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CATALOGUE OF
INDONESIAN MANUSCRIPTS

PART 1
BATAK MANUSCRIPTS

BY
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WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY
CARL SCHUSTER†

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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 Gronbech 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 Birkeland
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6. gold, i.e. a golden ear-trinket; cf. plate IV fig. 4 in Van der Tuuk’s Woordenboek.

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the figures of Viṣṇu and Brahmā), and that the photographic reproductions in the above-mentioned publications are neither clear nor complete, it cannot be claimed that the present scheme is absolutely accurate; but it does render the main features of the design in their proper relation. Details of the background are omitted.

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In connection with this illustration, Covarrubias, op. cit., p. 7, renders the following cosmogony from a Balinese popular manuscript, the Chatur Yoga: "Before there were the heavens, there was no earth, and when there was no earth, there was no sky... Through meditation, the world serpent Antaboga created the turtle Bedawang, on whom lie coiled two snakes as the foundation of the World. On the world turtle rests a lid, the Black Stone. There is no sun, there is no moon, there is no night in the cave below (the underside of the stone); this is the underworld, whose gods are the male Batara Kala and the female Setesuyara. There lives also the great serpent Basuki"

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Similar specimens are preserved in many museum collections. A 
fairly full discussion of the West African motive of “crossed croco-
diles” is offered by Meyerowitz, 1951, p. 73f, who says, among
other things, that the motive is in Ghana a special emblem of royalty. Cf. also Fagg, 1951, p. 6, note 1; and Paulme, 1956, fig. 15.

Fig. 36 Design incised on the bottom of a calabash-bowl from Ghana (Gold Coast), West Africa. After Dahse, 1911, p. 67. See also a photographic reproduction of the same bowl in Baumann, 1929, p. 109, fig. 2, and a discussion of this motive, as fig. 40 b, in Schuster, 1956. (This medallion is only part of the whole decoration of the bowl)

Fig. 37 Drawing in a Batak manuscript. Leiden, University Library, Ms. Or. 3533

Fig. 38 Painted sherd of neolithic pottery from Tepe Moussian, Iran. About 3500–3200 B.C. Height 6.7 cm. After Gautier and Lampre, 1905, fig. 262. Cf. Wilke, 1923, fig. 63; Herzfeld, 1941, figs. 40, 53–55 (related designs in Susa I, in Baluchistan, and at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro); and Breuil, 1908, fig. 206

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

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Fig. 41 Page from a Batak manuscript. After the original in Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Ms. Or. 192 p. a 19. Included on this page are examples of the second, third and fourth motives discussed in our text (Figs. 7, 10 and 21). The inscriptions say only: "These are the magical designs". [Exactly the same combination of designs is found in MS. Leiden, University Library, Or. 3541 p. a 1. P.V.]

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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: pĕrmesa).

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3. metuna (Skr. mithuna), Gemini, Karo goja, worm .................................................... 114
4. mĕrkata (Skr. karkaṭa), Cancer, Karo rikrik, frog .................................................... 120
5. singa (Skr. sīṁha), Leo, Karo arimo, tiger ................................................................. 122
6. kaniya (Skr. kanyā), Virgo, Karo kaliki, kite ............................................................ 131
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9. makara (Skr. makara), Capricornus (10), Karo gajo, crab ........................................ 149
10. kumbha (Skr. kumbha), Aquarius (11), Karo la(m)pajan, jar ................................... 161
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5. bĕrma (Skr. Brahmā), Karo pola, palmwine ............................................................. 204

¹ The only Indian source I know for the panggorda is an English translation of a Tamil stīlpaṭṭāstrā 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. 〈āra〉), North-East; and Elephant (Skr. gajo?), North.
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INTRODUCTION
SECTION ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

BY

P. VOORHOEVE

The Batak people live in the northern half of the island of Sumatra between $1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ and $3\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ 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 *alum*); 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 *tariji*). 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 *lopian* (Toba-Batak), *lapihin* (Dairi-Batak). This is an old Javanese word, *lepihan*. 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 ɛ 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抄istor, e.g. the use of \(d'i\) 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-Batak Woordenboek, 1907) and in a reader printed in Holland (G. Smit, Soerat ogën, 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 \(pe\)p\(e\)l after the sign used for it in Javanese script) which I have rendered \(e\) in Malay and \(e\) in Batak. The Batak alphabet, in the order used in Karo and Simalungun, is transliterated: \(ha\), \(ka\), \(ba\), \(pa\), \(na\), \(wa\), \(ga\), \(aj\) (Eng. i), \(da\), \(ra\), \(ma\), \(la\), \(sa\), \(ja\) (Eng. y), \(nga\), \(la\), \(i\), \(u\), \(nya\) (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 sikurun (Karo) in the spelling of Karo-Batak bark books. It has the shape of a small cross. Originally it was used for ē (e.g. in the Lampung script) but with the general shift of ē 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 kērbo). 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 (kēbērēlēn) means u when written under the consonant, but ē when it is written above the consonant. Karo-Batak bark books too use one sign for both ē and u, but they use sikurun, which is always written after the consonant. Moreover, though Karo-Batak has a special sign for o (kētloongēn), some copyists slavishly following a model in poda-language use sikurun for o as well. In the Dublin catalogue I have transliterated every sikurun 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 ē and u, because I had not heard the text read aloud by a Karo-Batak expert. In these cases I have transliterated sikurun 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 pamphalang, 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 (porstimboran, adjima) and formulae insuring invulnerability (holat, Karo kēbal), 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 (adji pajung), on two methods of divination by means of a cock or a hen (permanuhon), 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 bamboo inscribed with the Batak calendar (porhalaan) and two bark books that have been specially prepared to serve as instruments of divination (tonduang, Karo têndung) 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 Mengols' (Central Asiatic Journal, IV (1958/59), p. 1)—describing some texts from the Gronbech 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 Acehnese, 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 panggorda (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 (porsilt) 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 (lambar) 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 (kinipandén), 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 1887 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 (manuhui) 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 tomplul 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. Meerveldt 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 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 Samoisir, 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 18th 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, Abdoer Raoof van Singkel (1909), chapter IV). In oral tradition we find a kind of pedigree recited by a Redjiang folkdoctor (M. A. Jaspan, 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 Redjiang 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), mersa (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 Hutaglung. 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 pastasahs 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 Sirigar. 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
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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 toidingkon Ama ni martungkot bilang anak na di boloan, asa loka tu datu mangoloi ni adji anak na di sution*

and further on:

*asa disatinkon ho ma i alti datu nami anak na di sobuon.*

Voorschriften van 't behoedsmid 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,

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 male 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 Arilon (ibid. text F)*

anak na di Boloan; nai Boloan (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 Djabaon in a Mandailing MS.)

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

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

*anak na di Lantungon or anak nai Lantungon*
anak nai Lindungan; 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 Pailangon (tabas)
anak (ni) na di Poholon or anak na di Polon; inang na di Poholon (tabas)
anak ni na di Rait
anak na di Rasoon; nai Rasoon (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 margga Nasution (Hasution in Van der Tuuk’s time according to his dictionary). Perhaps anak na di Turigon is the Karo-Batak *mēga* 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 margga 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 margga 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*
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*ibamu so hubato, 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, Sitemorang to Nai Paionang 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 *tendung* 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-Batakse huis*, pls. 2–5, 8–12, 14; *De Batak 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 Batak op weg*.


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 pangkabahaba*) illustrated in Van der Tuuk’s large pustaha (reproduced in *Bull. John Rylands Library*, I. 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 Batak, 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 lina. 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 panggorda (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, Toyo-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 përbintangënken (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 marksmanship. 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 Adjì 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 têndung 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, 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 Volkswetens. der Bataks* (1927), p. 12, I mentioned the identity of another Batak design (a rectangle with tridents at the corners) with the Hanumān yantra 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 *i*joga or *a*joga, 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; *majjoga* = *martonggo*, to pray. In the texts *i*joga is associated with the painting of stripes on the *datu*’s body, and the Mandarin 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. 2a (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.
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 mulogu by the Batak)\(^1\), surrounded by two snakes\(^8\), 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 manuscript\(^8\) 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 palibawan dohot sang naga basuhi dohot sang naga hurma djati*; and translates it: “I am the god [pangulubalang] of sang palibawan and the venerable dragon Basuhi and the venerable dragon Hurmadjati.” Partly from this passage, and partly from other circumstances, it appears that the
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 Milk.

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)³.

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 tanqga 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 climbing⁴. 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 borolan, 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. 1⁵.
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 Korn*. 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 Batak 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 (*yāpa*), 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. . . ."* [It may be added that the nape 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 stem. 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 (kūma) 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 Ceylon; 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 pole, 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 worlds. 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 life\textsuperscript{14}, 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 sacrifice\textsuperscript{45}. And we know that one of the forms of the Vedic fire-altar was that of a turtle (kūrmačīl)\textsuperscript{46}. 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 dwelling\textsuperscript{47}. For the housepost is a microcosmic replica of the world-pillar, just as the roof which it supports represents the sky\textsuperscript{48}. 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 Indians\textsuperscript{49}, 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 a\textit{aśī mūndi} in the Cambodian representation; and similarly that there is at least a mechanical equation between the goddess Mayauel of Fig. 2a and the god Viśu 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\textit{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 Visnu 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, e). 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, Bhātīma Parva, Roy’s translation, pp. 24ff), but apparently also in Hindu-Cambodian iconography, in the diminutive bust of a goddess (Śri) and in the diminutive head of a horse (Uccaiḥśravaḥ or Bātāha) 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, 1946, pl. xi, e). 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 Zuhī 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 Bhātīma 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 fishermen in prehistoric times presumably long antedating the rise of a dairy economy in the Old World? Undoubtedly related to this question is another one: how does it happen that the Mexican Mayaue! 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-kūrmma, applied apparently to the whole composition, might be taken as a compound meaning “snake-turtle”
or "turtle-dragon" (i.e., "dragon in the form of a turtle"), as seems to be intended by the Batak expression naga hurma djati; 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. 4. Balinese cosmogram. After a painting.

