumon gantang-gantang do asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu pitun sundut ma ho musungku sianu tidang marusap tidang mormunji ma ho sianu so sumintahon aha a(ha) do pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe antap ma ulani ansimun na martagan do ale hapala simanduhe asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja asa ho haputusan dirimu hapulangan busi(sa)mu (36) pitun (sun)dut tidang marusap tidang mormunji ma ho sianu so malo ahu surakkon sarijohon ale paranganku asa su(ng)kun mu(se)jan: aha do ale pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe suhat na lelejan³ ulani pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan busisamu surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku pitun sundut ma ho sianu so mangalo ahu aha do ulani niporsintahon ni (i)namu di ho ale hapala simanduhe tuak na manis huroha asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan busisamu surakkon saiohon⁴ bo ale paranganku pitun sundut ma ho sianu so mangalo ahu so sumintai sianu musungku ningta aha do ulani niporsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala si (37) manduhe hube ni bargot na mamboboru huroha asa ho diparang surik soribindjaja haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan busisamu pitun sundut ma ho musungku sianu so mangalo ahu surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku aha do pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe gaol tinutung-tutung ma huroha asa ho pinarang ni surik

soribindjaja haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku pitun sundut ma ho musungku sianu so mangalo ahu aha do ulani niparsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe antap ma ulani ihan niura-ura asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan busisamu surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku pitun sundut ma ho musungku sianu so mangalo ahu so sumintai ahu tidang marusap tidang mor(38)munji sianu ningta aha do pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe djuhut na nidaroan huroha asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan busisamu ma ho musungku si anu so mangalo ahu tidang marusap ti(dang) mormuni surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku aha do pin(ar)sintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe andap ma ulani salak na modomkon aso ho diparang surik soribindjaja haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu surakkon saiohon bo ale paranganku aha do ulani pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe gala-gala na marhahombu huroha as ho diparang surik soribindjaja haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan busisamu ma ho musungku sianu so mangalo ahu so sumintai ahu tidang marusap tidang mormunji ma ho sianu so mangalo ahu pitun sundut ma sianu so mangalo ahu so sumin(39)tai ahu ro di pahompuna ro di hula-hulana ro di simasimana ro⁵ di banua sada mate mona mate moni hatorbanan dolok sigandamona hatorbanan dolok simanabun ma ho sianu harumpahan hajuara na bolon ma ho sianu ha(da)buan pustaha djati ma ho musungku sianu mate ma ho lurus⁶ tumpur tu patala djonggi ma ho intop api habal...⁷ agong ma ho sianu so mangalo ahu hatindian batu sigilang-gilang ma ho sianu so mangalo ah(u) tampar tano ma ho sianu so mangalo ahu tidang marusap tidang mormunji sianu ningta

(ma)mapai ulu inon dilonglongkon sonra⁸ ma ho sianu haru punu sada ompu ma ho sianu so mangalo ahu ningta asa pasakki ma ulu-ulu di ambubuna ma djolo asa di igungna asa di matana asa di pinggolna asa di panampulan pa(?)ha ma dibagas sundut ni manuk sada borngin asa saput ma di hase ni manuk silongmate asa tuangi simbora (40) ma baba ni ulu-ulu inon asa datanom ma tu paja ombik asa gansipi ma iponni dohot pandjabat bibirna pa matana pinggolna dilani ale datu asa da i ma pamapai ulu ni musunta andi ba.

¶ 1) G ulu-ulu. 2) G + asa datuktuk ma musejan dohot panuktuk ni panopa bosi pitu hali. 3) Read with G: bengejon. 4) sic in F; G sarijohon. 5) *deest* in G. 6) G lusut. 7) not in G. 8) G sangijang sonra.

G. Paris, Bibl. Nat. mal.-pol. 6. The same text as F, see above.

H. Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Or. 3499 (collected by Van der Tuuk c. 1853).

In this text a man of the Toba-Batak *marga* Situmorang, living in a place called Huta Gurgur, is addressed as the pupil to whom the instructions are given.

Poda ni pamuhui ni ulu-ulu ni halak barang hita dung dapotan manongtohi asa dapahe ma pamuhui ulu-ulu ningon mangoloi do ibani asa dasungkuni dabuhui ulu-ulu inon ale sisean na mangguru Guru Tinumpahan ni adji dohot ho ale Guru Sampuara ni adji ningon mangolo do sitaida asa dabuhui ale sisean. Ija tabas ni panungkuni ulu-ulu asa turun ma hamu debata di atas manangke ma hamu debata di toru humundul ma hamu debata di tonga asa turun ma hamu nagurungku maranak debata mulana diparanakkon debata mula gabe maranak debata mula gabe diparanakkon debata mula djadi maranak debata mula djadi diparanakkon debata mula himpal maranak debata mula himpal dipar-

anakkon debata mula tompa maranak debata mula tompa diparanakkon debata mula morti maranak debata mula morti diparanakkon debata mula tubu maranak debata mula tubu diparanakkon debata mula ijang maranak debata mula ijang diparanakkon debata mula djalan maranak debata mula djalan diparanakkon debata mula songta diparanakkon debata mula songti asa songta songti do ahu sumungkuni ulu-ulu na holoan na haturutan aha do baritamu ale adji sang kapala he asa ho ma na morbaring-baring di tonga ni portibi di toru ni sangijang langit dihalungkupi desa didondoni ari dilindungi bulan barita ni adji sang kapala he hatalpohan hite harosahan hudon harosahan tabu-tabu harompasan hariara na bolon hatorbanan dolok simanabun hagulangan batu sigilang-gilangi hadabuwawan bintang simbolon asa ro ma hagilangan ni rohamu asa ho manggagat di bulung ni podom-podom asa dasongsong ma igungni dohot bulung ni andulpak dohot bulung ni dulang badjora dohot di puli na morporhas ale adji sang kapala he di haju pasagi asa borgo ma rohamu mahua hamu malias aha do hadopan ni atemu hatostosan ni rohamu atik indahan sinube-sube hatostosan ni rohamu ija i do pinorsintamu tangis ma ho ale adji sang kamala he atik sagu-sagu tiga rupa pinorsinta ni rohamu dohot gala-gala situmondang di bulan pinorsinta ni rohamu na so saut dipangan inamu na mordjadji ale adji sang kapala he atik indahan na mortele na so tandos dipangan inamu na mordjadji ija i do pinorsintamu tangis ma ho ale adji sang kapala he asa hutindi ma ho diatas ampang asa hundul ma ho hutondjol dohot rangin babijat hutondjol ma ho dohot gondang parang asa harumpahan hariara na bolon hagulangan batu sigilang-gilangi harosahan tabu-tabu hataporan hudon hatalpohan hite so tarulahulak so tarulihulik songon hadadabu ni bulung-bulung

tambalahut so tarida-ida songon porhabang ni umpamal asa hupasak ma dohot songkir na suwak asa borgo ma rohamu maragun-agun marijak-rijak hababoan tali timbangan di dalam lubuk di tonga-tonga ni puwang-puwang di rijak-rijak huringkuwan basine di dalam na mamahe radja sidoing pinintamu ahu hapada am mormata suwang pagading-gading gigit matae-matae ale adji sang kamapala he boti ma panungkuni ulu-ulu ale sisean Guru Tinumpahan ni adji masipaingot-ingotan ma hamu dohot hahamu Guru Sampuara ni adji i ma poda ni pamuhui ulu-ulu ni musu ma inon ale sisean i ma poda ni amangborumu Ompu Radja Mangioga ni adji datu na uli basa morhata-hata di hadatuon ale datu na mamasa. Ija hita mamuhui ulu-ulu asa dabuwat ma latong andurijan dongan salsal pitu bulung panataja ulu-ulu dongan andulpak pitu harambar dongan bulung ni suhat sihurhuran pitu harambar dongan bulung ni silung dua pitu harambar dongan bulung ni silung mate pitu harambar dongan bulung ni bira-bira pitu harambar dongan tarugi na pago di bonana pitu dabuwat dongan asa dabosna ma bohi ni ulu-ulu inon dohot daro ni manuk hulabu asa datonggo ma tondi ni tinading ni ulu-ulu inon mangan di bulung ni latong daontang ma sumangot ni ompu ni ulu-ulu inon dohot tondi ni na torop tijan huta ni musunta dohot na t(o)ga (?) manum(pah)i (?) tijan huta ni musunta asa dapasak ma di salimbubuna dohot sinoro ni porhas di igungna ma deba di matana ma deba di pinggolna ma deba di harongatanna ma deba di a..na ma deba asa tu salimbubuna asa dadabu ma tu lubang asa dabahen ma halto na rurus tu bagasan lubang inon ija pamuhui sahuta hasiholta di tano mate ma dabahen di tano rurus pe mauli ija bagas ni lubang si(n)tap tot dabahen asa dabahen ma punggur di atas ni tanomanna inon ija arini di

boraspati ni tangkop ija bulanni bulan hurung hadadabu ni ompunta tu toru ija hita mandabu tu ambalalungun tu patala djonggi di paja-paja datanom hos mata ni ari datanom gumuling mata ni ari pe mauli asa dadongkon ma tondi ni tinadingna inon rap ma nasida dohot ulu-ulu inon asa mandudu ma hita mangandjak ma hita mangandung-andung ma hita datu morsarama ma hita morsurak-surak ma hita asa daradjahon ma simbora inon pitu hali daradja pitu hali darobur dohot goar ni musunta inon daradjahon di simbora inon ija timbangan ni simbora satail sabusuk sapijak asa datuwakkon ma tu baba ni ulu-ulu inon di bulung ni sipuspus pe daradjahon daradjahon goar ni alonta inon ulang lupa di porsarat ni ale amang Guru Tinumpahan ni adji oi dohot ho Guru Sampuara ni adji i ma poda ni panindihon ulu-ulu poda ni gurunta Datu Abar so Laosan ni adji anak ni Ompu Tuwan so Tarlindang ni adji Sigalingging na mijan di tano Huta Namora asa udut sipaudut djangkit sipadjangkit mordangka songon haju morsirpang songon dalam poda ni hadatuon ondi ingot(??) ho ale Guru Badija ni adji anak ni Situmorang na mijan di tano Huta Gurgur ale sisean na mangguru oi olo mahu gurunami. – At the end there is a drawing of a man who is being attacked by eleven snakes.

I. Amsterdam, Royal Institute for the Tropics, A 4170 d.

Poda ni panungkungni (l. panungkuni) ulu-ulu ni musunta beja hita dapotan morparang asa dabuat ma napuran sadang karopit dohot porbue hinunihan dohot miang (l. miak) badja dohot daupa dohot songkir na suak pula do asta(l. atas)ni ija gattonni bulung ni sampilulut ija songsongni bulung ni andulpak sosona (l. songsong ni) pinggolni dohot bulung ni podom-podom langgumna pe i do dabahon ija di gugun(g) dolok do mate di

tonga ni alaman dasu(ng)kuni djolo dadaupa do ulu-ulu inon ija di borno-borno d(o) mate di pamispisan dasungkuni asa daendei ma di tonga ni alaman. Asa turun ma hamu debata di atas manangke ma hamu debata di toru humundul ma hamu debata di tonga on asa turun ma hamu naguru(ng)ku na guru s(ongti) ahu mangido haso(ng)tijan do ahu sumungkuni ulu-ulu ni halahon maranak debata mulana diparanakkon debata mula djadi diparanakkon debata mula himpal diparanakkon debata mula gabe diparanakkon debata mula borti diparanakkon debata mula lima diparanakkon debata mula pitu diparanakkon debata mula pitu diparanakkon debata mula songti songti do ahu sumungkuni ulu-ulu ni halahon aha do baritamu adja sang kapapeangka asa ho morbaring-baring di tonga ni portibi ija baritangku hataporan hudun (l. hudon) hagdangan ajek hatalpohan hite hatorbanan dolok simanabun hagolapan ari asa ho ma disipat di haju pasagi borha ma he aha ma hapea na ...hu pinorsinta ni ahanduemu napuran ma na so pinorsinta ni handuhemu aha ma hape na so huporsinta handuemu indahan sube-subemu na so huporsinta ni handuemu aha ma hape na so pinorsinta ni handuemu (ga)la-gala ma hape na so pinorsinta ni handuemu aha ma ha(pe) na so pinorsinta ni handuhemu gaol ma ha(pe) pinorsinta ni handuhemu aha ma hape pinorsinta ni handuhemu pinasa ma hape pinorsinta ni handuemu aha ma hape na so pinorsinta ni handuemu djuhut ma hape pinorsinta ni handuemu asa ho morbaring-baring ada ho di on do iha asa hamari hamari maibunmu hamari hamari aha ma margamu asa ho diindoi ibotomu asa ho diindoi amamu asa ho diindoi inamu asa ho diindoi tulangmu margamu asa ho diindoi hahamu disipat di haju di pasagi borha ma he pulangkon ma handuemu(?) pulangkon ma h(u?)lamu

margamu hupulangkon ma hamu pulangkon ma inamu asa hatindian batu sigilang-gilangi ha(r?)ompasan hariara na bolon hatorbanan dolok simanabun hadabuan bintang tiga hadabuan bintang simbulan hadondonan batu maham (l. mamak) ma ho musungku tidang marusap tidang mormuni ma musungku asa manggagat ma ho di bulung ni sampilulut asa tortutup ma ho hira-hira ni musungku asa hututupi ma ho di bulung ni podom-podom asa torpodom ma ho mata(??) ni musungku ninta mamu(hu)i ulu-ulu adale datu na mangguru oi. Ija pangondatta dat(u) datondjol-tondjol ma pitu hali di rangin babijat datinditindi ma pitu hali asa hita manardjak (l. marandjak) tombal ulubalang marandjak asa dabah(o)n ma dibagas ampang dohot losung ma dabahon ija sihol manutung do hita sihit pisik do hapena bosi ma dabahon badji-badjita asa dabuwat ma abuwawan dadopdop dabadjai ija dung do dabadjai asa dalapuhon ma tu abuwawan ondi asa labu ma ho hira-hira ni musungku labu ma ho rambu ni musungku ninta mordonda di tano(?) ale sise(an). Radja ni amak ma in(on).

J. Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Or. 6245.

Poda ni panuhuni ulu-ulu ni na tinongtohanta asa daida ma porharoan ni panuruni ni bulan di bulan sipahasada asa dabisi ma ulu ni halak dasahani dasulangi ma dagoar ma sibalik mangalap ma goarni mari ma ho pangulubalang ni ari mangurupi mangalap musungku mari ma ho pangulubalang ni purba mari ma ho pangulubalang ni mangirisanni mangurupi si anu manarui musuta asa hupasak ma tu pordompahanmu asa tu pinggolmu asa tu tangkuhukmu pani (l. dung ni?) dapasakkon asa dasaput ma dohot saput ni pangulubalang suda asa dahali ma tano pitu asta bagasni asa dasurungi ma pitu hali mate mangongoriti ma ho di hosa ni si anu mortulis na birong

ma hita dohot na bontar dongan mare-mare ale datu. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ama ni bola ulu ina ni bola ulu batara sibola ulu surung bo(la)hon ma ulu ni musunami. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ama ni balik mangalap ina ni balik mangalap botara sibalik mangalap balik ma ho mangalap musu(ng)ku si anu. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ni gu(rung)ku ama ni sahan daro surung sahan ma daro ni musunta lorbalobal. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ama ni mordjabung-djabung surung mordjabung-djabung ma ho di hosa ni musu(ng)ku bunu. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ama ni hagolapan surung mate hagolapan ma ho musu(ng)ku bunu ibana ale opung pangulubalang na begu. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang..... ama ni arsik ate-ate ina ni arsik ate-ate batara siarsik ate-ate surung arsik ma (a)te-ate ni musu(ng)ku bunu i ma panuhuni ulu ni musuta i ma mintora ni panungkuni ulu-ulu ni na tinongtohanta di huting pe boti do di ulu ni horbo pe boti do di asu pe boti do di binatang pe boti do dabahon tombal do na pinulungta inon paluwaon tu huta ni musunta inon ale Guru Mangalinang ni adji. Djaha tungkap monang ma hita djaha tu hambirang monang ma hita ale datu. Djaha adop hita talu ma halak di hasuhuton ni ijadong na morhata dapasidungi ma hasuhuton ni ale datu. Poda ni pamuhui ni ulu-u(lu) ni t(i)nongtohanta barang hita dipadatu halak di hasuhuton na bolon asa dabuhui ma ulu ni halak na dapot hita ulang tarbalos musuta inon datu anso hita mamora ale datu na di pudi unang do hamu lupa di poda ni guruta ale datu na di pudi. Asa aha do baritamu simanduwa surakkon silihan aha do baritamu surik sori mundjae anang aha do pinarsintamu na robijan diparindjampon ni(l. ina)mu hube do huroha dohot gala-gala do huroha diparindjampon inamu hube ni bagot huroha

ija tutu do i parindjamanmu tangis mangalapi donganmu alapi ma anakmu dohot hahamu dohot anggimu ija boti do hupasak ma ho dohot haju na rurus asa marurus ma hosa ni musu(ng)ku sada ina sada ompu sada huta raja tidang marusap tidang mormuni hosa ni sijanu bunu. Ija ma inon pamuhui ni u(lu ni) halak na tinongtohanta datu asa dabuwat ma bulung ni latong nganduri dohot bulung ni suhat siruhurhurana(?) dohot silung mate dohot ahar lombak suda bulung ni pangulubalang pi(tu) be dabuwat songon suga suda [maru] marutang na so dohot pitu be dongan tarugi na pago di bonana tolu hali pitu bilanganna dabuwat asa dibosna ma pangulu ni musuta inon dohot daro ni manuk hulabu asa datonggor ma lubang tu toru pananoman ulu-ulu ni halak asa daontang ma tondi musuta i tu tano na tinongtohanta inon tidang marusap hira-hira ni musu(ng)ku ro o ma ahu asa hupasak ma di bumu asa di matamu asa di pinggolmu asa digungmu sahali laho tu ha . . . pihanmu sahali laho asa di bohina asa di harongatanni ganup son-di-son-di ni halak disi maek borgo asa dabahon ma tano rurus pitu pohul ro di lubang adop lubang do ulu ni musuta sipat tot do bagas ni lubang asa dataponi ma dohot (ta)no rurus dohot punggur na di atas ija arini di boraspati ni tangkop di sibanguwa ni halak di ari mate sadabu (l. madabu?) ma tu patala djonggi songgop ma tu siambalalungun datanom ma hos mata nijari lumihuppon ulu ni musuta dasungkun ma bulan na pi(na)rindjampon ni i(na)ni dohot ari hatutubuna dohot ari pahisorangna asa mangioga ma hita pitu hali ija tangit (l. tangis) do datonggor dasurakkon ma pitu hali daguwal ma halto-halto pitu hali pitu hali darobur ma ija sundut do mata nijari asa datanom ma musean ma di tano rurus boti ma pangalaho ni adjita i djadi pagar ni rumanta barang hita

morsaingkon datu na begu boti ma tangkurak ni na mate sadari musuta porpangiran pe boti do dabahon ale datu na di pudi unang hamu lupa di poda ni gurumu ale Guru Mangalinang ni adji asa hita datu na begu.

K. MS. Berlin Schoemann VIII, 2. Mandailing-Batak. My transcription was collated by Dr. L. Manik.

Poda ni pamapai ni ulu-ulu ma inon ale datunami patangis ulu-ulu ma inon buwat ma porlaslas sira pege itak poltuk tuwak di tanduk dongan burangir na ombang burangir haropit lindjang arabir na poso tobu na poso ranom (l. dumon?) sanggolom sarumpajit tujung pisang na lamun dongan barang sadija ombu-om(bu)an dongan ija singpop (l. singkop) do asaja inon pangodo¹ ma pandjabat panuktuk tuil dongan ija padjong-djong ma losu(ng) na tombuk di t(o)nga ni alaman padjugug ma di indjang losu(ng) antari ma na ombu-ombuan dung diantari ho suru dudu ma gordang mangmangi ma djolo dung dimangmang ho tijop ma pandjabat di siambirang panuktuk di siamun gampit ma rangkon pandjabatti aru-aru tuktuk rangkon panuktukki lao-lao marmintora ale datunami ingot ho di pangalao ni patangis ulu-ulu inon.

Mintora ni ma inon. Apa kapado kopo kopo da ale apala simandue antjo diparangkan di surik sorimundjaja surakkon sarioon bo ale paranganku surung bunu. Apa kapa kopo kopo do ale hapala simandue haha ma ulani na so dapot inamu amamu antap ma ulani ramon (l. dumon?) di gantang-gantang ma ulani na so dapot inamu amamu antjo ho diparangkan di surik soribundjaja sisa surakkon sarijoon bo ale paranganku surung. Hapa hapa do ale apala simandue aha ma ulani parsintaon ni amamu inamu di ho ale apala simandue antap ma ulani suwat na ungaron ulani na niparsintaon ni amamu inamu ale apala

simandue sisa surakkon sarioon bo ale paranganku surung bunu. Apa kapa do ale kopo kopo do ale apala simandue aha ma ulani na niparsintaon ni amamu inamu di ho ale apala simandue antap ma ulani harambir na poso ma ulani na niparsintaon ninamu a(ma)mu di ho ale apala simandue antjo ho diparangkan di surik soribundjaja sisa surakkon sari(o)hon bo ale paranganku surung bunu. Apa kapa kopo kopo ale hapala simandue antap ma ulani tobu na poso ma ulani na niparsintaon ni amamu inamu di ho ale apala simandue antjo ho diparangkan di surik soribundjaja sisa surakkon sari(o)on ale paranganku surung bunu. Hapa hapa hopo hopo ale apala simandue aha ma ulani na niparsintaon ni amamu inamu di ho ale apala simandue antap ma ulani itak di losung-losung ma ulani na niparsintaon ni amamu inamu di ho ale simandue antjo ho diparangkan di surik soribundjaja sisa surakkon sari(o)on bo ale paranganku surung lurus tampar tano ma ho si anu pitun sundut si anu so mi(da) utanami surung bunu. Ija dung do i baon ma tu sundut ni manuk sada borngin tu toru ma sada borngin tu paja sada borngin. Ija dung do i oban tu na lungun-lungun buwat ma ulu ni halihi ulu n(i) dari ulu ni upar ratas altung pitung pamutung pitu pijongot pitu asa parsira-agong ma di ari na laga na mate molas pe boti do ale datunami ija na mate molas suang na djolo i do asaja i dung dipapa ho anggun ma pitu ali dung dianggun ko parsiragong ma di ari na laga patop ma tu ulu-ulu i ulu ni babijat dongan i ma ingot ma ho di pandjadion anak badjangta i ale sisejan alu do baromu di au sajur ho sogot andigan ni.

¶ ¹) l. pangido (emendation by Dr. L. Manik).

L. From a very fine and large Toba-Batak manuscript in a private collection in Holland. The text is written in the general *poda*-language. The letter *nja* is used

several times, but there is no indication of a Mandailing-Batak origin of this *pustaka*. The scribe was a good draughtsman but a careless copyist or he followed a very corrupt original text.

(b 21) Poda ni panutupi di musunta beja hita sumungkuni barita ni ulu ni musunta beja hita tumutupi rambu ni musunta beja tumutupi nipini asa dasungkun ma baritani. Aha baritamu asa ho mangabang-abang so mari asa ho hatindijan asa ho tatutupan tidang marusap tidang mormunji ma ho musungku si anu asa ho mate mona mate moni ma ho panodo ni musungku asa dalombut ma di gara ni api dadjulukkon asa dapuhon majok ni babi asa dalangkopi ma palangka ni babi asa daulakkon ma tu hubungan ni babi ni musunta beja di guluwan ni horbo ni musunta dihanan hapilinni di palangka ni babini di torumbara ni musunta ija desani mangirisannja asa dao ma di balijan ni huta ni musunta ija arini di adintija tula di suma ni mate hapilinni ija ro do ulubalangta asa dapangan ma manuk na modompon ma dapangan manuk sampun borna bosur hita mangan mabuk hita minum dung mangahon timan huta ni musunta asa dabuwat ma urat ni silanglang banuwa dohot urat ni latong urs(a d)ohot pusuk ni podom-podom dohot pusuk ni ampuspus dohot songkir na suwak dahoris dohot losung niulang dahoris dohot balatuk dahoris. Ija porpangiranni asa dabuwat ma bulung ni langge sihuk pitung kibil na tungkap dalimashon asa datonggor ma gurunta debata sunijahon mombal debata ra dadok. Ung debata na sunijahon sunijahon sada sunijahon duwa sunijahon tolu sunijahon ompat sunijahon limang sunijahon onom sunijahon pitu sunijahon ma guling lima debata manggowar banuwa ho na sungkot di langit ho na ri(n)san di banto-banto ho na mahonde debata panaluwan ho ulim panaluwan debata hatahutan ho ulim hatahutan ho debata hu-

malaho ho dang humalaho ding botara lihi ho si humara bira ho si padoha si padihi ho adji siparsangkaoti toha onang oning hana haputnja ada ho si suwari mamboban sira moba mangalele turun do ho dijahu djangan ho turun di musungku sija(nu) manalu ma h(ita) ninta mormintora.