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

Fig. 6. Chinese stone carving. Han dynasty.
at the top of the Balinese cosmogram, evidently corresponds to the image of Brahmā surmounting the world-pillar of the Cambodian scene; 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. 1415. 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 Batak 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 Batak; 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 north. In the light of the foregoing con-
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 Batak23.

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
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. 9**; 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
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 Layard. 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 Africa, and that there are indications of their existence likewise in pre-Columbian America, and possibly even in aboriginal Australia. So wide a geographical distribution implies a corresponding antiquity of origin. 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, Layard calls
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 pāmβantiṭtel (snake-jumping) or nāgαpallaṭṭu is performed. A Puluvan, whose caste is said to be descended from the snake deity, acts as the pājāri 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 Puluvan plays on his earthen pot-drum . . . . while a Puluvan 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 Puluvan's music . . . ."

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 Malekaluan evidence, as well as the fact that the South Indian threshold designs are no sooner made than they are walked on . . . ."

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. 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.

King Solomon’s seal (looped string)

The third Batak design which we wish to consider is the so-called “female” topak radja Suleman, or “King Solomon’s seal, female”, represented in Fig. 10. 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 hesitation. 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. 12. 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 t‘uan, “to bring into order”; and an analogous development led to another modern Chinese character, ts‘au, 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:
"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'], 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. . . . 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'. That this implies a system of communication by means of knotted cords appears from a passage in the philosopher Chuang-tzu, praising the good old days when people lived simply and merely used knotted cords (instead of written texts). 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 genealogies, and which was used by persons especially initiated for this purpose. 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."

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 Hetze 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. 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,
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 motives44, 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 conceived44.

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
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")

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
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 only once, one pair of dots
representing the two points of departure, and the other pair of dots representing the two points of
arrival\(^{48}\). 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 Eulenspiegel\(^{49}\). 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 centuries\(^{50}\). 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 incor-
porated 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 Rāvana fortified
himself in Lanka after carrying off the wife of Rāma, as told in the Rāmāyaṇa\(^{51}\). 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 inter-
est 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
sense\(^{53}\); 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
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 unfounded.

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. 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 “TR VIA”, on an Etruscan vase of the late seventh century B.C., shown in Fig. 26; 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 Cauasian 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.

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 10. 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-
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 west. 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 elsewhere, 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 World.

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 above, 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 suggested. 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 region; but it may be that the history of
turft- 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 periods. 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 World.

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). To two adjoining sides of this square are attached two conventionalized heads of animals, and to the opposite sides, two triangles, evidently representing the
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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 suggested, 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. Brass weight for gold-dust. West Africa.
Fig. 36. Design on the bottom of a calabash-bowl. West Africa.
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 scutii 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

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Fig. 37. Drawing in a Batak manuscript.
Fig. 38. Neolithic sherd from Tepe Moussian, Iran. Middle of the 4th millennium B.C.
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, times. 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 (swayambhu), 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

![Image of a Batak manuscript page.](image-url)
pottery from the Iranian neolithic sites of Tepe Moussian and Susa, as represented in our Fig. 38. 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". 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, languages; and, as we have shown elsewhere, in the age-old practice of finger-mutilation as a token of mourning for deceased relatives.

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. *Mabuq* is said to mean "possessing power on which one may rely"; *mabuq*, "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 dohata ni naga sang palibuan dohol naga hurma djai daradahan di simbora sibagandingta lapik ni tataringta lapik ni borotan pe mauki(i) di bisara na goyang,. In the drawing the bindu maloga, 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 Batak is not generally aware of the identity of the creature within the diagram.

For calling my attention to the equivalence of Batak *Basthō* 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 *palibuan* 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 maloga-maloga* 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. 3420 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 sibungom desa*, "the gods who rule over the directions". (Cf. Sanskrit *lokapāta?).

5 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, li, 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 Visṇu 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 Visṇu 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. 3420. 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 ajanavāla (Sanskrit aṣṭānjāṅkāla), and has eight "auspicious objects" associated with the respective corners. The same motive is evidently well known as a magic device in Slam (Coedès, 1941); and in Indonesia it is by no means restricted to the Batakas 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 (Skul-lerud, 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 Curnow, 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 Batakis) is a single-line example engraved on an amulet found in the upper levels of Mohej-no-Daro in the Indus Valley (Mackay, 1938, pl. lxxxi, 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-matoga drawn on the ground around the base of the Batak sacrificial post.


14 Macdonell, 1897, p. 41: "In the ŚB . . . . Prajāpatī about to create offspring becomes a tortoise moving in the primeval waters. In the Purāṇas this tortoise is an avatar 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 Prajāpatī [the creator] . . . . where he receives the epithet seyangiha, '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 Archaimbault 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.


19 S. Thompson, 1929, p. 14 f.

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

20 Cruqu, 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 plastron of turtles are among the earliest known records of Chinese writing. (Cf. also the Chinese legend of the "divine tortoise" which presented to the gage of the Great Yu "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 plastron 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 Purāṇic 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 plastron 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 depressions 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, 1932, no. 64) has for its cover an imitative 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 “primitivistic” 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 inkstone) 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, 1930, 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 insign in 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, kasyapa, 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.”
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.

Layard, 1937.

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.

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.

Mathews, 1895, fig. 8.

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.

Layard, 1937, pp. 156-158.

Thurston, 1906, pp. 290-291.

Layard, 1937, p. 168; and see the next note.

It should be mentioned, however, that in at least one Batak ceremony, the bindu malogu-malogu (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 malogu-malogu, see Tobing, 1956, p. 173 and fig. 17.

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.

Tichelman, 1939, p. 330 f.

Hentze, 1939.

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

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

Hentze cites the I-Ching, chapter Hsi tsu.


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.

On the genealogical significance of knots and interlaces in ancient China and the New World (and its occurrence in European heraldy) see the discussion of fig. 35 (a Chinese textile of the Han dynasty) and fig. 34 (Caduceo 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).
The above passage is translated by the writer from Hentze, 1939, pp. 316–318.

For the 13th century B.C. as terminus of the Harappan civilization, see Heine-Geldern, 1956, and Fairus, 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 "yana" which serves as foundation under the Batak sacrificial post discussed above. For another Batak looped design in ancient Sind, see note 11.

It occurs, for example, on an archaic seal of the second Egyptian dynasty in the Brooklyn Museum: 4.123.20 (apparently unpublished).

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

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.

The Melanesian design of Fig. 10 may, in turn, be plausibly compared with a Nicaragua 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.

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 originally 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.

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 Cri 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?

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 Pandava 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-
vyāha, 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. Thielman, 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 Simardjaungdjug?] in the Batak principality of Pancei, 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. Thielman 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 Iassus Trosae (see note 48), whereas the same design laid out in stones (i.e., a "boulder labyrinth") would not be practical for such a purpose, yet 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 Dagestan 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 Iassus Trosae 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 Martin 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 MacWhite, 1951, fig. 2, no. 5, 1946, fig. 1, no. 5; and Breuill, 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 Batak. The most extensive publication of the northwest Spanish (Galician) petroglyphs, including many labyrinthoid types, is that of Sobrino, 1939.

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.

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.

See note 54.

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 Mādras Presidency (Andhra) in South India (Layard, 1837, 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 Silitmani labyrinth (Plate 7).

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).

See Layard, 1837, p. 177.

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

Dr. Voorhoeve has pointed out to the writer that the Batak data 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 Batakans, 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. See note 20.

Dahse, 1911, illustration on p. 68.

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 Nsautere, 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"?

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.

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

Breuil, 1908, pp. 333-336.

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-
morphe......;" 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-enolithic 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 surprise about the masculinity of the "phytomorphic" figures comprising the "trees of Jesse" in Spanish enolithic 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 spiraloïd "ornament" of "Triplye" 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 symbolological 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).


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 paleolithic 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).
**MYTHOLOGY**

**Sirudang gara.**

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

Bark book, probably incomplete. 30 leaves, c. $13\frac{3}{4} \times 13$ 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 sikurun for $u$ and $e$, but not for $o$; this vowel is expressed by the special Karo-Batak sign (kétolangén). 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 Mërtelu (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 (1980) pp. 1–51). Consequently I do not know whether forms like lëwêt (for lët or lìl, ‘is’) and sumun (for sun, finished) are really dissylabic 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 (BK1 114, pp. 224 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, BK1 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 at 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 b 2 and 3 are reproduced in Plate 13. The transliteration of these pages is:

b 2 ĝēlal ni dajang biga radja alo gēran/kēmpuku o aime o maha bagi laka kîla tu tare nina anak tuwan pustłina kata si dajang subiga radja bitja/' ra nu kalak bada (or sa?) sibahan sahi sahi/nu uwari ēnggo kîngan nibère kam/u tu polana ēgo kîngan nibère kam(u)/nakam ēnggo ka nanga nange lahang nina asal/nibelën minak dajang subiga ra(dja)/minaki ku dajang subiga radja ēnggo ni(i)/minaki ulang bagedi ni/rdja kana/ku dajang subiga radja di bagedi ni/rdja/ru dajadu dajang subiga radja di bagedi ni/rdja/ru dukadukadu lukah ni(d)-

b 3 u adi eda kēpe adjardu adi lojo (kē')/pe mandjadi bunga bunga kēpe mandjadik/ēn mutik mutik kēpe mandjadik(i)/kēn buwahna mandjadikēn minak/edī ma pangadjardu adi dajang subiga (ra)/da patjik kēmbalikēn radja ulang bu'we kuwan-kuwannu ari ko tu djeda mēr/minak ma ko ɗe nakiren maka ljēde be ēnggo nikirei maka tu pola ma anak/na dani dajang sumbiga radja maka ni/ljēplēpi sula lasna kuakap edī mangan ni dajang gīla gīla edī bu... /u pēdah sakali nari njēplēp

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, Pogol or Ponggel) 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 Mērtelō; 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, Binêkêm, Bi-nêngkêm?) and Radja Manuski (Manšski?) 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 Adj Sidar 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 Kluêt, situated between Tapa’ Tuan and Singkel on the west-coast of Sumatra) and from there to Mērtelō. 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-guru, is mentioned. I must repeat that this interpretation of the story is purely hypothetic. 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 ja 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 hand 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 tu 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 Sumatra 1912–1918. In 1952 the book was very cleverly restored by Conservator Niels Gärting. 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. 5435, 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 sitangkup pinggan and si tapti 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 Niapao’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 Simunullang, 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 Mangkur and lived in Sibulaon; 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 Niapao’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.

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 Sindar 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 toad-stools. Several methods of applying this magic are enumerated, each one with the appropriate incantation and magical drawing.

20–38. The subject of this chapter is pagar subutan, charms, and tawar, medicine. The instructions come from a teacher living in the village Sibulaon (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 Niapao ni adji, the writer of our pustaha. The text contains many Malay words and some Muslim expressions such as dikobulkan angla, accepted by Allah.

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

20 Poda ni pagarta di adji ni halak ... na morgoar subutan uhun 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,
AGGRESSIVE MAGIC

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

Poda ni pagarta di adji ni halak.

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

Poda ni taqartta di adji ni halak ... na morgoar taqart bolon.

Poda ni taqart utubalang na pitu.

Poda ni panqek bisa ni taqart bolon.

Poda ni pangihot ni taqart bolon.

Poda ni pangalaho ni pagar subutan.

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

Poda ni taqart bolon simardung ni pagar subutan.

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

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.

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.

Poda ni pandjaih ai 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.

Another piece of aggressive magic: pangulubalang sipordjandijan, 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.

Poda ni hari rodgjang, 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 mogolat mida pormangsi ni Guru Niapoan ni adji ale amang na terop e, do not be contemptuous when you see how Guru Niapoan ni adji has written this, O my readers.

Smaller writing. Poda ni hatotoganta di bisara na godang beja hita morsaingkon datu na guwak mohata di hita beja di hasuhuton na godang beja hita lumompos hasuhuton asa padadabu ma adjinta inon na morgoar pangulubalang sitoba-toba na mortuwa situmpur na hilang siturat na toga ija ma inon na toding guru agak na mikan di tano haro asa ro ma di hamu ompa radja so torindang 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 hatadaown asa ro ma di ho lae nantiradja namora sinaga anak na di lantungon namora sitabarupar ma inon dipadohon hamu lae guru niapoan ni adji so ma ho lupa di poda ni pangulubalang sitoba-toba ma inon (su) pintor ni bilang aloi lae nantiradja namora sinaga o (b)barang hita mortur-turuhon pangulubungalow inon beja hita paturun gar ... tu huta ni musunta beja hita mamadjok pangulubalang di hatunta barang (hi?)ta bisara dibagussa ulang ma dalompas pangulubalangta inon ningon di huta ni
musunta pe asa dalompas adjinta inon ija ma inon na toding guru agak na mikan di haban djulu ma inon ale da(tu) | ija pusuk ni sitoba-toba asa dapa- tktor ma radja manggele (datu?) asa da(bu)wat ma hasaja ni pangulubalangi 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 Maramul Adjji, Guru So Mahap ni adji) it has reached Guru Niapoon ni adji. That it may come to you, my brother-in-law Nantiradjja, 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 Niapoon 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 Nantiradjja 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 Toba-toba, 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 (halibulongan 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 kita manumpa djolma anak ni djol[(ma) /{(man)}isija] dohot ajok ni suhat siburhuran ija panopun aj(ak)/(n)i bira ija dung do botinon asa dadodiong-doding ma anak ni djol[(ma)]{(man)}isija di harangan na begun man kita mandodiong-doding boti ma (i)/(n)on(n) asa ulang ma kita lupa di pada ni gurutna na djolo inon datunam(i)/{(ra)dia ni tare-tare ma inon di bulang 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 macrorhiza 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 bundulan 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 evil spirits. On pp. b 55 et sqq. something more is said about the preparation of the pangulubalang sitoba-loba, 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 manglele and sanggapi are also mentioned in the Leiden manuscript 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 seq.). 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 ma ni pung-pung djari-djari ina ni pungpung djari-djari balara sipungpu(ng) djari su(rung) pamu(ng)pung ma djari-djari ni sita(ng)ko sinuwanku onon suru(ng) bunu porlobas poruwagehon, 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 onon (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 panontonginta di halak na mapas di hita asa dadabuhon na hatotoganta i na morgoran sitanggungan ija hita umbahon pangulubalangta inon morsahan do hita bosur hita mangan anan 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 mamala(10)si hita dibahon pangulubalangta inon ulang pada-djihon di halak ija suwada dilehon pangadjini di hita ulang halang-barangsi dopaguruhon 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. On 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 sembarangan 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 sada 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 todin(g) datu masipari (I. 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 bobiat. 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-guwanta 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 siborang-borong ma inon. Aha do baritamu inang nang birong-birong? Amon ma niontangku tuwannami o na morsintahan ari golap potang, hapotongan ma ho ate-ate ni sijanu! This is the allegory of the black bumblebee. 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.i On p. a 24 the word punsi is used for banana. This word was only known to me from Sianiar 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 Sangnauvalu. This text ends with a magical design on p. a 25.
a 26–37 A prescription for a pangulubalang called: Pangulubialang strumbak balar-balar, sabunga 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 todin Tuwan Sabungan ni adji asa ro ma di ho hamang († I. 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 dapatan omas simagoring di huta ni halak na songon an dwóch na so hatau-taun bagi ma inon asa ulang ma ho magolut ale Namora Soalon di pormangsi ni Guru Badija, lungun ni aethu do inon.
asa hubahon di lapiganmu 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 Taborun, 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 Taborun, 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, ulong lobi ulong 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 daminfurai ma pitu hali, ganup desa hita mortalitygalingan, ganup desa hita martu(ng)- kol isang. Du(ng) do hila 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 (TKNA 2nd series, XIV (1897) p. 316) translates it as 'pantomime'; this is confirmed by a Mandailing pustaha 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 (minitora, 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 (deba, Skr. devatā) of the eight points of the compass (desa, Skr. desa), called purba (Skr. pūrva), agoni (Skr. agni), etc. are invoked in it. The text breaks off here.

b 1–28 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 28), 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 despires the datu. With two black and red drawings on pp. b 30 and 31. Cf. BAT. 4 and Leiden Cod. Or. 3398 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.


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 pada-language. No names of places are mentioned, but the word portobe points to a dialect adjoined 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 Sungkuman 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 Malang—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 Halijingsu—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-wringing magic, with a drawing (human figures).
a 8–16 Podja 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 boda, but further on the correct spelling is found. It is Malay benda (from Skr.). Songon corresponds with Karo-Batak sëngèn, which is explained in Neumann’s dictionary: name of a charm which is suspended in a plantation to keep out thieves (also called pëngjan); there are several kinds with names such as piluk-piluk (causing blindness) and pëngkajah (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 (tëngjan 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 dagadahon ma di pagar burukta inon asa damintorai ma pilu 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 *bojahan*). 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 songenta 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 ha-mu...*, 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 huma-or*, ‘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* slantik na hira, (?).
a 51–52 Poda ni sipatulpakta di anakboru na ma-
pas 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 (dlpole) the piece of meat we are entitled to, or do not invite us.

b 19–27 About pangulubalang sitapi sindar di ma-
ta 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 sisarakon (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 sibiangsa 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 susuwangkon banuwa, without a drawing.

b 45–49 adji dosos (suicide-magic?).

b 49–52 Poda ni dormanta di anakboru hinasihoh-
lan, 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 tabal-tabal.

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. Podau-
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 headhunters’ magic.

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)olan turpuk si ruma hombar ma inon usa ro ma di ho simauna na poso tuwan … ni adji goar maramani guru so dumpangan 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 pustaha 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 to; 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.