Poda ni panindi ulu ni musunta asa dabuwat ma bulung ni andulpak pitu di igungni sihamun pitu di sihambirang pitu di babani pitu di matani si- (b 22) hamun pitu di matani di sihambirang pitu be tombal di pinggolni pitu be pitu di sambubuni pitu di salibonni pitu di panampulan asa daradjahon ma gowar ni musunta tombal asa datindi ma di batu asa dasuwani abuwani ma pitun djomput tombal hita morsilip pitun sundut ma ho musungku so malo ahu hagulingan batu sigilang-gilang hatorbanan dolok simanabun ma ho musungku so marusap so mormuni bunu musungku.

Poda ni hatotoganta di hasuhuton ija ma inon panutupi di ulu ni musunta ulang mormuni tindingkonni beja pulas beja djadi pamuhu tanduk beja songon ni halak datutupi djadi pamunu lambe ni halak djadi pamunu adji ni halak na dapat hita ija ma inon morgowar panutupi songon ulang barang-barangsi radjahon adjinta inon ale sisumbaon Guru So Laosan ni adji ie bo ma ompung doli e.

(b 23) Ija hosaja ni panindi di ulu ni musunta asa dabuwat ma bulung ni andulpak pitu ulang di haje datutupi asa daradja ma bulung ni andulpak pitu pinordjolma dasurathon gowar ni musunta datuni tombal na djuwarani tombal asa datanom ma di toru ni losung udju do di patta sipat balij(u)ng do bagas ni lubang dabahon.

Ija hita tumutupi ulu ni musunta asa dabuwat ma bulung ni andulpak pitu di salimbubuni pitu di matani pitu di pinggolni pitu di igungni duwa hali pitu di babani pitu di osangni pitu di tam-

pulanni pitu di uluni asa datanom ma asa dadon-doni ma di batu ma(mak?) asa daholso-holso[ma]-i ma pitu hali asa dadurusi ajok siborgo asa borgo ma ho ate-ate ni si anu musungku asa dasurungi ma di pege morhajak ma ho si anu ro di pahompuni ro di tuwan boruni ro di haeni so marusap so mormuni so malo ahu asa dapandol ma pitu hali dasondai ma pitu hali pitun sundut ma ho si anu so malo ahu ro di pahompuni so malo ahu tidang marusap tidang mormuni asa hatindijan batu sigilang-gilang ma ho si anu harumbahan harijara na bolon ma ho musungku hatorbanan dolok simanabun ma ho musungku si anu lopus podjam ma ho si anu so malo ahu mate mona mate moni tidang marusap tidang mormuni ma ho hira-hira ni musungku si anu bunu. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ni panindingku di ulubalang na mahoras ulubalang di pamusatan ma dadabuhon asa dasulang ma di pamuhijanni suwa be musunta morbaba dibahon panindi tutupi hita ulu ni musunta asa borgo ma ho ate-ate ni musungku so malo ahu di songon pe boti do suwa be morlaga songon ni halak ija so lupa ho amang ibebere Guru So Laosan ni adji boti ma poda ni gurunta Guru Lali ale pahompu.

(b 26) Poda ni panungkuni ulu-ulu ni musunta ma inon barang hita dapotan ulu ni musunta asa dasungkuni ma asa dabuwat ma napuran sedang karopit dongan boras banu dongan badja mijak dongan daupa dongan songkir na suwak pula do atasni ija gagatonni bulung ni sampilulut ma ija panongsong ni pinggolni andulpak dongan bulung ni podom-podom di igungni pinggolni pe i do ija di babani bulung ni latong ija di gugung do mate ale musunta inon di alaman ma dasungkuni ija di borno-borno do mate di palispisan ma dasungkuni asa dadaupa ma djolo ulu-ulu inon asa daendei ma di tonga ni alaman ale datu. Turun ma hamu debata di atas manangki ma

hamu debata di toru humundul ma hamu debata di tonga asa turun ma hamu nagurungku ahu mangido hasongtijan do ahu manungkuni ulu-ulu ni halak onon asa maranak ma debata mulana diparanakkon debata mula djadi maranakkon debata mula himpal maranakkon debata mula gabe maranakkon debata mula gabe maranakkon debata mula morti maranakkon debata mula lima maranakkon debata mula onom maranak debata mula pitu maranakkon debata mula songti asa songti do ahu manungkuni ulu-ulu ni halak onnon boti ma ninta. Aha do baritamu sang kapahe asa ho morbarita-barita di tonga ni portibi on ija baritangku hataporan hudon hahohaho hadodangan ajok hahohaho hatalpohan hite hahohaho hagolapan dolok simanabun hahohaho hagolapan hahohaho asa ho disipat haju pasagi borma borma he aha ma pean na so ditorsintai ni handue napuran ma na so huporsintai ni handuemu aha ma hapeja na so hu pinorsinta ni handue indahan sube-sube ma hapeja na so hu pinorsinta ni handuemu gala-gala ma hapeja na so huporsintai handuemu aha ma hapeja na so huporsintai handuemu gaol hapeja na so huporsintai handue djuhut ma hapeja pinasa hapeja pinarsinta ni handuemu manuk ma hapeja na s(o) hu pinorsintamu handuemu hamari ma hamari ma ibunmu hamari hamari ma hula-hulamu margamu asa ho ma da handu ibotomu asa ho ma dihando hahamu asa ho ma dihandoi inamu asa ho ma dihandoi abumu asa [sa]ho dihandoi anggimu asa ho disaput di haju dulangkon inamu asa hatindijan batu sigilang-gilangni hapolnatan batu mamak hatorbanan dolok simanabun tidang marusap tidang mormuni ma ho musungku magatgat ma ho di bulung ni sampilulut tortulut ma ho hira-hira ni musungku asa hututup ma ho di bulung ni andulpak di bulung ni podom-podom asa torpodom ma ho hira-hira ni musungku ninta

mamuhui ulu ni musunta ale datunami. Ija hita mangandjak datu asa datondolhon ma pitu hali djolo di rangin babujut datindi-tindi ma pitu hali asa mangandjak ma ulubalangta asa dabaen ma dibagas ampang asa datindi ma di galapang dohot pustahanta ranan ija di bulan pisik do boti ija di bulan hohop ma pangko ma dabahon bidji ni igungni di na humalalotung ija di bulan pisik do bosu ma dabahon bidjini asa dadop. Radja ni amak ma inon ajok ni hunik dohot hapur pangaradjanta di tano pe i do. I ma radja ni tano pantomon di djolo ni hudjur ma.

M. Amsterdam, Royal Institute for the Tropics, 2761/55.

This MS. is written on indigenous paper; the imprint of the cloth between which the sheets were pressed in drying is visible in some places. The collection to which it originally belonged was brought together in the isle of Samosir. *Sihora* as a rule denotes *o* but in a few places it is used for *u* (as in Karo-Batak).

There are some typical Dairi-Batak words in the text, such as *tejun* = knee (Toba *tot*, Simalungun *towod*, Karo *tiwěn* or *tijun*), but also some equally typical Simalungun words, such as *angkula* = body, *hasoman* = friend. The name of the copyist was Guru Lumang ni adji; the name of his village is not mentioned. The only geographical name in the chain of transmission is Limbong. This is situated on the saddle between the volcano Pusuk Buhit and the mountain-range that borders Lake Toba on its west side.

Poda ni panungkuni ulu-ulu ni musunta di hasuhuton na godang beja hita dapotan ulu ni musunta asa hita ulang taralo musunta asa dapatal ma asa dasungkuni ma ulu ni musunta. Apa baritamu sang kapala e asa ho morbaringbaringnan di portibi baritangku dung ma haputusan li(h)ir haho haho hataporan hudon haho haho hatorbanan dolok haho haho hasoloman ajor haho haho habo(h)okan hite asa ho dilipat di haju pasagi dorma dorma e pulangkon simandungkuwemu hamari hamari simandungkuwemu

ninta pitu hali asa daulak-ulaki ma tole boti do sondjatana. Aha baritamu sang kapala e asa ho dilipat di haju patagi dorma dorma e ho alamu diandung bapamu laban itamu matiha bornamu idjo bornamu mate simandungkuwemu pinorsintahonmu rube pinorsintahonmu napuran pinorsintahonmu niura pinorsintahonmu gala-gala pinorsintahonmu asa ho disinpat di haju pasagi dorma dorma e haputusan li(h)ir masok ho sang kapala e mate ma disinon utangmu mate mona mate moni mate hom ma ho na hatompoan dolok hadondonan debata sitompo langit hatindijan debata si gandamona mate hom ma ho si anu so mangalo ahu ninta.

Poda ni pananom ni ulu ni musunta di sihambirang di dalan na bolon sitanom sundut mata ni ari hita laho pitu hita laho pitu hali daondam tu lubang asa dabuh ma tubagas lubang asa dasangkopi ma di lubang di andiru na raras di tonga ni alaman.

Ija panganon ni ulu-ulu ni musunta asa dabuwat ma indahan binorna-bornona dongan manuk boru sopang mangan ma ho ninta.

Poda ni pamasok ni ulu-ulu ni musunta inon asa dabuwat ma bulu parapat dongan bulung ni pagom-pagom saput ni ulu-ulu inon dongan podom-podom ija suwada bulu parapat indalu niulang kapilinni.

Poda ni tangi-tangijanta tumanom ulu-ulu ija madabu do udan di huta ni musunta beja hilap beja ronggur di huta ni musunta suwada be hita torbalos musunta di hasuhuton inon di hita ma debata panaluwan djati manalu ma hita ija ningan hutanta do hilap beja ronggur beja hali-sungsung somada dung hasuhuton inon ija udan do di huta ni musun(ta) tumatangis ma musunta somada torbalos musunta hita di hasuhutoninon ija hita montat ulu ni musunta ulang lumaosi tejunta dagajung-gajung sintik awakta tu toru so

ma hamu lupa di podah ni panungkuni inon Balijot ni adji.

Poda ni hita pabalik bangke di hasuhuton na godang asa dailigi ma na mate di hasuhuton inon asa daontat ma hube ni gawol dongan hube ni hunik dongan indahan na borgo asa datonggo ma debata di atas debata di toru debata di tonga na gumabe hasuhuton na gumabe hataluwan asa dapijo ma sumagot inani sumagot amani sumagot na gumabesa di bortijan asa dasungkun ma inani dohot amangudani dohot gorarna ro di tulangni asa dapandol ma tombal bilangan ni bulan tombal do bilangan ni ari dapandol dohot halak binalik bangke ni musunta andi ba datu na di pudijan.

Poda ni hita tindang diatas na mate somada hita dapot manaili tu pudinta asa dapaturun ma debata ni sugi rima mari ma ho hita umbalik bangke debata sihaboran sihaboran pardabu ma ruma ni musunta ale amang.

Poda ni hita humurhuri na mate di hasuhuton na bolon asa dapahosing ma bohina dompak huta ni musunta tumandakkon mata ni ari patni dumondoni sihambirang asa dabahon ma tadjombara damar ija torsorop do tondi ni musunta di tadjombara ija s[uw]ada do torsorop sada ma ulinta ija duwa do duwa ma ulinta bilangan na ro do bilangan ni ulinta somada maluwah.

Poda ni hita sumungkun na mate di hasuhuton na bolon barang hita pabalik bangke ni musunta barang talu ma hita di hasuhuton na bolon asa dapabalik ma bangke di tanoman asa daontat ma napuran dongan badja minak dongan boras binorna-bornana na gorsing na bontar na birong dongan hube dongan gala-gala dongan rube dongan tinutung dongan indahan borgoh dongan hushus dongan bunga-bunga tombal pinangan ni halak daontat.