1–3 After the introduction the text begins: Aza dABUUAT ma hoaja ni rambu siporhas, take the ingredients for the oracle-strings. The first of these materials is rinspu su ni na hooloan na hatuatan, 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.

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 napiwana, a dark blue bead. To shape the heads, some panihat (animating substance) is kneaded (dapulihan). See the illustration in BK I 110, fig. 2 (facing p. 340), which reproduces a photograph by R. J. Mellemma 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 ulubaling pordjolo-djolo di munsung ni rambu siporhas, ija pandordonini asu na bara; dapot ma ulubaling pordjolo-djolo di musunta, morgenir ulubaling 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 torus ni torus tali, on the husip below the transparent(?) bead; it is the house of the datu who serves his apprenticeship. Cf. Winkler, BK I 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 pandjaha, 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 susuraranta, 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:

* ruma ni rambu pintu talak soada uli soada gora ma isunale datumina ma isunale

* ruma ni rambu taraoak tortading ma para

* nganta tu musunata torlumba ma hita ulang be hita lako mago ma halak na lako ino

* ruma ni rambu djandji balik balijk ma djandjinta tu musunata torlumba ma hita hapilinni ale datu

* ruma ni rambu musu ro tu hita bingkas dasuru ma donganta mangadang tu lodang ma isunale

* ruma ni musu ro di aropan torlumba ma hita djumpong di dalan ma hita dohot musunata ulang be hita lako

* ruma ni rambu hapuloan hapuba

a 27–30 Poda ni pangarumai ni naparan 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 naparan, if the betel-leaves (are in such and such a position, the omen is so and so). In this text the northern to is sometimes used, though the handwriting has not changed.
In the second pangarumai mention is made of a bunga-bunga, a hibiscus-flower, whose posuon 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 (purbuhitan), 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 boxfish, was also mentioned, for the colophon says: ija hita laho morparan anggo ihat do buntal palait pangalanta laho morparan ale guru so dumpangan ni adjji ulang ma ho lupa di poda ni panorbini 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 adjji, i.e. if we go to war (morparan 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 Dumphangon's teacher, which was missing at the beginning of the text, is here given as Datu Radja ni adjji. A similar list of porsili is found in BAT. 47, q.v. I do not know the meaning of the word panorbini in poda ni panorbini 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 porbaga 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 porbaga 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 hatoganta 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 bingkas 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
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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 morobo, 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 sibjangsa panaluan. This is a kind of aggressive magic, derived from a pangulubalang called sibjangsa panaluan. In preparing it a drawing of the bindu maloga 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 pustaha 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 Pertak⁴ mit Lanze oder Schwert getötet; Kopf und Hände werden ihm abgeschlagen, und nun beginnt der Freudentanz. Der Kopf wird auf den Boden geworfen und von den Teilnehmern, Tanzchild 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: mēngandjakai takal-takal, to dance with jumping movements on, or round about, the severed head(s). See Seminar Adat Istridat Pakpak-Dairi yang 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 Tēngah in the Pakpak region. ³ ib., p. 321. ⁴ Village chief.
in a pustaha such as: barang hita dung dapotan manokothi, when we have made a catch in headcutting... 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. 3148 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 ditindih prob-ably 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 (dijumanggal-djanggal) because of his boldness. (Van der Tuuk, Bataksh 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-bahu*, a ritual purification performed by a person whose child has died, to put a stop to his sorrow (*ase marbuhu sitarononni*, J. Wismar Saragihi, *Partingkian*, p. 35). In a *pustaha* of the Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde, Leiden, I found: *siporhas manoro ma goar ni pangulu-balangta inon pamuhui ni pagar ni musunta*, striking thunderbolt is the name of our *pangulu-balang*, 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 god, 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, *sampilutulut*-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 it 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 pada ni panutapi 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 panutapi 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 sunijahan’, ‘god that makes void’ (sunija = Skr. śānya), is invoked (datonggor, l. datongo?).

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

The andulpak leaves used for the panindi should
be buried under the rice-mortar. In another method of 'covering' (tutu tufi), cold water is poured on the head to make the enemy's liver chilly. In the paragraph entitled panungkuni ulu-ulu ni musanta, 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 kakkako). 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 corpse; 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 the ijoga ceremony. Melten 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 kikih mentioned elsewhere) is killed on the top (sambubu) of the severed head by pouring lead into its mouth.

O. Ende ni ulu-ulul, 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 (pamu-hui, 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 head. 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 torilu 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 barks 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 Etn. Mus. 11722 and 20010; Leiden Etn. 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 Etn. 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 head 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 lutap portib, 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 openings 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 month. The same ceremony may be performed on a dark-moon's day. Then we shall bring our stopping-magic to a pangulubalang; we shall make the month, the day, the sign of the zodiac, the pangorda, the pormamis, the day of the week and the forbidden day concur so that they are all together directed against the life of our enemy. Three of the months and pormamis 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 pangorda, 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 spot, fall into the underworld, soul of my enemy, until the lifetime of my grandchildren.

After we have instructed the head in this wise, the music plays seven times; we jump to the
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: *adjı̂ sang kapala he* (H), Old Javanese (and presumably also Old Malay) *hadjî sang kapala he*, O lord honourable head!

*surik soribindjaja* (F), Old Javanese *tjurik Srawidjaja*, a dagger of (the Old Malay Kingdom) Srawidjaja. 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 Achhehese. 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 Srawidjaja, 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*,

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1) *talal-talal*, Dairi sub-Toba dialect for *ulu-ulu*.  
2) *simbo-simbo*, unknown, seems to have the same meaning as *somi-somi*, 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 têpik* = Toba *suma ni holom*, the 16th of the month.  
4) *dalom bulan*, uncertain and not in N.  
5) *masa ugapahan*, reading uncertain and meaning unknown; not in N.  
6) *bulan por-mamis lotu-lotu*; N. *dabalor pormang mang bulan s'olotu* is still more obscure.  
7) believed to be the dwelling-place of the ghost of a childless person.  
8) *palala djonggi*, lit. the African underworld, but the original meaning ‘Zanquebari’ is not generally known in Sumatra, where *ranggi, 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) *lofja* *patahoro por-djuhuti* *dhe hih*, in N.: *patahoro djuhuti* *dope hih*, 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 mandara) holing.

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

tidang merusap tidang mormunj(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 banian-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 podoni-podom-leaves (with which some of the head's openings are covered).—Then one stops its nose with andulpak- and dalang-

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 banian-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 × 6 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 toppak ni baginda hali ma inon ale amang na mardjaga-djaga di lapijan, ulang amang magolot mangidah pormang-si ni si Djorta na malungun, ulang naparmurahmurah, maborit ma inon digurukon, pagar hu parmunsuhan beja sibogang, djadi hobal, djadi pa-ngo....., 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 copyst); 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 irahman ri rahim sor ah dengan di manalaikat dingdingku sorga hat sagat dijam borkatku tuwan baginda sai borkat taitaha itallah mhammat rasitullah. Sumirlah irahmanu rahim borkat umbe dijatas potimah (4) lombot-lombat hira [ha]-hira ni sitirilawanku borkat tuwan baginda sai borkat tuwanuku baginda sai borkat taitaha itallah muhhammat rasitullah. Sumirlah irahmanu rahim masuk ho lahongkou didalam badanku hurung-kurungan potala mumin dari hira-hiramu munotap andak kata (5) hamu manotap daroh sapupa sahijanku 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 taroh asa datang-kap, pagut ni manuk na monang (13) marsabung, beja hoti-hoti marporkas, beja pantsis........ (14) Ija dung ma inon asa dapupuk ma rup. Ija dung ma inon natabasi ma pitu hali sadari laho hueltas parsurowan asa [ma] marsurow ma hita itatas parsurowa(n) pitu hali soborin, dapulpul [put] database, 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 dayajung mombang, manguras ma hita sijap sgot. Ija das ma pitu sgot 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 muhhammat mula djadi ni pagar putor ni.
adji. Ija dung ma pagarta inon, lang be kita matahut di munsuh ale amang datu. Ija radjahnì 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 made; 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 Muhammad, the origin of the protective magic Pagar pulor 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 parsuroan in the Simalungun princedom 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 parasuroan is the original form and that it means: place of marsurou.

The stem surou (Simalungun). suru (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 nurokên, '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 parasuroan 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 suru 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 (tapian) 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: ha 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 boroni, cf. b 18): bindu matogah, two tapak radja sileman, 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 cattle.
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.

Q 3) 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 x 9-10½ 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 to 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 Tambatamba. 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 pangalalo ni pagar-ta 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 pinorhuling (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 (if a sun do ibana saborning; ilu ni boru sanjjang 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. 37 et sqq.
a 54 and b 1 blank.
b 2–15 continuation of a 53.
b 16–29 Poda ni pamusatan ni pangululbalang surat debata, quintessence of a prescription for a pangululbalang 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 modang-ndang (wandering datu) and ponggang bala saribu, 'stemming a host of a thousand'. This is also the name of a pangululbalang (MSS. Amsterdam 1430/2, 1628/1; cf. Rotterdam Ethn. Mus. 20010) and of a huge male tiger in Batak folktales (Van der Tuu, Woordenboek, p. 333).—These instructions come from Datu so Hirimon ni adji bajo anak ni Panggabean Siagijan 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 arı mate, the dead day. Cf. the Berlin MS. Schoemann VIII, 1.

Pagar, pangululbalang, 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 (pangululbalang) sipu djati. Cp. pangululbalang sipu rara (sipu—a piece of burning wood) in MS. The Hague, Educational Museum L 67.
a 30–45 Pagar inang boru sinoniba, probably the same as Pagar nai boru sinonba 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 Adjji—Ompu Radja Tinoahon—Toga ni adji—Radja Haro ni adji—Ompu ni Padang Bolak ni adji Radja Humbang Pajang (l. Paja’?) of the marg 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 pijnan (sic, for piuman), 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 1/2 × 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. Sikurūn denoted u as well as ū; once only the word guru is written with two kēbērētēn. 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 panogalan, 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 Muhammadi 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.), bēkēm-bēkēm (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 sapulangan (handkerchief) is used.
Magic, divination and medicine.

BAT. 11 (Cod. Bat. 3).

Bark book. 40 leaves, 11 × 9 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 primbun, 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 lili.

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 lane 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 singgoth tangke baliju(n)g maningkabou (the helve of an adze from Minangkabau).

a 21–23 Poda ni undang-undangla di data na mapas di ita, instructions about problems to be put to a data who despises us. Dr. L. Manik called my attention to a story about the solving of problems (marundang-undangan) told in W. Hoetagaloeng's Poestaha tarombo p. 130 et sqq. In Simalungun the meaning of the word marundang-undang is: to learn the Batak script and the rudiments of the data'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 data 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 marsaran (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, Verdwijsend cultuurbezit, pls. XXXII and XXXIII, and in De Batak 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 tawai timbahou tawai 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 aru, a poison.
b 29–32 Poda ni tambar butu 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; porimboron.

BAT. 12 (Cod. Bat. 6).

Small bark book. 29 leaves, 3½ x 3½ cm. Very thin bark. No covers. Small distinct writing, in places somewhat rubbed off. Ordinary podo-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 pamusutan ni tembak ma inon na morgoar siapus malu sisobo hinaaila sitostos sarangan(?) i ma na timan guruta tuwan sori-pada putus(?) timan tano urat dohot tuwan lo(?) di panggung asa ra ma di ho ale amang sijang ni
PROTECTIVE MAGIC

adjì na morhuta di persambilan pintu batu morga- 
ní asa ro ma di ho ompu ni pangondja ni adjì (2 
lines illegible) timan tano lobu goti por... uwan 
ni namora silalahi anang mate ma nasainingan 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 adjì na timan tano naga timbul namora 
dolok saribu na pangke pinarbulanton do inon asa 
ulang do dipormudua-muda ho tu hatak so do(?) 
diparulahì ho olo ma ni nina molu ma pala boti asa 
ingot ma ho di poda ni porpadanan ni tembaka 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 adjì 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 porstimboroon, 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.

Kèbal; ari rédjang.

BAT. 13 (Cod. Bat. 9).

Bark, book, 39 leaves, 9 3/4 x 6 cm. Two wooden 
covers. Karo-Batak language and spelling; sikurán 
is used for both e 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 (kèbol); 
an amulet against bullets (sarang bèdil); an in-
complete table of ari rédjang.
a 1 glued to the cover.
a 2 blank.
a 3–33 Pèda ni kata-kata ni kèbaltta ni tanèh lepar 
lawèt nari asa rèh bapa ni bunga tahil gingting 
mèrgana a(sa) rèh ma (n)duke anak tarigan mèr-
gana bapa ni djèda këmna asa siwuwal manuk 
pètih... Instructions for invulnerability from the 
other side of the sea, to a man of the (Karo-Batak) 
mèrga Ginting, to a man of the (Karo-Batak) 
mèrga Tarigan. Take a white fowl.... etc. The 
incantation begins on p. a 10; it contains many 
Malay and Arabic words.
a 33–36 Pèda ni sarang bèdil, 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.
**PROTECTIVE MAGIC, DIVINATION**

a 38–39 blank.
b 1 glued to the cover.
b 2–18 The rēdjang for the 17th–30th days of the month. See BAT. 48.
b 19–28 Another kēbal.
b 28–33 A third one called kēbal 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 Pēda ni putaranta, another amulet against bullets.
b 38–39 blank.

**Bone amulets, etc.**


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 Bélastagi on the Karo plateau.

Triangular pieces of bone (shoulder-blades) were used as amulets against bullets, or for divination.


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: *bissumirla*; 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.


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. 38 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**

**Kinpandèn.**

BAT. 30 (Cod. Bat. 19).

Bark book. 33 leaves, 17½ x 11½ 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 émas). 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 pëmetar, a Karo-Batak markman, 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:


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 kunstwijzerheid in Ned. Indiën, 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 (émbus-émbus) is very simple. Charcoal made from bëringén- 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 pëlang-kah, Toba paniangan). When the metal has cooled down and has been taken from the mould, it is beaten with a hammer (lunda or pala-pala). This first beating is called mëkpëk, and is distinguished from nëpa, 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 (tarikén) (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 midjër; small pieces of waste gold and silver (mixed with borax, pidjër) are
used as solder (podí). 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 (nēpuh) 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 e (both represented by sikurun) I have used x.

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1. The text on this page cannot be read as it is glued to the cover.
2. tuawah bapa tajana ija mērgana sitēpu to(?)radja mērgana asa bēbēre muham asa mērkuta ni garu kinnaj asa ni-
DIVINATION

a 6. nu babi na bēlēn asa mērbdjēra
ma kalak inx (§ 4) djaka umas ditu-
wangi rupa ni kapitan ni sarune suwada ma-
hulli gērak-gērrakēn ni émas
inxn asa nipērsili(h) ni ulis
pitu lambar asa nipukul
manuk pēgēng (§ 5) djaka umas datu-
wang karo pēngēl di bēnana beja di
udjungna sumangan na bēlēn ma-
ruleh dēkēt bullawan na ma-
rulahi asa nibēre babi na bēlēn
asa mahuli lja pukulanna manuk
malijas rupa asa Mauli ale dotu12

a 7. (§ 6) djaka émas datuwang mērka-
likēr di bēnana lja umas ni (si)
bajak mahuli ma umas ni kalak inx
ija si mada(n)gēl mago ma kalak inx
djaka di sakit me maš ma sakit lja
di udjungna mērkalikēr asa ma-
go ma kalak inx lja pukulanna ma-
nuk pēgēng (§ 7) djaka umas datuwang mabē-
lēn di beja di udjungna be-
ja di tēngahna (lacuna)14 (§ 8) djaka émas datu-
wang

padjēk di bēnana beja di udjung-
na beja di tēngahna asa Mauli ma umas

a 8. inxn anak laki bēru ma pinasu di
émasta inxn lja pukulanna manuk
sampedērēma asa Mauli (§ 9) djaka u-
mas datuwang mabēlēn di bēnana beja
di tēngahna ma hauli ma umas inxn lja puk-
ulanna manuk malijas rupa (§ 10) djak-
a émas datuwang mabēlēn di udjung-
na makētēk di bēnana suwada maulli
umas inxn djaka émas namura pl(n)dah ma
émas ni kalak inxn asa nipal-
mikēn ma tu kuta sada asa Mauli i-
ja émas ni pērhumaha(l)uma asa daa-
rakhēn mangsē asa Mauli lja pukul-

a 9. na manuk ari(n)tēnēng (§ 11) djaka umas
datuwang gumaqat ul(?)is (beja)
gumaqat arang asa nipērsili(h) a-
sa mahuli asa mērpangir ma kita
lēbe asa maka kita manēpa émas ni
kalak inxn asa mērsili(h) ma kalak
inxn asa sitēpa ma umas inxn
asa lijāsen nijadakēn tu kepar
lautan barang Mauli dēnga kalak si-
mada umas inxn djaka émas na mamu-
ra suwada satahun nari asa rēh ma gē-
raha ni kalak simada umas inxn awih

a 10. nari dibunēkēn ni bagas parubu-
han djaka di sakit mate me na sakit
djaka umas ni si mada(n)gēl lagilja mago maja-
kalak inxn lja pukulanna manuk ni-
kurungi manuk nītambat-tambat kai-
pilijama (§ 12) djaka émas datuwang
sēlukan ni a(m) pang-a(m) pang15 djaka di sakit
asa nipērsili(h) asa kita mērkaku
djaka di tjinta-tjinta tumaram ma kalak
sukut asa nipērsili(h) ma tu
kepar lajo dēkēt a(m) pang-a(m) pang pitu rangin
pitu dēkēt gēndang guwung16 panganak sa-

a 11. rine asa sibahan ma sapu-sapu idjuk
djanah nikoko nu lambe na gērangi asa si-
ljo-jīkoēn lja pukulanan manuk pēgēng
(§ 13) djaka émas datuwang ka(uru) matēm-
but ulis panuwangēn17 tumaram ma
kalak mago lja asa kata-kata ni kandang tēl-
kas parahu bubus su(wha)da térpake
asa nipērsili(h) di djahan dio(m)bak ulis
panuwangēn l(i)ja pukulanna manuk pē-
gēng manuk marēmpu pe Mauli ale datu
gurunami ulang lupa pēdah ni guru(n)ta ale