Poda ni hita pabalik bangke di hasuhuton asa dabuwat ma hosajani lapik ni bangke halto na rurus pitu hibul dongan latong anduri pitu-pitu rambar dongan latong urasa dongan latong andarasi pitu-pitu sada bage tombal bulung kaju na. . . . top sada so halaosan dongan ipuh sada ridon dongan hatunggal dongan tolong bobbob dongan hidu dongan basir pitu hibul asa dalapikon ma di na mate inon asa datonggohon ma sibanggo di bangke sibanggo di hilap sibanggo di ronggur sibanggo di bintang sibanggo di bulan sibanggo di ari sibanggo di ombun mari ma hamu mangan mari ma hamu minum sibanggo di bangke sibanggo di pija sibanggo di pinggol sibanggo di mata sibanggo di tangan sibanggo di dilah mari ma hamu mangan manuk pogong mangan minum mangan pinanganmu di hurungan manik hinagabehonmu di bortijan di surat nantagina di gab(e) ompung batara guru di hurungan manik nimu debata hasi-hasi ninta mormangmang disinon asa daradjahon ma di bulung hatunggal lapik ni bangke pagi-pagijan ale Balijot hata so malajang ni adji ijo tondi. (figure)

Another fragment from the same MS.:

Radja ni sirahar padang ma inon baen panutupi ulu ni musuhta beja pamuhui musunta anso mago tinadingkon ni musuhta inon barang hita mandemban anak badjang beja di bulung ni silong mate daradjahkon radjahni di simborah pe boti do daradjahkon ale (figure).

Radja ni indik-indik ma inon baen tingting(?) ma inon barang hita manindi(h)i tahal-tahal ni musuhta na morgorar silabuh kurungan silabuh hira-hira silabuh ate-ate ni musuhta (figure).

Radja ni si lungun hasajan radja(h)onkon di bulung ni andor balijang na pungguron nalompit baen sumpol ni igung ni musuhta ulang hita torbalos musuhta di hasuhuton (figure).

Radja ni sitompoh bu(ng)kulan ni musuhta asa daradjahkon di bulung ni sarago panutupi pinggol ni musuhta sihambirang radjah ni simborah pe boti do dabahon radjahni (figure).

Radja ni tanoh ma inon bokas manungkuni tahal-tahal ni musuhta beja hita mangandjahi tahal-tahal ni musuhta asa datindi(h)i ma pitu hali di rangin babujut di ulu ni musuhta dohot gindorang indik-indik asa datingtingkon ma pitu hali datindihkon ma di halimbubu ni musuhta daparap ma pitu hali di tanganta ulang hita hatimbangan musuhta ija pangaradjahta ija hita mangaradjah di tonga ni alaman ija pangaradjah udjung ni piso tudjung balu hudjur tudjung balu sibolah pusuh ija dung do hita manungkuni asa dahoris ma tanoh niradjanta inon di piso tudjung balu asa dasantum ma di bulung pamangananta inon dohot di bulung panibalanta inon asa dabahon ma dibagas bangkuruk musuhta inon asa dadabuh dibagas lubang pananomanta inon di ulu-ulu ni musuhta inon ale datu guru (figure). Radja ni bulung ni dulang badjora ma inon baen gondje ni datu manungkuni manungkuni manurungi manurungi do hapeja na lilu do na manuturi barang hita mamuhui ulu ni musuhta radja ni mare-mare ma inon baen gondjenta manurungi baen hoba-hoba pe boti do daradjahkon baen hoba-hoba mangijogahon ulu ni musuhta ija pangijoganta songon pangijoga hinan ija pangaradjahta tanoh rurus dongan langkitang balu dongan daroh ni na mate sadari dongan tanoh na tolbak dongan buro dongan huning ni na pitu hali mabalu ija panomburni ajok ni losung na tarulang dongan ajok ni nanturge dongan tambur ni na mate sadari ija dung do luhut hosaja inon asa dalehon ma dipatpat na dung mabalu balu langkitang inon ija dung do dipatpat asa dasarohon ma dohot pangaradjanta inon ija ma inon panuruni pinulungta inon ija dung do tasak asa

dabahon ma dibagas guri-guri ulang dibagas huta robuwanni ma inon ija dung do masak pos ma atenta mangalo hasuhuton inon didok gurunta ale (figure).

N. Amsterdam, Royal Institute for the Tropics, 1772/158.

A text in the general *poda*-language without any indication of the place of origin. There are only a few Dairi-Batak words such as *takal* = head and *kihik* (Dairi *kikik*) = armpit.

Poda ni panindita di tahal(?) ni musuta anso ulang hita torbalos musungta inon ija dung do dabuhui pitung karambar digung sihamun pitung karambar di igung sihambirang pitu di babani bulung ni podom-podom rap dohot bulung ni andulpak pitu be bilanganni dohot bulung ni sirago pitu be pitu di matani pitu di pinggolna dabosna ma di manuk asa dapatibal ma di adop ni tahal ni musuta ragam ni sipangan(o)n ni djolma manisiasa dadabu asa dasungkuni ma tahal ni musungta inon asa dabuwat ma bulung ni pangulubalang hinan na rusur (l. rurus) pitung karambar asa datanom ma tu tano mate beja tu tano rurus sundut mata ni ari hita tumanomsa mate madabu ma ho hira-hira ni musungku urang samuana madabu ma harahar ni musuku alap ma tuwa(n) borumu alap ma donganmu ala(p) ma na sahuta inon ho liput tu batala djonggi madabu ma di ambalalungun diomsop supat (l. pusat) samudora ma ho musungku si anu tidang marusap tidang mormuni hira-hira ni musungku i ma mintora ni panuruni ma inon asa dasangkopi ma di tano mate hasangkopan hatindijan ma ho hira-hira ni musungku pitu hali dapolnat-polnat ma ho musungku asa datindi ma di batu pitu sundut ma ho so malo ahu.

Aha do baritamu inang simandue surok salijongmu di surik soribindjaja [g]anang di aha do ho

daporsinta inamu ija di hube do ho diporsinta inamu ija di djuhut do diporsinta inamu tangis ma ho alap ma tuwan borumu alap ma hahamu alap ma na sahuta on ija boti do ija hupasahat ma ho di asangku si anu porlobas ma musungku bunu si anu.

Asa dabuwat ma hasajani bulung ni rimbang bulung ni salsal bulung ni suhat sihurhuran bulung ni latong bulung ni silung mate bulung ni pangulubalang hinan pitu be bilangan(n)i duri pitu be sada goaran dongan basir bulu parapat tarugi na pago di bonani tombal pitu be bilanganni asa dabosna ma di daro ni manuk hulabu asa datonggo ma di lubang pananomanta inon asa dapijo ma to(n?)dini timan toding nitadi(ng)ni na pahugahonsa tidang marusap tidang mormuni asa dapasahat di hau na rurus di ambubuni asa di pinggolni asa di igungni asa di babani asa di osang-osangni asa di dalihan ni bohini ija dung do hita mortonggo asa dadabu ma tu lubang adop huta ni musuta asa dasampathon asa datampani asa dapuhor ma asa batu di atas (ta)hal ni musuta.

Ija hita manungkun morsaholat hita mamahe hita datu dasungkun ma ari hatutubuna dohot bulan dohot pahisorangna ija tangis do asa dasulang ma asa daiogai ma pitu hali morhalto-halto hita mandudu pitu hali marandjak ma hita datu asa daboba ma tu ruma tu huta tu tano rusur (l. rurus) beja tu tano mate liput mata ni ari hita lumiputhon ulu ni musuta inon ija di singbora panuwa(ng) baba ni musungta pitu hali dalala pitu hali darobur asa datuwakkon di baba ni musuta inon ija pangidahanta su (l. lu) miputhon ulu ni musuta ija ro do udan[g] punu ma musungku djaha haba-haba malaon dope ma hasuhuton ija mata ni ari haru mintop punu ma musuta tinadingni mago ma ija di hutata do datang-datangan maranggir ma hita disinon ija dung do

boti dapangan babi tumpak ija dung do boti punu ma musungta madabu ma si (l. di?) ambalalungun madabu ma harahar ni musuta dionsop pusat samudora ma roha ni musuta gabe dada-boru ma roha ni musuku.

Poda ni pamohui ni panurunita di musuta asa dabuwat bulu na pungguron homhom gindjangni dongan bulu na mamuhung dongan pusuk ni pangulubalang hinan pitu be bilanganni tombal na so buha mata asa dabahon di sambubuni pitu di matani dua hali pitu di igungni dua hali pitu di babani pusuk tutup portibi pusuk ni simananggali pusuk ni simorlangkop-langkop pitu be ulang lobi ulang hurang asa dagiling limot asa daradja ma bulung ni andulpak dohot simbora asa dasihat di sibijangsa panaluwan dohot pandalo ni onggang na marimbalo pantis hamindjon dasihat ganup sondi-sondini asa dalangkopi di bulung ni andulpak niradjata inon di bulu parapat na pungguron di songkir na suwak dongan indalu na tarulang pula do gindjangni manuk hulabu mate dabahon asa daabisson manuk mira ija arini di bulan matopik asa datonggo pormesa panggaroda dohot pormamis dohot ari na pitu dohot rambu sumbahorna anso so sondot tu huta ni musunta ija dabulan pormangmang bulan si tolu gonop tolu mamunu ma ho di musungku sada ina sada ompu sada huta so marusap so mormuni bunu musungku. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ama ni bu(hu) di bulan sipahasada ama ni buhu di aringtia arintia pe umbu(nu)i musuku ama ni buhu pormesa pormesa pa umbunui musuku ni panggaroda ama ni buhu di portibi ama ni buhu di banua ama ni buhu di purba surung mate hapolnatan ma ho musuku tidang marusap tidang mormuni madabu ma di a(m)-balalungun dionsop pusat samudora luput di batala djonggi musuku bunu.

Ija dung do asa daguwal ma gordang dudu ma-

randjak ma datu asa dadabu ma tu lubang tahal ni musungta asa datonggor panginteanta datu ama. Djaha maguling tu sihamun bea tu adop so be mauli maranggir ma na sada huta inon. Djaha maguling tu sihambirang bea tu djolo monang ma hita di hasuhuton inon. Ija dung do asa dasangkopi ma di a(n)duri asa tano asa daradja anduri pe daradja ulu desa dapatibal porbue na bontar di sihamun porbuje hinunihan di sihambirang ija tu hambirang do laho porbuje inon talu ma hita ija napuran sada be porbuje inon dohot badja dohot mija(k) sada be porbuje dabahon ija tu adop do porbuje i palaho djuhu(t) dope hita ija tu djolo do porbuje monang ma hita beja badja beja napuran beja minak ija hita umbahon ulu ni musuta dapatopahon bosu suwang agat dabahon tadjom dabahon ija di taruni datunpa ma saringgupan si morkihik sadang kibul di sambubu n(i) musuta asa hita matoga ro di pahomputa.

O. Leiden, University Library, Cod. Or. 3146. A text in the general *poda*-language.

Ija ende ni ulu-ulu ma inon ale amang datu na mangadji ma (i)non asa turun ma hamu debata di atas manangki hamu debata di toru humundul debata di tonga asa mari ma hamu (na)gurungku dori nipi na handue ulu-ulu ni djolma hupata(j)a-ta(j)a nipimu parsintaanmu rohamu turuti nipimu tu nipimu turuti nipi hanuhon di parmu djadijamu dinamu aha ma ulu-ulu ni djolma si torjomba-djomba surung djombai ma huta ni musungku inang na ra donda ahu tumaja simandaue ija ulu-ulu si martunggalingan tunggalingkon ma huta ni musungku ho ma simandaue ulu-ulu si harhar tompasan ni inamu diparsintahon inamu di indahan sing(?)on na huning di udjung ni hite si dumaol-daol surung daolhon ma ulu ni musungku bunu hira-hira ni musungku. Inang siman(da)ue ija ma ulu-ulu ni djolma di

aha ma ho di aha ma ho diparsintahon inamu di indahan na gorsing ma ho diparsintahon di singgar-singgar ma ho diparsintahon ma ho mate di tano rurus ma haroburranmu marurus musungku. Inang simandaue ija ma ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintahon inamu di indahan na bontar ma ho diparsintahon inamu di ari golap dipanganhon di tano mate di tano mate ma hatubuanmu matehon ma hosa ni musungku surung bunu parage. Inang simandauwe ija ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintahon inamu di asom sirabarron diparsintahon inamu di ombun laos ma ho di tano mate ma hatubuanmu matehon ma roha ni musungku bunu. Inang simandaue ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintahon inamu di djuhut dianang ma ho diparsintahon inamu di ari golap di tano mate ma hatubuanmu matehon hosa ni musunta banu . . pe bunu soro bunu. Inang simandaue ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintahon inamu di djuhut tinanggoan di singgar-singgar ma ho di tano rurus hatubuanmu marurus ma ho musungku surung bunu. Inang sisangkat mandue hutaja dainang di djuhut ni haju malangki di bulung ni salopi dilapik-lapik si tapi tumatangis disi ma ho tubu di bulan na marnamaos di tonga ni borngin di langlang di hatiha di borpur(?) hatoboanmu laho ma ho tu purba manise nipimu disi pe uboto hangodangngan ajek(?) ditinggang singgar-singgar di tonga ni borngin ulu-ulu simandaue sombu ma pusumu borgo ma ate-atemu bunu ma musungku i ma simandaue. Inang simandaue aha do baritamu ulu-ulu sisangkan madue barita so oda(?) barita ni musungta manaban mamunu di hosa ni musungku ahu ma na tartading di purba na tumatangis di hapotan na so haturutan nipi asa laho ma ho tu ajek mangido parsinta-sintaanmu dilehon ma di ho djuhut inda podo i parsintaanmu asa laho ma ho tu dangsina

mangidain parsinta-sintaanmu dilehon ma di ho indahan inda podo in parsinta-sintaanmu asa laho ma ho tu pastima mangidai parsintaanmu dalehon ma di ho tobu i(n)da podo i parsintaanmu asa laho ma ho tu manabija mangidai parsinta-sintaanmu dilehon ma di ho tuwak inda podo i parsintaanmu asa laho ma tu otara mangidai parsinta-sintaanmu dilehon ma mudar (i)nda podo i porsinta-sintaanmu asa laho tu nariti mangidain parsinta-sintaanmu dilehon ma di ho parbue ni haju i(n)da podo i parsinta-sintaanmu asa laho ma ho tu agoni mangidai parsintaanmu dalehon ma di ho pusu-pusu inda podo i porsinta-sintaanmu asa laho ma ho tu irisanna dilehon ma di ho ragam-ragam ni djuhut ragam-ragam ni papanganon inda podo i porsintaanmu ulu-ulu sisangkat madue asa laho ma ho tu purba ma(ng)idai parsinta-sintaanmu susu ninamu na so marajek api ma na hurang aha ma ulani he ulu-ulu sisangkat madue aha ma he parsintaanmu susu ni djolma susu ma musungku surung(?) ma ho mamunu musungku surung ihut-ihut tunggu-tunggu . . . Asa hutaja hutaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi mondas di lautan surung mondas ma ho mamunu tu huta ni musungku bunu. Hutaja do hutaja do ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si bo(ru) sopang panaluwan do na tumaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue surung taluhon huta ni musungku bunu. Hutaja do hutaja do ulu-ulu [pa] sisangkan madue si tapi sindar na tumaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue surung gargari huta ni musungku bunu. Asa hutaja hutaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi sopang panalua(n) si boru donda hatahutan surung dan ho ma musungku so marusap so malo ahu. Asa hutaja do ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi porhas di lautan do surung manoro porhas ma di huta ni musungku bunu. Asa hutaja do hutaja do ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi mardalan do na tumaja ulu-ulu

sisangkat madue surung mardalan ma ho tu huta ni musungku. Asa hutaja do hutaja do ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi marhalisungsung do na tumaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue surung marhalisungsung ma ho di huta ni musungku. Asa hutaja do hutaja do ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi humaluhup na tumaja ulu-ulu surung humaluhup ma ho mamunu tu huta ni musungku bunu patagas. Asa hutaja do ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi buhu-buhu do na tumaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue surung buhuhon ma hosa ni musungku bunu i ma panitang ulu-ulu ija hita tumumpur huta ni musungta i adong do musunta datongtohi i ma dapadjadi ale sisean.

P. Amsterdam, Royal Institute for the Tropics, 1430/2. Lacunose text. The only geographical name in the chain of transmission is Huta Gindjang.

Poda ni (pa)nungkuni ulu ni halak tino(k)tohan asa daida ma porharoan ni panuruninta di bulan sipahasada asa dapangabisi ma ulu-ulu inon dasahani dasulangi asa dadohi goar ma sibalik mangalap ma goarni mari ma hamu pangulubalangni mari mangurupi si anu on mangalapi musungku mari ma hamu pangulubalang di purba mari ma hamu pangulubalang sibintang hias hijas ma hosa ni musungku mari ma hamu pangulubalang na mangurupi si anu on tumoru . . . si anu on balik mamunu ma ho di hosa ni musungku asa dapasak ma di p. na di pinggolna di tangkurukni dohot asa dasaput ma di saput ni pangulubalang hian na djolo-djolo inon asa dahali ma lubang pitu asta bagasni asa dasurungi ma pitu hali homhom pitu hali da. pi pitu hali na birong na bontar na rara mare-mare. Surung . . . (various tabas). Ija ma inon panuruni ni ulu-ulu beja di h(u)be beja di manuk beja di asu beja di horbo beja di hoda beja di lombu tombal do pinulungta

inon tabas dadabu ma tu lubang. Djaha tungkap monang ma hita. Djaha dompak ham-birang monang ma hita. Djaha manaili tu siham-birang monang ma hita. Djaha biding inon. Djaha adoppita talu ma hita daoloi ma pa dapasidu(ng) di hata inon ale datu-nami.

Q. Leiden, Univ. Libr., MS. Royal Academy 247 p. a 29. This is an old Toba-Batak MS. from Sipoholon. (See J. Winkler, in BKI 112, p. 26).

Poda ni panin(din)ta di ulu ni musunta beja panin(din)ta di sabung-sabungta bobanon parangan tu huta ni musunta beja panindinta di hata-tahutta asa databasi ma pitu [ha]hali. Ung bogang-bogang boging-boging taon ho t(on)di hatutupan hatindian ma hosa ni musungku si anu tondi ni suhut situ(tu) suhut pangabiri ulubalang pordj(o)lo-djolo di musungku surung bunu porsule porsuwagehon. Ung djangga mona djangga moni surung mate mona mate moni ma ho musungku mate mona mate moni ma ton(di) ni musungku ulubalang pordjolo mate mona mate moni ma rambuna.

R. Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Or. 3435. From a Toba-Batak text on *pangulubalang debata na helung* in Van der Tuuk's collection.

Poda ni pamuhui ni ulu-ulu ni musunta barang hita dapotan manoktohi di bisara na godang pangga(be-ga)be ni debata na helung ija ma inon guru ni djuhut dasulangkon tu baba ni musunta inon. Asa daradjahon ma goar ni musunta di bulung ni andulpak pitu di babani pitu di pinggolni pitu di igungni pitu di matani asa daradjahon ma goar ni musunta na ngolu di simbora pitu hali daradja pitu hali darobur pitu hali dasurungi asa datuangkon ma tu ulu ni musunta asa datanom ma tu hamatean ni debata na helung asa datindi ma di galapang batu hapilinni asa datuangi ma

di ajok borgo asa haborgoan ma ho hosa ni musunta sada ina sada ompu asa dasuan ma harijara di atas ni ulu ni tinoktohanta inon dung ma suda musunta inon.

S. British Museum, Ethnographical Department, 1931 2-16-12. Very much damaged. There is a fragment of a chain of transmission mentioning three *datus*, the first of whom lived in Lae Riman, apparently in the Dairi-Batak country (*lae*, Dairi = water, river). His disciple belonged to the Toba-Batak clan Sipajung, which is found in Silalahi on the north-west shore of Lake Toba, not far from the Dairi-Batak territory. The use of the word *tahal-tahal* (Dairi *takal-takal*) meaning severed head also points to a Dairi-Batak origin of this text.

On both sides of the strip of bark some material is torn off.

Poda ni panungku(ni tahal-tahal)
(n)i musunta barang dung ma hita
dapotan asa dasungkun . . .
. . . tahal ni musunta andi ma datunami. a . . .
. . . sang(?)ha(?)la e haho-haho asa ho
morbatak morbaring . . .
. . . portibi barita haputusan lihir haho-hah(o hatapo-
(ra)n hudon haho-haho hasoranan dolok haho-ha(ho) . . .
. . . oman ajor haho-haho habohohan haho-haho . . .
(dil)ipat di haju pa(sa)gi dorma-dorma
dorija dulang . . .
(siman)duhu e hamari hamari simanduhu e ninta
ma(nungkuni)
(ta)hal-tahal ni musunta asa daulak-ulak pitu ha(li)
(b)oti ma podah ni datu asa dapati(bal?)
ma tahal-tahal asa da . . .
(mu)sejan ma tahal-tahal ni musunta asa dapatibal . . .
. . . ombuwan manuk boru sopang morbagot di
ta(nduk) . . .
. . . ok di gantang asa databasi ma.
Aha baritamu sang pala . . .
(m)orbatak batahan di babo portibi asa ho di . . .
(ha)ju pasagi dorma-dorma a haputusan lihir (a) . . .
. . . pala e mate ma simanontangmu mate mona
mate moni . . .
. . . o . . . ma ho si anu mat(e) hatorbanan dolok
si(manabun) . . .
. . . ho musu(ng)ku si anu hadondonnan batu
sigilang-g . . .
(s)i anu ninta si anu hadabuwan ma ho . . .

begu ma tinongtohan inon ija tompa hora do anak ni na mago-mago ma bunuonta ija dingan musunta do inon djaoat ma inon, if a cloud (in the shape of a man) carrying a head is above us, we shall win; if the head

is like a dog's head, we shall cut the head of a brave warrior; if it is like a monkey's head, we shall kill a poor man's son. If the cloud is above our enemy, the omen is unfavourable (to us).

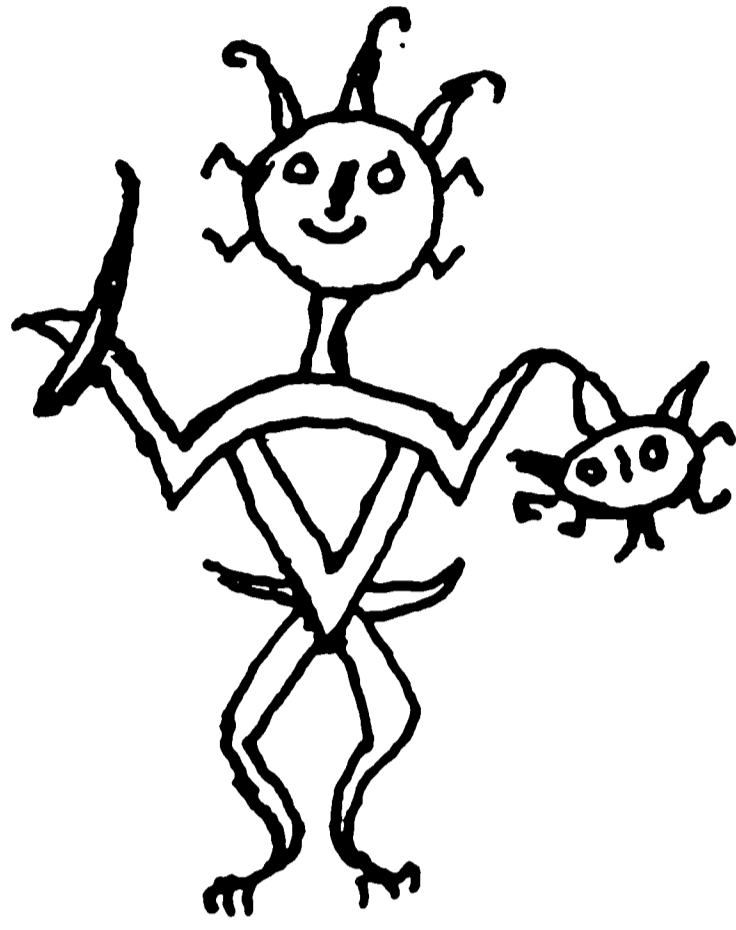


FIG. 42.