a 12. (§ 14) djaka émas datuwang lo(m)pat tu kepar
pan(g)kah lagas laja lja18 tumaram kalak mabungkas
ma
kalak simada èmas inxn di suwada su-
malin kuta suwada Mauli lja pukulann-
a manuk diambat di dalan djaka di sakit
mate me na sakit mate me na sakit [mate me na sakit] djaka
émas ni namura lagi ip(n)dah ma khībā-
jak ni kalak inxn (§ 15) djaka umas datu-
wang karo maluwam ni tēngha suwa-
da di (bēn)arni suwada di udjungna lagila padjē-
kan l(i)mu asa diaraakhēn manambah
asa Mauli lja kip19 ikurana lagila

a 13. begu di tanēmān marula(h)i lja pukulanna
manuk manuk rēmpu (§ 16) djaka (émas) datuwang
karo padjēk dawa-dawana20 di tēngha lamba
rumah padjēkan l(i)mu, djaka di sakit
mate me na sakit lja pukulanna
nipi(tu)wi (§ 17) djaka umas datu-
wang marutu-rutu bagi sar(n)gupgup
lagila kxnaxhr beja begu si me-
tēremejān marula(h)i asa nibēre asa
mauli (§ 18) djaka émas datuwang karo ma-
a 14. gara mābirēng rupa na djahan rasapsap mu-
lana nioge ni pala(ng)kah nari lagija měsěng ma rumah ni kalak inxn ija di ulu-
na magara lagija begu djinudjungna si maru-
la(h)i ija si mate sade ari si marulahi
asa nipadjudjungkën asa mauli
§(19) djaka umas datuwagon měrkět-
gën rumah ni djandi balik si ŭęngo
marijah djadi rubat djaka měrtěmu
baju lagija rubat ma kalak inxn

a 15. rut bajuna, djaka di kěntas di
kasukutan ija djandina měrbulawan
lagija sirang ma kalak inxn, djak-
ka ēmäs ni pěr-uma-uma lagija mago
ma kalak inxn djaka di sakit mate me
na sakit ulijan niajakën ija
pukulanna manuk pěgěng kapilijanna
manuk katir (§20) djaka ēmas datu-
wang karu peng(ĕl?) ni bagas panuwanggan
asa nipěrsli(h)i tu kepako lo pěrsli-
i(h)i asa měr pangir ma kita p(a)n(de ma-

a 16. ka kita maněpa umas ni kalak inxn djaka
di sakit mate me na sakit ija pukulanna
manuk pěgěng sanihawan §(21) djaka umas
datuwagon měrsipan suwada dawa-
da ija upah těndi pěr-uma-uma suwa-
da mauli djahan suwada měrtuwah kalak
inxn djaka ēmäs ni anak bèru nguda-ngu-
da suwada dibil kalak lagija suwada
měrtuwah ija pukulanna manuk sang-
kěp měrpuung (§22) djaka umas datuwagon
huměndan tungkuk udjungia mauli di-
siuxn ija pukulanna manuk sapa-

a 17. jan (§23) djaka umas datuwagon parinte-rin-
te sěngěněn kapikan ni saru-
ne pěrŁuwasna pari(n)te-ri(n)te djaka umas
ni namura asa niarhăkën mala(n)dēk
dēkět gi(n)děrang dēkět guwung pa-
nganak sarune ija umas ni si madanggěl
asa mali ija di sakit ni sibajak
mate me na sakit asa nipěrsli-
i(h)i asa manuk nipěsli(h)i pěr-
sli(h)ina ginděrang djahan nipěrdjika-
mai kělewět kuta de lahang ija (m)běra la-

a 18. giya mate ma ēmũ ni umas inxn pagi le
§(24) djaka umas datuwagon sakali duwa
kali tělu kali u(m)pat kali lima kali
ěnöm kali pitu kali uwaluh kali
siwu kal kaligia suanganna si maru-
la(h)i asa niarahkën mana(m)bon asa ma-
uli asa niarahkën pakabong ma sipu-
ta nu manuk putih tu kepar èm-
bang asa mauli disinxn (§25) djaka umas
datuwagon djaka dumatahngumah nitente m-
djadi djahat djahat mandjadi tingteling lagija
bajak ma si madanggěl ija sibajak

a 19. sakali nari umasna situwagon asa mauli
§(26) djaka umas datuwagon lagija měr-
bwewe-buwwe na suwa da bi hana su(wa-)da
di têngahna suwada de ikurna djahan
kěsēhan djahan marasap-asap madē-
kah ma ni darat mulana sioqe ni
bagas pala(ng)kah panuwanggan nari lagija
tumaram ma rumah ni kalak simada u-
mas, djaka di sakit(t) mate me na sakit,
djaka di tjinta-tjinta asa nipěr(sl)i(h)i
nu sopo-sapo měrtaram idjuk
djahan nipěrdjama-djajamai ka-

a 20. lewět rumah djahan nisulu(h)i ija pu-
kulanna manuk tampar dada mabiřenγ
rupana (§27) djaka dumatahngumah ni
kandang tēkas rumah ni kagunturëm
měrdëpuk surana(2) bagi sura
ni bè-nil, djaka di sakit mate me na
sakit djaka di tjinjia-tjinta asa nipěr-
sli(h)i nigunturungarkën
ija pukulanna manuk nikuuru-
ngi binurung kěna bubu pe mauli ale
(§28) djaka ēmas datuwagon karu měrdë-

a 21. tik-dětik ni bagas panuwanggan
lagi mate ma ēmũ ni umas ija
di tjinjia-tjinta asa niarahkën
la(n)dēk ija pukulanna manuk pěgěng
§(29) djaka ēmas datuwagon měrtim-
pus bagi djemla begu pěrkas ma-
ru(ah)isa asa niarahkën malandëk
asa mauli djaka umas ni anak bè-
ru nguda-nguda tumaram nira(m)pas
kalak ija pukulanna manuk pěgěng
§(30) djaka (ēmas) datuwagon bagi rupa ni nipe
měrmata měr-igung asa nia-

a 22. rahkanl malandëkkën ěnggur be-
gu ěnggur marulahi asa měr pangir
ma kita p(a)n(de asa sitěp ma
ni kalak ija pukulanna binurung
pitu suoje tinuruh djahie dju-
§(31) djaka dāpěnggěl palu ija umas
ni namura lagi gěrhah ma kalak, djaka
di sakit mate me na sakit inxn, djak-
DIVINATION

ka di kôntas ni kasukutan lagiya ru(mah) ni djandi balik si ñëggö ma-
rijah lagiya rubat djaka mërtëmu
baju lagiya sirang ma kalak ras bë-
juna asa mërpangir ma kita pa(n)de
lébe asa kita manëpa umas ni kalak
inxn ija pukulanna binurung
niambat tinariuh manuk ni-
kurung(§32) djaka umas datuwang lagiya
sagi-sagjan magara mabirëng ru-
puna magërsing, djaka di sakit mate
me na sakit inxn, djaka di tjinta-
tjinta asa starâhkhën mangkirap

a 24. begu si mate nada uwar si marulahi
asa nipadjdungkënh asa mahuli i-
ja pukulanna manuk ari(n)tënêng
(§33) djaka dumangat rumah ni limbat
maluwa hudung28 ladukan karu ma-
lëntëng ni bagas sanggajah punuwang-
ngën djahan ate-ate si marulahisa djah-
neh siputa manakiti (§34) djaka umas
li(n)nak tu batu lígënh lagiya mër-
pangir ma kita pa(n)de asa mauli, djak-
a li(n)nak tu kepar pala(n)kah djaka di
sakit mate me na sakit, djaka di tjin-

a 25. ta-tjinta nilawës ma êmasana
asa mauli ija pukulanna manuk ma-
rëmpu manuk katir kapiljana-
na (§35) djaka kita mëna marariki karu
pëlpë23 djaka di sakit mate me na
sakit djaka di tjinta-tjinta asa si-
starâhkhën mërekën êmas ija pu-
kulanna manuk katir kapiljan-
na manuk marëmpu (§36) djaka k(i)ta
mënañkëntja tu liwun24 karu mëllus25
bagas ljunun26 djaka di sakit

a 26. mate ma sakit inxn, djaka di tjinta-tjinta
lagi mërekën umas ma ija maka mauli
ija pukulanna manuk rëmpu asa mauli
(§37) djaka mabungkar ljunun lagiya mër-
pangir ma kita pa(n)de, djaka di sakit mate ma
sakit, djaka di tjinta-tjinta asa si-
starâhkhën mërekën umas asa mauli
ija pukulanna manuk dikurungsi asa
mauli (§38) djaka [du] umas dipidjër karu
gëlap panënggëerta ija si marulaha(n)isa
ate-ate si mërmange-mange (§39) [ka] djaka
umas
dapidjër karu têlêng sakali duwa
kali têlu kali ëmpat kali ija
si rulahsa saputa asa dibëre asa mau-