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| 795/2 <i>page</i> 164 | IC 30849 (Manik No. 20)
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GENERAL INDEX

- adji dolos*, suicide magic? This is the meaning of Simalungun *dolos*, Dairi *dělēs*, Karo *dělīs*, but cf. Manik 200 (alluring magic) and MS. Amsterdam 1754/1 b32 *adji pandolos*, a kind of *panongtongi* ('secret damage causing magic', See Cat. Dublin p. 32, lit. 'unswervingly aiming at . . .') 101
- adji malim harondar*, name of a *pangulubalang*. *Malim* (Mal. Arab.) religious teacher; *harondar* or *halondar* (Manik 260) is the Mal. Pers. *kalandar*, a religious mendicant 101
- adjimat*, see amulets
- adji nangka piring*, the name of the cock in the cock-oracle 149
- adji ni pangulubalang*, various applications of a *pangulubalang*; see Winkler 1 (p. 174–176) 149
- adji pajung*, divination from the cut-off neck of a pig or the severed head of a dog 43, 50, 141–144; Plate 23
- adji punuk*, magic that wrings the enemy's neck 99
- ajoga*, see *yoga*
- alamat* (Mal. Arab.), ominous signs, e.g. in the sky 123, 195
- alphabet, Batak 41. Used in magic 97, 101, 124, 149, 180
- American parallels 57, 58, 71, 72
- amulets, called *porsimboraon* (from *simbora*, lead, tin, Skr. *tīvra*) or *adjimat* (Mal. Arab.) 43, 115. Bone amulet 192
- andung*, lamentation, dirge 190
- Angkola, see Mandailing
- arga*, price. Lists of traditional prices of the *hasea na pitu* are given in some texts 160
- ari mate*, 'the dead day', i.e. one unlucky day in each month 119
- ari na pitu* (in a Karo-Batak text *ari si pitu*), the seven days of the week 181
- ari na tolu pulu*, the thirty days of the month 190
- ari rodjang* (Karo *rědjang*, but in one Karo bark book *uwari rodjang*), the 30 days of the month with special names, mostly of animals, used in divination and ultimately derived from the Indian series of mansions of the moon 43, 93, 124, 181, 183–186, 188, 189; *ari rodjang na pitu*, the 7 days of the week 169, 170, 193
- bark books, Toba *pustaha*, Karo *pustaka* (from Skr.), in Simalungun called *laklak*, bark. In the texts they are often called *lopian* or *lapijan* (e.g. p. 98), Dairi *lapihin*, Karo (p. 175) *lapihan*, Old Javanese *lěpihan*. Their form described 39, 40. In the Catalogue 'pustaha' is used for a bark book, also in an English context. Beaten bark (tapa, Batak *tangki*) used for writing 208
- begu monggop*, 'lurking ghost'. MS. Djakarta D 80 is a bamboo inscribed with a *parbegumonggo-pan*, table of days on which one should not give a feast, because the *begu monggop* is dangerous on these days 119
- bilang-bilang* (Karo-Batak), lamentation of a lover or a mourner 190, 200. It is doubtful whether in a Toba-Batak text the word may have this meaning, as supposed on p. 165. According to WMW the meaning in Toba-Batak is: Hölzchen, mit denen man beim Zählen die Zehner und Hunderter markiert
- bindu* (Skr. id.), decorative chapter or paragraph heading. *bindu matoga*, the design with 8 loops surrounding the 'turtle' in Schuster's first design, symbol of the Earth with the 8 main

- directions. Cf. 'chthonic turtle' 40, 51, 117 (*matogah*, Sim.), 118, 132, 133, 195
- bintora*, see *mintora*
- bius*, sacrificial confederation; possible etymology 134
- Borbor clans 151, 153
- borotan*, see sacrificial post
- buffalo-ribs (Karo *rangrang kërbo*) with writing, used in divination 192
- bulan na sampulu dua*, the 12 months as influencing fate; to be counteracted by *pamunu* (killer) *ni bulan*. 164, 165, 181; Plate 26
- bulot*; *dibulot* 107, to be wrapped up? This seems to be the meaning in this context. WMW has only *bulot*, 'sich leicht kriegen lassen', which gives no sense here
- buntal*, thorn of a box-fish 104, 180, but perhaps also used for a king of lance, cf. Pigeaud, Java in the 14th century IV, p. 353
- calendar, Batak and Achehnese, of Indian origin 44
- chain of transmission, at the beginning of many pustaha texts 45, 46
- chthonic turtle, the first of Schuster's designs; connected with Batak *bindu matoga* 53-61
- column of human torsos, Schuster's sixth design, from a Batak MS. on *pagar* (protective magic) written for Van der Tuuk c. 1855, connected with motives from neolithic pottery 76, 77; Figs. 37-38
- constellations, see *përbintangënkën* and *rambu* II
- crossed lizards, Schuster's fifth design, connected by him with some specimens of the table of *pormamis* with animals' heads, tails and legs attached to them 72-73; Figs. 33-36
- Dairi-Batak, one of the three Batak dialects described in Van der Tuuk's grammar and dictionary. It is spoken in the region upstreams of Barus, and there the people call themselves and their language Dairi. The people west of Lake Toba call themselves and their language Pakpak. Because this is the same dialect which Van der Tuuk had described under the name Dairi, the Dutch colonial government called the Pakpak region 'Dairilanden' and this confusing name was taken over by the present Indonesian government as Kabupaten Dairi 95, 99, 106, 120 a.e.
- daon* (Toba), medicine 195
- datu*, priest, doctor, sorcerer and soothsayer. At his initiation he gets a name mostly ending in . . . *ni adji*, . . . of magic, and beginning with *Datu* . . . or, if he is also a teacher, with *Guru* . . . In Simalungun and Karo every *datu* is called *guru*. Plate 1. His science is called *hadatuon* 32, 42
- debatá* (Skr. *devatā*), deity; also used for a *pa-ngulubalang* 42, 100, 149. The *debata* of the eight points of the compass 98
- debata na helung*, see p. 111; 195, 226
- dialects, Batak 40, 41
- divination 43 a.e.
- djinudjung* 178. I do not remember why I translated this as 'the ghost of the clan's ancestor'. Bartlett's translation 'advisory spirit' (Labors of the Datoe I p. 20) seems more correct. Cf. also Neumann's Karo dictionary s.v. *djoedjoeng dorma* (Skr. *dharma*, through Mal. *dërma*), alluring magic, love-philtre 98, 101, 119
- entwined snakes, the second of Schuster's designs 61-65; Figs. 7-9, 41
- field-protectors, called *songon* and *pohung* 43, 96, 99, 100, 109, 163
- 'genealogy of gods' 108, 110, 114
- goldsmith's lore (Karo *kinipandên*) 44, 124-131
- gorak-gorahan*, ominous signs, litt. (involuntary) twitchings, inside an oracle animal. Sim. *gorak-gorakan*, hence the orthography *gorak-gorakkan* in some texts 162, 163; also in a boiled egg 165

- gordang*, drum, i.e. a drum with one drumhead only, a kettledrum 149
- Gunung-gunung, the western part of the Karo Plateau 188
- guro-gurowan*, magical devices 97, 122, 197 (*guro-guro*)
- guru* I. (Skr.id.), master, teacher, cf. *datu*; the sign (of the zodiac) that rules a certain period 184. II. perhaps a different word is *guru ni djuhut*, forbidden parts of meat. This may also be meant on p. 171, where it is apparently a synonym of *sibanggua*, taboo (and does not mean 'master', as I had first translated). Perhaps it is an intentional change of *gorá*, calamity
- Guru Manungsang, the sender of the letter BAT. 83 (p. 203). Another letter from him is in Manik, No. 297; this is in the Museum in Hannover since 1853
- halawas* (Sim.) = Toba *halás*, galangal (*Alpinia Galanga* Willd.) 196
- hamisaran* (Toba and Sim.), Skr.*anusvāra*, the sign for *-ng* in the Batak script 193
- hasea na pitu*, 'the seven ingredients' i.e. the seven objects put under the basket together with the fowl in the fowl-oracle 150, 155, 160
- hatiha* (Karo *kětika*), divination-table, magic square, diagram for divination 140, 141, 180 (Mal.*ketika Djohor*), 187, 195
- hatotoga*, (magical) support (making one firm, *toga*). It often, but not always, refers to a *pa-ngulubalang* 100, 104; 142 (*totoga*, perhaps a scribal error); 196; 179 (*katėgahan*, Karo)
- headhunting, though not as prominent a feature in Batak culture as in many other regions of Indonesia, was probably practised by the Bataks in the past. Certainly a special value was attached to the head of a slain enemy. Texts on this subject are collected in the Appendix, 207–229. See p. 44, 105–114; Fig. 42
- hosaja, hasea*, the ingredients of a medicine or of a magic device. Long lists of *hosaja* fill many pages in the bark books 99, 100. Cf. *hasea na pitu*
- ijoga*, see *yoga*
- illustrations in Batak books 49, 52–77
- incendiary letter, Toba *pulas*, Karo id. or *surat tjanggung* 96, 109, 201; Plate 17
- invulnerable (Sim.*hobal*, Toba *hobol*, Karo *kėbal*) 43, 123, 124, 187
- ioga* = *ijoga*
- ipuh* (Karo), the upas-tree, *Antiaris toxicaria*. Its milky juice is used as an arrow poison 199
- Karo-Batak, a northern Batak dialect, described by J. H. Neumann in a dictionary and a grammar 95 a.e.
- Karo-Batak writing as used in the bark books, Plate 27, is different from the style used when writing on bamboo as illustrated in Plate 17, but there the *kėbėrėtėn* (*ė*) is written under the consonant in order to distinguish it from the *kėtolongėn* (*o*), which has the same shape but is written above the consonant. Usually both *kėbėrėtėn* and *kėtolongėn* are written above the consonant and *kėtolongėn* is distinguished by a small dash at its left side. See p. 42
- katėgahan*, see *hatotoga*
- kėbėrėtėn* (Karo), the sign for *ė*; in Toba and Simalungun *haborotan*, used for *u* 42, 120
- Kėmbarėn, a Karo-Batak region 188
- kėtolongėn* (Karo), the sign for *o* (often pronounced *ou*). Mostly, but not in Plates 13 and 17, it consists of two signs, one of which is identical with the sign for *e*, just as in Javanese writing the sign for *o* is composed of *e* and an additional sign 42, 89
- kinipandėn*, see goldsmith's lore
- laba-laba*, a word used in *pormanuhon*. Its meaning is still unclear, see p. 159

- labyrinth, Batak *parik si Djonaha*, Schuster's fourth design 68–72; Plates 7–11, Figs. 21–32, 41
- laklak*, see bark books
- lapihan*, *lapihin*, *lapijan*, see bark books
- letters 203, 204
- litany, sung over the severed head of an enemy. It contains some old Malay words 113, 114
- lopian*, see bark books
- Malay, used in incantations, 115, is mostly a sign of modern outside influence; but there is also an old Malay element in Batak magic and divination, see 113, 133, 159, 210
- mamuhui*, see *pamuhui*
- Mandailing, the southern part of the Batak country 95, 106, 212 a.e. Its language is one of the Batak dialects described by Van der Tuuk, who distinguishes between South-Mandailing (i.e. Mandailing proper) and North-Mandailing (i.e. Angkola)
- Mandijam or Mandiam, the sender of the letter BAT. 82 (p. 203). Other letters from him are catalogued by Manik, Nos. 206 and 207
- mangmang*, incantation 100, 134
- mangulak*, see *ulak*
- manuk gantung*, see *parmanuhon*
- marga* (Southern Batak; Sim.*morga*, Northern Batak *mǝrga*; perhaps from Skr.*varga*), a patrilinear clan. Every Batak belongs to such a clan and the structure of Batak society is based on the division into margas. 46. The special *marga*-names used in literature may reflect an earlier genealogical classification of the Batak people. They are listed on pp. 47–48. The clan who marries the daughters of a reigning *marga* is called *marga boru*
- marionette (Toba *sigale-gale*), used at funerals 94
- meat set aside for the spirits and forbidden as human food 111; lucky and unlucky pieces of sacrificial meat 170; cf. *guru* II
- mintora* or *bintora* (Skr. *mantra*), an incantation, often beginning with *ung* (Skr. *om*) 98, 101, 109, 159
- myths in bark books 89
- na*. This Batak letter has several forms, one of which may be called the 'old' form, because it resembles an old Javanese *na* 41
- naba*, Mandailing *njaba*, recovered from an illness. Etymologically this may be the Malay *njawa*, soul, principle of life. 198. According to Van der Tuuk's dictionary and WMW the form *maba* is also used
- naga lumeang*, see *pane na bolon*
- naga morsarang*, see *pamuhu tanduk*
- Naga Padoha, the dragon who carries the earth on his head 95
- na hombang pipis*, a *poda*-language word for the lance (*hudjur*) 121
- namora*, representative of the *marga boru*, but in the bark books often used to indicate a person's *marga* 46
- pabalik bangke*, 'turning the corpse', a ceremony for a dead warrior 110
- pagar*, protective magic 43, 92, 93, 100, 115–117, 118–120, 180, 188, 189, 193
- Pakantan, the south-eastern part of Mandailing 106, 212
- Pakpak 105, see Dairi
- palimpsest 118; Plate 20
- pamuhui*, means of stopping (*mamuhui*) the enemy's magic 45, 108, 109, 111
- pamuhu tanduk* or *pamunu tanduk*. It seems that these two names refer to the same kind of magic. The texts under the titles *poda ni pamuhu tanduk* and *poda ni pamunu tanduk* are very much alike. The word *tanduk*, horn, in these names does not refer to the beautifully carved buffalo horn with human figures used as a receptacle for *pagar*, protective magic, and called *naga*

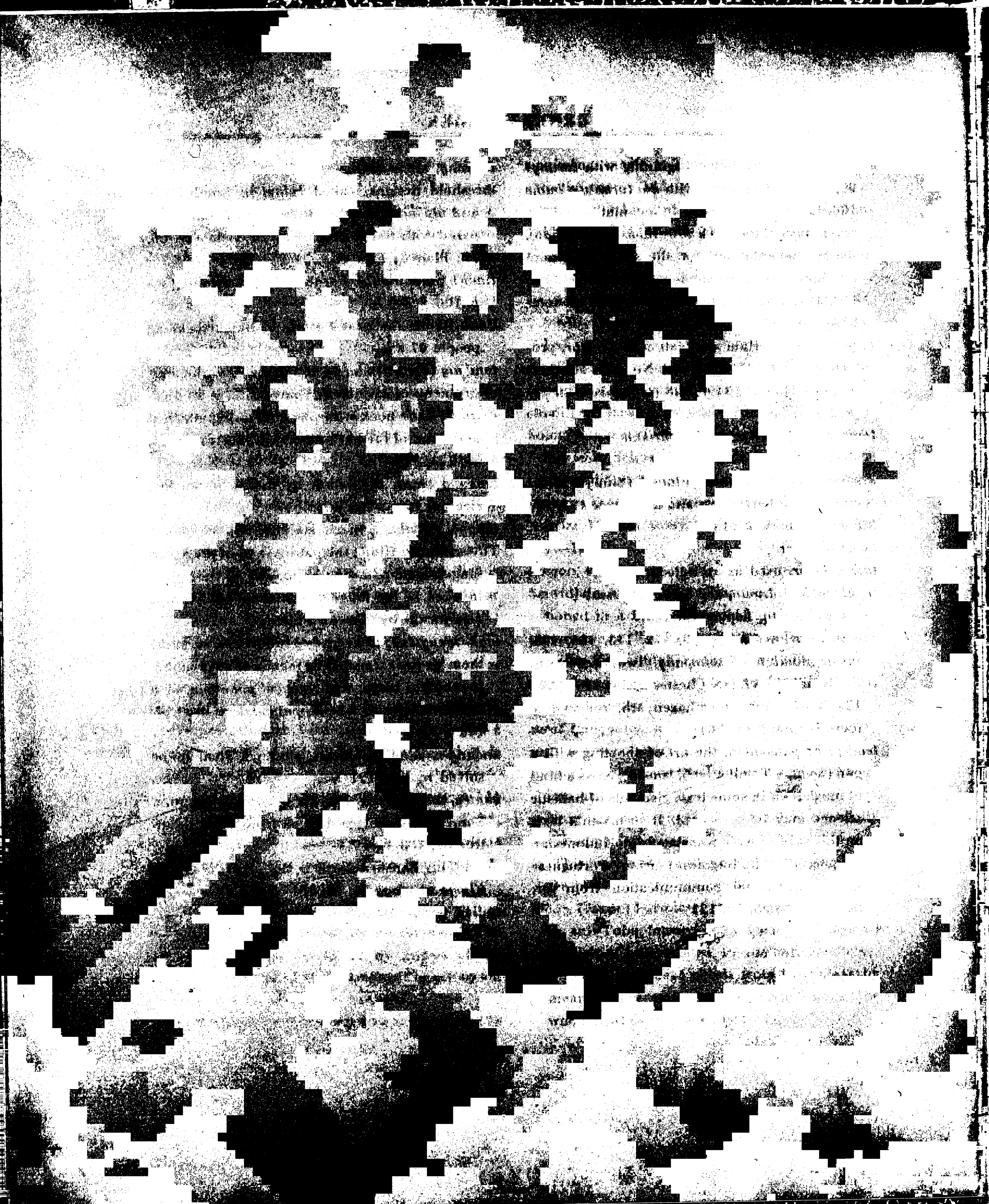
- morsarang*, but to magic of the enemy, sent against us in a horn, and stopped by our *pamuhu tanduk*, horn-stopper or killed by our *pamunu tanduk*, horn-killer. Cf. Manik No. 260 *pamunu ni tanduk ni halak*, the killer (or killing) of people's (i.e. the enemy's) horns, and *ari haroro ni tanduk ni halak*, the days on which people's horns come (to us). Such a 'horn-stopper' may be a *pagar* and thus may be kept in a *naga morsarang*. See p. 122, and 109, 111, 164
- pamunu ni bulan*, see *bulan na sampulu dua*
- pamunu tanduk* see *pamuhu tanduk*
- pamusatan*, quintessence, short *poda* 99, 139, 157, 158, 159, 161, 164
- panampuhi*, the lemon-oracle, see Winkler 1 pp. 207–211 and the index s.v. Zitronenorakel 163, 196
- pandjahai*, a list of cases in divination, each beginning with *djaha . . .*, if . . . 103
- pandjorat*, a sacrificial meal to 'bind' the luck promised by an oracle 149
- pane na bolon*, *pane bolon*, *pane bělěn*, the Great Dragon, sometimes identified with Naga Padoha, then dragon who carries the earth on his head. The divination based on the turning around of this dragon is the Batak counterpart of the Malay *naga*-divination of Indian origin. 44, 51, 102, 105, 140, 161, 183, 187; Plate 12. Besides *Pane na bolon* the *datu* knows several dragons of the same kind, e.g. *pane lumajang*, the hovering dragon, and *pane habang*, the flying dragon. *Naga lumeang*, mentioned p. 191, 192 is probably another name for *pane lumajang*
- pangarambui* 158, see *rambu*
- pangarahari*, divination by means of an egg 163, 165–168
- pangarumai*, table of 'houses' in divination 103, 149 a.e.
- panggorda* (Karo *panggurdaha*), a series of 8 or 6 animals, some with Sanskrit names, used in divination. In the Tamil *śilpaśāstra* translated by Kearns and in Malay divination (Matthes, *Koetika's* Fig. (V); Skeat, Malay Magic Plate 25 Fig. 2) their connection with the points of the compass is clear but the descriptions of the Batak divination by Winkler (see his index s.v. *panggorda*) and J. B. Neumann, *Het Pane-en Bila-stroomgebied* p. 540 fig. 6 do not mention this. Winkler even thinks that the series of 6 is the original one in Batak. This, however, is impossible, because of the Indian and Malay parallels. The *panggorda* are called after the first one, whose name is *gorda*, *gordawa* or *gordaowa* in *poda*-language, *gordaha* in Simalungun, *gurdaha* in Karo. In bark books the word *gorda* is so often written without a *pangolat* (the Skr. *virāma*) that *garoda* must be considered an alternative pronunciation. *Gorda* is often pronounced *gordá* (Van der Tuuk, Dict. p. 523); this proves that *gordaha* or *gordawa* is a more original form. Van der Tuuk derives it from Skr. *grēdhra* (i.e. *gṛdhra*), vulture, but I think that Skr. *garuḍa* must be the origin. This is the name in the *śilpaśāstra* and when the animals are arranged according to the points of the compass, *gorda* and *sorpa* are in opposite directions, which reflects the struggle of *Garuḍa* with the serpents in Indian mythology. There is, however, some confusion in the names of the 8 *panggorda* and their order and there is also a slightly different series of 8 animals called *porgadjaan* after the first one, *gadja*, elephant. 44, 50, 140, 174, 180, 181, 187, 189; Vignettes (p. 19). *Panggorda na onom* (the six *panggorda*) 164
- pangolat*, Toba-Batak name of the sign in Batak writing that indicates a closed syllable, as the *virāma* in Skr. 193
- pangulak*, see *ulak*

- pangulubalang*, Karo *pəngulubalang*, a ghost made subservient to a *datu* and acting as his champion (*ulubalang*) in the war against evil ghosts and human enemies 43, 44, 45, 51, 91–101, 105, 106, 109, 110, 112, 119, 120, 142–143, 149, 158, 163, 174; Plates 21, 28
- panguras*, ritual purifier 116, 120
- panindi*, see *tindi(h)*
- panogu-nogu*, alluring magic 189
- panorbiti* (unexplained) 104
- panuruni*, a kind of aggressive magic 121, 180
- parbagi bugang*, a medicine for the treatment of wounded warriors 104
- parbuhitan*, buffalo-oracle 43, 132–138, 140, 141
- parhalaan*, divination calendar based on the conjunctions of Scorpio (Batak *hala*, Skr. *kāla*) with the moon 43, 162, 190
- parik si Djonaha*, see labyrinth
- parmamis*, Karo *pərmamis*, a group of five ghosts, originally Hindu gods, associated in divination with the five periods of the day and called after the first one, *Mamis* (Skr. *Maheśvara*). 50, 120, 140, 155, 162, 180, 181, 182, 187, 189, 190, 199; Plate 29; Fig. 33; Vignettes (p. 19). Cf. crossed lizards and cf. *partadjomburikan*
- parmanuhon*, divination by means of a cock or a hen; in *manuk gantung* (hanging cock) the omens are taken from the inside of the fowl, in *manuk di ampang* from the position of the cock after its death under a basket (*ampang*) 43, 50, 138, 139, 150–162; Plate 18; *manuk gantung* 143, 162, 163
- parmesa*, Karo *pərmesa*, the signs of the zodiac, called after the first one, *mesa* (Skr. *meṣa*), Aries 50, 141, 148, 174, 179, 184, 187, 189, 190; Plate 26; Vignettes (p. 19)
- parmunian*, *parmuni-munijan*, omens taken from natural phenomena and dreams 43, 93, 168, 169, 187, 195
- parombunan*, omens taken from the shapes of clouds 43, 50, 119, 149, 174, 182, 228, 229
- parpangiron* (Toba), *paranggiron* (Sim.), ritual purification with lemon juice 119
- parsantian* 191; *ruma porsantian*, family-house, see *Cultureel Indië* I, p. 285–291
- parsili* (Karo *pərsilihi*), a substitute given to the spirits for a patient, a warrior, etc. 44, 104, 149, 180
- parsimboraon* 123, see amulet
- parsuroan* see 116, 117; from *suro* 197
- partadjomburikan* (Sim.), a diagram for divination arranged in the same way as the table of *pormamis*. See Cat. Dublin p. 79. The etymology given there, from Malay *si Tadjam burit*, 'having a sharp rear end', is confirmed by the use of *Tadjom Burit* in a Mandailing-Batak text, MS. Manik No. 118. Identification with the constellation Scorpio seems probable, because in another Mandailing text (Leiden Or. 6246 a 30) we find *hala tadjomburik*, which would mean: the scorpion with the sharp rear end 50, 155, 161, 162
- pəmetar*, Karo, marksman 125
- pərbintangənkən*, Karo, table of constellations 50
- pərmamis*, see *parmamis*
- pərmesa*, see *parmesa*
- pərsilihi*, see *parsili*
- pilok*, a kind of *songon*, protector against thieves 100
- pinangan ni ari*, 'what the day eats', i.e. an offering to the spirit of the day. It is put on top of a piece of bamboo after the upper end has been split and made into a conical basket; see Bartlett, *Labors* I p. 61 (where *ara* is probably a scribal error in Bartlett's source for *ari*) 183, 189
- poda*, instructions on magic, divination and medicine, transmitted orally from teacher (*guru*)