a 27. li ija kapit kawës ate-ate nu bibina
ija kapit sikamun ate-ate ni si
kamahana sanina (§40) djaka umas dëpi-
djër sakali duwa kali têlu kali lagiya
sumangan na bëlhén si marulahi asa
starâhkhën manambu asa mauli ale datu
(§41) djaka umas dapidjër karu kabang djaka
di sakit mate me na sakit djaka di tjina(ta)-tjinta
(tacuna) asa mauli (§42) djaka u(mas) dapidjër
karu ta(n)lang27 dawa-dawana djaka umas ni da-
bëru nguda-ngu(du) adaxng kadundunanan
ananbëru inxn (§43) djaka umas
dapidjër karu lobat suwada mauli

a 28. djaka di sakit mate me na sakit asa ni
tjinta-tjina(tu) nipalawës ma umasana asa
mahuli (§44) djaka umas (dapidjër karu gë-
lap panënggëerta ate-ate si marulahi dë-
kët saputa marulaha(hi) djahan bulawan ma-
kitti djaka di sakit mate me na sakit a-
sa nëbëre ma bulawonna asa mahuli (a)le da(tu)
(§45) djaka(ëmas) dasëpëhusëngënkëntjil(n)bërsa-
tahun nari asa rëh ma gërahâ ni
kalak ija suwada gërahâ lagi tuma(ram) kuta
tarulang (§46) djaka umas dasëpëh asa du-
mangat ru(mah) ni tungo-tunowon panggagat
ni begu bagi si nikarânt mëntji

a 29. mabirëng mabëntar rupana begu si mate
ni tanëman dëkkët sumangan ka-
líbow an marula(hi) ija pukulanna manuk
tampar dada asa mauli ale gëru
(§47) djaka ëmas dasëpëh ni-
pa-ngangi mëstik bagi buwah ni
lulang badjëra di tustusan ni
turah-turah asa s(i)starâhkhënh mukul
binurung këna bëbu dëkkët
djukut këna ëltëp dëgan sa-
ra nixlëxti ni busan asa mauli
ale pa(n)de ëtëra nina bangkila sampe
tuwahta sahena ma ba(n)du lapihan panu-

a 30. (ng)kunan du gërâk-gërâkënh ni ëmas nina
bangkila ëntah tâhu ëntah lahang nîbërekënhna
ba(n)ku lapihan asa m(ng)kun maku tu
babangkila pana-
war guru kinajan28 asa ulang ate(n)du makuwah
nina bangkila panawar guru kinajan asa ënta
sibangskënh lapihan(n)du nina bangkila panawar
guru kinajan ngata aku ulang ate(n)du makuwah
DIVINATION

na mangadjêkên aku maka masuwi kal kêpe malmang ale malumang si so mërbapa pe lahang mërma(n)de pe lahang ale pa(n)de

mërladjar kata(ng)ku

a 31. Asa turun ma ka(mu) debata di
atas manangkîh ma kamu debata ni tëruh tu-
mendêk ma kamu debata ni têngah ijalo san-
jang naga kamu si mëndadikên apa êrkagê-
luhan kamî djëla manusija asa mërka
ta ma kamû têndi si savxt mërêrdja raja
kamû si mëtêch bilang bi(l)angngên ni tahan sapu-
lu duwa bulan kagêluhannami djëla manusija
asa mërka ta ma kamû têndi nu si anu
mari kupanggil tu rumah salindung bulan
mërapsedêta ka(m)p(i)l na bêntar beras satu-
(n)na binu manuk arin(t)ênêng mërdapêta
umas radjamauli gêlăng-gêlăng tumbuk30 tijin
pidjêr bulang putih bêlo sa(m)bêrêks bêlo
sanxbîl pinang nilê(n)tok badja minak bu-
lang-bulang putih bêngan sada sa(m)pejan

asa mari ku-
panggil tu rumah salindung bulan djëgan
mela djëgan malu djëgan malambat

djëgan malawan k-
ti

a 32. (in nindo) numan debata kasi-kasi. E linang bêru
di dipar bêru di kate manumpak dang butari
manusur mërdjain am kamû têndi
nu si anu sârâ si anu têndi si txeng-
goî burawan mari kupanggil tu rumah salin-
dung bulan asa mërdapêta beras sa-
tu(m)ba mërdapêta ka(m)pîl dan ênas
radjamauli dan gêlăng-gêlăng tumbuk tijin
pidjêr dan tinu manuk ma-
lisja rupa dan bêlo sa(m)bêrêks dan
bêlo sanxbîl dan pinang nilê(n)tok dan
bêngan sada sa(m)pejan bulang-bulang putih
asa mari kupanggil tu rumah salindung bulan
djëgan mela djëgan malu djëgan malambat
djëgan malawan kin ni(n)du numan debata
kasi-kasi

1) Sitêpu 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-di-
vision of Sitêpu. 2) Muham, sub-clan belonging to the
clan Sêmbriring. 3) Read: Guru Kinajan, an independent
village that was afterwards incorporated in the district of Lingga. 4) It seems that bapa is here used as a syno-
ym 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: mërladjar. 8) The author’s name can be
read: Pande Têra or Pande Tura, Bapa Djêda or
Bapa Djenda (Father of Djê(n)da), of the clan Arus
Naman (Arus probably stands for Barus, a sub-di-
vision 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 Bêrahmana (a sub-
division of Sêmbriring). 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 ū, ênas where the text has h with
stirur; the pronunciation should of course always be
ênas.11) – and, from Malay. 12) This allocation of the
datu seems out of place in a ponde’s book; it is no
more than a traditional phrase of the literature of
divination. 13) This text uses the poda-language par-
ticle ma; only in this phrase (mate me na sakit) is the
form me found. The ordinary Karo-Batak form is
met.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 pêrstiili: apang-apang, for ampa-
ang-ampan, a leather shield, mentioned together with
rangin, a kind of shield used by a dancer. There can
be no doubt that ampang-ampan 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 guwêng?)
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
panuwangên is used in this text for the mould, ulis
panuwangên 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) logi ifa = logifa, 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 ham-pit or hum-pit, so the Karo-Batak word should perhaps be transcribed kumpit. 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 sikurun 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 soara, Malay suara. 22) poda-language (tading). 22) A scribal error for petelép, to break o/t. 24) According to Neumann's dictionary the implements used by the smith in drawing out silver for padung-padung (ngeliju, Neumann's spelling ngeljoe) are: the draw-pole (lējou, Neumann lejōn), the draw-plate (lārikēn) and a lever (lējou-lējou). Here the word for draw-pole is split lioun, in which -wu- (or -wē-) indicates the long ń. 25) Méllus, dialectal for méldus, to be or to come loose. 26) Lijunen is a peculiar form; it is derived from lijun by means of the suffix -en, though lijun itself already contains this suffix. Apparently there is no difference in meaning between lioun and lijunen. 27) Todang, either for tandang or a scribal error for tading. 28) I am not quite sure whether this medicine-man from Guru Kinajian is the same person as the author's teacher of the smith'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. biiken. 30) MS. tumuk. 31) Probably a scribal error for énggo.

Porbuhitan; pormanuhon (manuk di ambang).

BAT. 31 (Cod. Bat. 17).

62 photographs (c. 30 × 25 cm) of a bark book in the possession of Mr. Martin Blicher, Kobenhavn. 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 68 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: biau, 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 teon), haraong, neck (Dairi kērahung, Karo kēra hung, Toba uses rungkung); djadjiji 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: porbuahitan, 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 porbuahitan 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 porbuahitan texts. The signs of the porbuahitan-oracle are observed whenever a buffalo is bound to a sacrificial post (borotan, Toba; arihan, Sim.; tungkalen, 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 Sihobantang (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 pustaha in the University Library, Leiden (Cod. Or. 3454). This eight-sided figure represents the middle-world with its eight main directions (desa na utu).

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; porbuahitan: 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 mangadphon purba* (etc.), *buahit* ...... *nama tuwannya* (*tilahannya*), i.e., if the buffalo falls facing eastwards (and likewise for the other points of the compass), its good (or ill) luck is called *buahit* ...... 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 *buahit mangameru* means: Mount Mahāmeru, and that the word *buahit* in the oracle is the Malay *buahit*, mountain. In the words *tuwannya* and *tilahannya* 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 *irisannya*, north-east, Skr. *aśānti*, Balinese *resanja*. Moreover the word *tilaha* is not used in Batak for ‘ill luck’; it means a deceased child. Therefore *tuwannya* and *tilahannya* must also be Malay loan-words, from *tuwahnya*, ‘its good luck’ and *tilakanja*, ‘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 Aśālingga, a system of 8 mountains is mentioned, with Mahāmeru in the East; the other mountains bear Indonesian names. The group is called *asťa-gunung* (Goris, thesis, p. 132). In the brahmansitic 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. 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. 3–36).
C. Other omens (pp. 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 maie 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 dohat tinantan ni a(dj)i*

*bangsa diro dawa dohat rambu (ne mot)*
(ta) t hali-hali ningon manum (pak) 
di siobati ningon di (huthon) 
(2) ma ning sang radja mulia ningon manu (sur) 
di sanijang naga ningon humundu (do) 
debata panaluwan djatji ningon tor (ta) 
woa-tawoa do batara guru ningon 
haturaton tambihul ni hor (bo) 
djana mauli lijat-lijatan asa (hi) 
ta mamora suhut ale sisijan n (in) 
ni gurunata ni djolo datu bingsu asa ro (ma) 
di datu porwu (w) il-su (w) il ni do do 

i asa ro ma di datu porhas asa ro (ma di) 
ho ale sihotang guru porlongo asa di (po) 
dahon ma di ho ale radja pinada datu por (or) 
manuk guru pormangsi datu paradji paju (ng asa) 
ulang ma ho 

..............................................
..............................................
..............................................