- to pupil (*sisean*) and written on tree-bark as an aid to memory, in a language which is almost uniform through large parts of the Batak country and has many particular words that are seldom or never used in everyday speech. I have called this uniform Batak dialect as well as the special words used in it *poda*-language, e.g. 12, 41
- pohung*, see field-protector
- Pontjan, see Pulau Pontjan
- por*- Words beginning with this prefix are listed under *par*-
- pulas*, see incendiary letter
- Pulau Pontjan, a small island on the west-coast of Sumatra, seat of the Dutch government before c. 1843 144, 203
- puli na morporhas* 114, WMW: das Wachs von 2 Nestern verschiedenartiger wilder Bienen, die an ein und demselben Baume nisten. Probably the same as the Simalungun *hoti-hoti marporkas* (115), beeswax found mixed up with the sticky substance of which the entrance to the nest of the *bonbon* (a small kind of bee) is made. According to Neumann's dictionary the Karo-Batak equivalent *kětji-kětji pėrkas* is the name of the cover of the *pėrminakan*, a small vessel for magic oil. Perhaps some *pėrminakans* have a cover made of this substance
- pustaka, pustaka*, see bark books
- putaran* (Karo; Neumann's dict. *pėrputarėn*), an amulet against bullets 124
- radja* I. (Skr. *rāja*), the head of a village or state.
- II. (Northern Batak and Simalungun, also Mal. and Jav. *radjah*) a magical drawing, sometimes (e.g. Fig. 41) called *radja-radjaan* in order to distinguish it from *radja* I. In L. Manik's catalogue the form *radja-radjaan* is mostly used, though in Southern Batak *pustahas radja* is more frequent 99, 100, 117
- rainbow, Toba *halibutongan*; pictured 178
- raksa tunggal* 181. The word is not clearly written in this MS. but it is confirmed by MS. Bristol E 5185, where it is used for a method of computation from the numerical value of the letters of a name. In other MSS. (Manik No. 27, Amsterdam 788/14) this is called *aksara tunggal* (written *angsara* but pronounced with *k*). Probably *raksa* is a corruption of *aksara* (Skr. *akṣara* syllable). Another Batak word *raksa*, meaning 'quality, feature' may be derived from Skr. *lakṣaṇa* with omission of *na* because it was thought to be the Batak pronominal suffix
- rambu*. It seems impossible to explain all the meanings of *rambu* from one origin and one should distinguish at least: I. fringe (Mal. *idem*), string; *rambu siporhas*, the oracle strings (q.v.). II. a sign that turns about through the points of the compass. These *rambu* have names such as *rambu sori*, *rambu mangambang*, *rambu batu holing*, etc. Probably these were originally the names of constellations. There is a *rambu botik*, which may be the same as Karo *pėrbėtjik*, the girdle of Orion (3 stars), Mal. *bėlantik*. In these names one also (though less frequently) finds *rau* instead of *rambu*. A table of the movements of these *rambu* or *rau* through the points of the compass is called *pangarambui*. It may be used as a horoscope (WMW) or for various other purposes of divination. 158, 161, 162, 182
- rambu siporhas*, oracle strings. Illustrated Plate 14. 43, 50, 102–104, 145–149
- rangrang kėrbo*, see buffalo-ribs
- rasijan*, horoscope 162, 181
- rau* (Skr. *Rāhu*), see *rambu*
- rock inscriptions, in Batak script, at Lobu Hamindjon 47. There is another one at Aek Simare-mare
- rudji* (Toba mostly *rudji-rudji*), a small bamboo

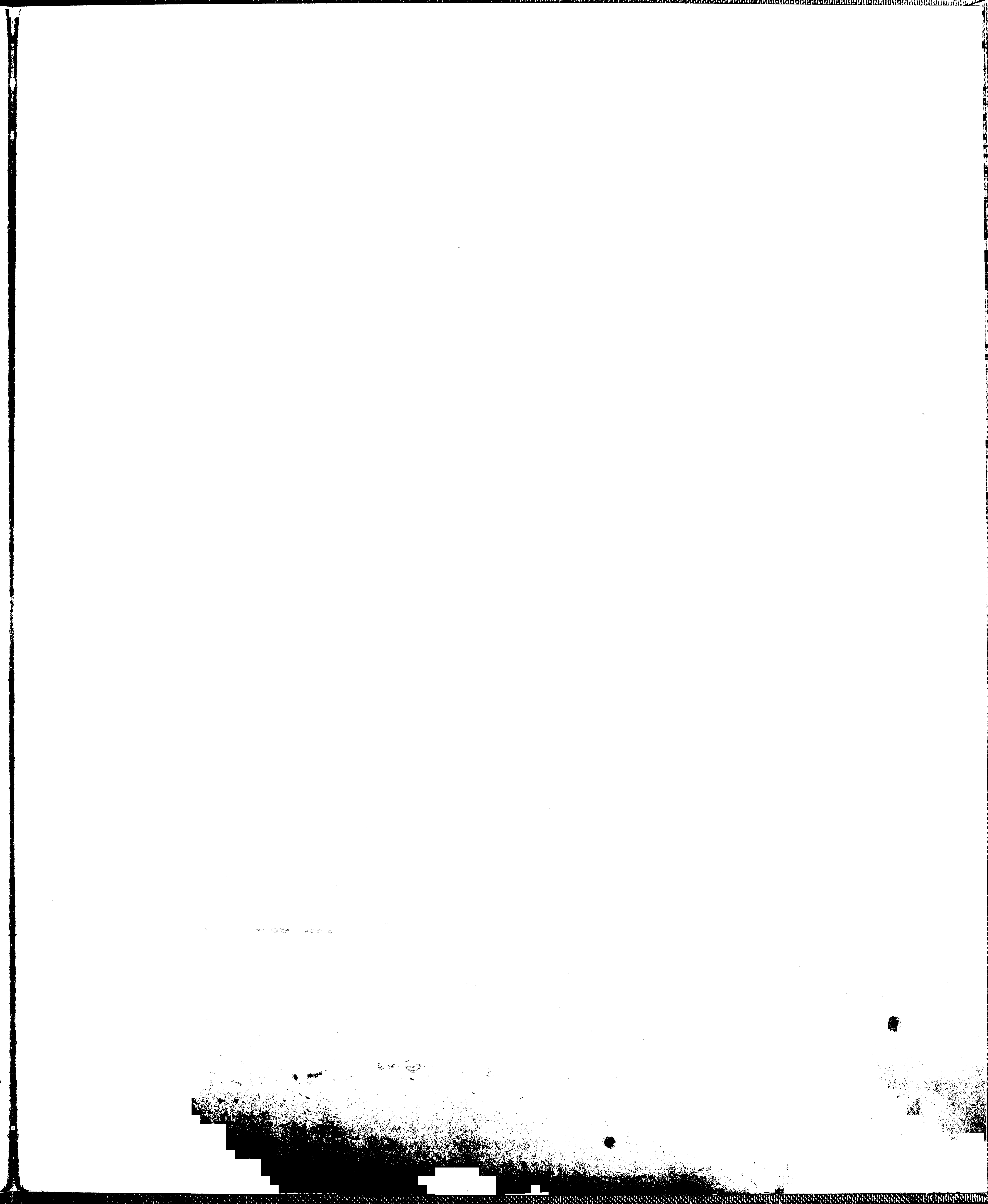
- stick or piece of palm leaf fiber used for counting or divination 190
- ruma*, 'house', ominous spot in divination, e.g. the 8 houses in the main directions in *pormanuhon*, beginning with *ruma ni bau di purba* 139, 157
- sabung-sabung*, magic for sowing discord 99, 104
- sacrificial post (Toba *borotan*, Sim. *arihan*, Karo *tungkalěn*) 54–56, 132
- sahat*, a kind of poison 122
- Samosir, the large island in Lake Toba 99 a.e.
- sarang bédil* (Karo) or *sarang timah* (Karo), an amulet against bullets 123, 124
- sarib* (Sim.), *sarim* (Dairi); Toba *dasar*, half a coconut-shell 196
- saru*, a kind of offering 148, 149
- scapulimancy, probably not practised by the Batak 43
- sibangu(w)a* apparently means: a thing that is under a taboo; that should not be bought or sold, etc. on a certain day 50, 171, 188, 191; Plate 16
- sigale-gale*, see marionette
- sihora*, see *sikurûn*
- sikurûn* (Karo), the sign used for -u in writing on bamboo; in bark books it is used for u and ě and sometimes for o. In Toba (*sihora*) it is always o 42, 89
- silaon*, a remote ancestor-ghost 158; etymology 144
- Simalungun, a Batak region east of Lake Toba, where a dialect is spoken which is intermediate between northern and southern Batak 40, 95, 115, 120, 121 a.e.
- Simalungun-Batak writing 41, 183; Plate 19
- simargigit na bolon*, a diagram for divination 120
- simonang-monang*, divination by means of the numerical value of letters arranged in a diagram of 5×4 or 10×2 squares 149, 181
- Singa Mangaradja, the Divine King at Bangkara 178
- sipaimbar*, magic to direct ill luck from oneself to the enemy 163, 193 (*pagar sipaimbar*)
- sipatulpak*, a kind of protective magic, see Winkler 1 p. 174. 101, 119
- sipinang rambe*, divination from the direction from which a person comes towards us 170, 171
- sirudang gara* (Karo-Batak), name of a ghost 44, 89–91. Also known in Asahan, see Bartlett, Labors I p. 59
- sitorilawanku*, a *poda*-language word used in incantations, meaning 'my opponent' 196
- small-pox, treated by water 202
- Solomon's seal (looped string), Batak *tapak radja Suleman*, Schuster's third design. However old the tradition behind this sign may be, its name shows that it was introduced into Batak culture from Muslim sources 65–68, 117, 118; Figs. 10–12, 41
- songon*, see field-protector
- Sriwidjaja, an old Malay kingdom; its name mentioned in a Batak litany 113
- suman-suman* (Sim.), a poetic lamentation similar to the Karo-Batak *bilang-bilang* 200
- surat humala djolma*, divination from letters 51, 161; Plate 22
- surat tjanggung*, see incendiary letter
- suro*, see *parsuroan*
- surung!* a word used to stimulate a *pangulubalang* into action 111
- susuran*, an instrument of divination, especially the *rambu siporhas* 103, 146, 148
- ta*. This letter has a southern and a northern form, see p. 41
- tabar*, (made) harmless; etymologically the same as sub-Toba *tawar*, Toba *taoar*, a (magical) medicine, and related to *tambar*, medicine. *manabari*, to chase ghosts from the village by means of a ceremony with knocking against the wooden walls of the houses 44

- tabas*, incantation; often beginning with *surung!* 99, 100 a.e. Beginning with *asa turun ma hamu* 166. *tabas ni ari na pitu*, an incantation for the seven days of the week 170; *tabas ni pamahani*, 'feeding-incantation', for the spirits to whom offerings should be made on the seven days, 170, 182, 186, 187. *manabasi*, to utter incantations over 51
- tadjombara*, a certain application of a *pagar*, protective magic 165. Cf. Manik No. 321; MS. Leiden Or. 3459 a3, 3490 b28 (*tadjombara ni pagarta*)
- tadjom burik*, see *partadjomburikan*
- tambar*, see *tabar* 122, 193–199
- tamba tuwa* (Toba), *tamba tuwah* (Sim.) a medicine against barrenness and impotence 121, 194
- tangki*, see bark books
- taoar* = *tawar*
- taor* = *taoar*, used as an adjective 193
- tapak radja Suleman*, see Solomon's seal
- tapak sipitu-pitu*, heptagram 118
- tawar*, *taoar*, see *tabar*. 93, 122, 143, 193, 198. *tawar minak tondi sahupang*, 'twopence worth of life-oil' 198, cf. MS. Chester Beatty 1107 (BKI 124 p. 371; the Copenhagen MS. referred to there is now BAT. 70)
- tembak* or *pamodilon*, the art of shooting with a gun (*bodil*, a Tamil word), considered as a kind of magic, but in some texts elements of ballistic science may be preserved. It seems that texts on this subject were translated into Indonesian languages (e.g. Buginese) from Portuguese sources (personal communication from Dr. A. A. Cense) 43, 50, 122
- tëndung*, see *tondung*
- threshold designs, called *kolam* in South-India and *alpona* in Bengal; some of these are compared with Batak designs by Dr. Schuster. 56, 57; Plate 3; Figs. 3, 8, 24
- tindi(h)*, *manindi(h)*. For the possible meaning see p. 106
- Toba-Batak, the largest group of Batak speaking people 97 a.e.
- tondung* (Karo *tëndung*), the name of various instruments of divination. One of these is an illustrated bark book with pieces of string attached to the rim of the bark near each illustration 43, 50, 171, 179
- tondung boras*, divination by means of husked rice put into water 198
- tunggal panaluan*, magic staff 89, 95; see *ulak*
- Tuwan Putori Hidjo, the patron saint of the Simalungun state of Dolog Silou, one of the spirits invoked in the *tabas ni pamahani* 187. She is also meant by 'Tuwan Putëri', p. 182
- ulak. mangulak*, to avert evil influences, to make them 'go back' (*mulak*) by means of a ceremony in which a magic staff, *tunggal panaluan*, or a simple stick with a head, *pangulak*, is used 44, 112
- undang-undang*, problems put to a rival to be solved by him 121
- yantra*, the Sanskrit word for a mystical diagram. Some Batak designs derived from Indian yantras 51, 133
- yoga*. This Sanskrit word is the origin of Batak *i(j)oga* or *ajoga* 51, 98, 101
- zodiac, see *parmesa*











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