(3) ....................................
di poda ni gurunata ni dj(o) 
(lo ale a) mang na mamasa di pohi mitan 
ni radja pinada asa ulang magolot di pormangsi ma 
silolo do (pe) ahu na hurang dope panaraj a ale ...

I.e.: Instructions about the signs of our mountain- 
oracle, to be observed from the bujis-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 bujis- 
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 motlat hali-hali, si (dajang) sobati 
and sang radja mulia (name of the ear-ring in 
pormanuhan) are auspicious, and sanijang naga 
comes down, debata panaluwan djatji sits steady, 
batara guru laughs (a heavenly god, but also the 
name of the knife in pormanuhan), 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. bhiksu, monk?), 
then the instructions came to Datu Pursu-sul 
......, 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 (kasu- 
kulan). In some paragraphs a distinction is made 
between a war waged to compel our debtors to 
pay and one to resist creditors (mertiunggu i do 
and bertahan ulang). No notion is made of the 
buis-sacrifice; this is only natural, as no buis-
organization exists in the Karo-districts. Never-
thless in another Karo-Batak book (Breda, Ethn. 
Mus. 10057) we find a peda(h) ni mangmang ni 
kero buwis, instructions for an incantation over 
the buis-buffalo. The Karo-Batak form buwis 
suggests a possible etymology for the word buis. 
According to Neumann, erbuwis-buwis means: 
to jerk or pull one another to and fro. This is just 
the kind of ritual rivalry which happened in the 
buis-ceremonies, when two parties tried to push 
or pull the dying animal in the direction auspici-
ous for themselves.

B.

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

Djaha horbo marobo mangadopppon 
otara buhit mangameru nama tuwanni pusuk ni ta
li morsihotingan dipaningkoti si daja(ng) por mena ursa ni horbo-horbo inon asa dapana rahia ma tungko didoge tungko mabungkar dangka nija
sopak masopak ma horbo inon so ma (29) da duwa halı halak inon mor(hor)dja tumaran .......
torop na mangan horbo inon nling [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 sa hat 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 hinomil asa dipanaraahi ma di ma nuk na di pudi manajek balatuk ija dopotan ni tondina babi sorat asa diongkal ma ho li ni ompuni asa mau li / djaha di sahit naba ma na sahit inon asa dipanaraahi 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 mamora / djha ha di bujus dopotan ome ma hita di huta inon / djaha panonnggot huta imbaru mamora do hi ta di hu(ta) inon / djaha di pordjadjijjan mara pot do hita dohot djadjidita inon ale datu

I.e.: If the buffalo falls facing Northwards, its good luck is (called) buhit mangameru; the ends of the rope untwine. Si Dajang Pormena puts a noose on the neck of the deer of the mock-buffalo. 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 luck. 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. 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) mangadêpkên utara dêm/pak tuwan padukah ijadji / nipatungkir-tungkir t'endi di djêma manus/ija nidêngkëh-dëng-këh patir/nir rumah djadi djalak man/djadi ting-ting bêre-bêreja/n sumaqêt situwâ sit/ua maka kita mênang di kasukutan inxn djaka kasuku/ten mërsili lêbe s/jukul maka mau li djaka mërsî/teen ulang talu ma kita di kasukutan mërtu(ng)"m ido / mënang ma kita inxn djaka ratjuna di émbah-ëmbahna dîljahna matana si(n)djatana
dèkèt | ija tuwahna ni bèltèk|na tjawan-tjawan ni 
pul(n)jja adèp-adèpna pangarej(ri)angannya ija 
panabarina sarì|mandapèt dèkèt ilmar di rumah 
bèrtèng di | labah dèkèt ljita-ljita djaka jtaljorna 
kaju idup | tare laklak galuh sital|bar tèpungkèn 
ugahna kaljona lèbe ku rumah suka̱t | pa(n)jja- 
warina nanuk | ljawir takuwak ija pa|ngiri 
parutang-utang sada pangiri ni|(n)du anakbèru 
si(m)bèra latih| pe pagari sibisa tuwa|tiwa 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 debala nama tuwan adong 
ditindjak-tindjak hala(?) ni purname(?) ni gu- 
runta na so .......... di purba na maranakkon adji 
bangsa diro daowa adong paridihon nan surija 
humba nan sinar manga... na sumungkun gurunta 
portinuk mordjalan sadari duwa ali tolui ali opat 
ali duwa malam tolu malam gono malam ija 
ma........................ mangadoppen purba buhit ..... 
.......... pinangan sita-sita pinasu ni horbo inon ale.
(BAT. 32) buhit lingga rdj(a) tèrtawa-tawa èm- 
pung biñjara guru debala di atas mèrpinggi sèi bèru 
tadjèm burik lumande ku kaju na ratah kaju na 
tasak sumil(?) tabuh sakit.

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

SOUTH-EAST: buhit radja sinanti nama tuwanni 
adong ....s tangga omas ho daja tora adong di ho 
nang.....ni panggitan mangan panggitan minusum 
rumagih.... boruhon sangga oti | ija ma horbo 
ma(robo) mangadom agoni buhit ija suwada do 
di....on adji radaowa dohot na mottak (hali-hali) 
djana dihutton ma ning sang radja mulaja ..... 
ditumpang nang bø(ri)ri djana tiop pandji si-
ma(rada)m tuwa tortawo-tawwa bata(right) guru 
djana manusur (san)jjang naga djana mangalopas 
adji nambiyang sarat(us) horbo pinasu ni horbo 
inon asti mangadoppen agoni na rowa di halak 
na uli di hi(ia) ija adong disinon ram(bu) na opal 
inon so(wa)dax mauli.
(BAT. 32) No specification of the omen.

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

SOUTH: buhit lingga mulija nama tuwanni dong- 
kun(?) gurunta aman gorang di banuwa ba..... 
paninggir djati ditumpak naga padaha inang 
silong bane adong tumalangis ibotona di dangsina 
ija ma horbo merobo mangadoppen dangsina.
(BAT. 32) mangadèp lingga radja.

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

SOUTH-WEST: buhit sanggaro-gara tilahan(ni) 
................................. bu diau hanuhon boruni mordara-dara dibahen 
anggini si tapi morsaga oto | ija ma horbo ma-
gadoppon nariti ija diadoppen do rambu tinantan 
ni adji bangsa diro daowang dohot si dajang sabati 
dohot na mottat hali-hali dohot rambu sipatiga-
tiga ulang dipangan suhut lambungan....
(BAT. 32) tèrtawa-tawa ma si dajang bè(ru) 
sigu(n)dja.

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

WEST: buhit lingga porhara(?) nama tuwanni adong mugos hanuhun gurunta debata di pastima adong padidihon boruni si tapi marring 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 kali hohot ra(m)bu si sobati dohot rambu sipatiga-tiga djaha di sahih mate ma na sahih 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 matolpas lawut didoge lajat (sic) marsik didijang hapeja naga morsimbat ampiawos manantan antuwaro morkarat tinantan ni sing ada intija di angkosa ija ma horbo mangadoppan marabija. (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 kuta ni gurunta nan sungangs di porbaoran mor-djabung-djabung batu mara(m)bung-ambung butuk ma pansur golas ma lautan ija ma hapeja si mangidupi ni djolma manisija ija ma horbo mangadoppon irisanna ija diadop do rambu na opat inon horbo mulija tu pane pula tu dandang sahali sai 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(?) em(?) empung debata ni irisan ipadjudjung-ajudjung tuwan padukah ni adji asa nipakasar-kasar tuwan banuwa kelling nipatengkeh-dengkeh lendi djelma manusija didige ni kindjahe benggal ni ki(n)djulwan didige si dajang bu(nga) raki! si dajang bunga-bunga raki lingga gunung didige ni kindjahe benggal ni kindjulun nodengkeh tanth taneth pe matumbuk nitare langit langit pe marurus.


C.

a 37–68 Poda ni horbo pinantom, on signs observed on the buffalo when it is speared. The following signs are enumerated: djaha horbo marungengunge, 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 tambuk ni horbo sihamun (sihambirang) tortungk'il tano, if the right (left) horn of the buffalo scoops up(?) some earth. djaha horbo pinantom rumarade……djana nga-ngang babani djana made de idurni djana …bati sahanni, if the buffalo……, and its mouth is open and saliva is trickling from it and….. djaha horbo dopantom mutahun 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-doraho sosani 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 narii 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 keebbo nipa(n)vem niikut-ikul djetalina maka pangiri si ngikut-ngikutu eda 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 porbhitan 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 pormanuhan adji nangka piring na umboto hita munahor beja di hasuhuton na bolon barang tumundungi porhutan beja morhaju rumu beja hita laho mangoli ija ma inon na nunongpong (1. nunongpong) omas di tonga ni lautan lagi diha(hu)hon adji nangka piring lagi so mago beja di sahith (2) madora barang di hasuhuton na bolon ningon dihuton ma ning sa(n)g 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 siaumbooni asa dapatulus hasuhuton .... guru badija ni adji ........gurunta na djolo ........ (3) ................. asa ro ma di guran datu na gara di...... asa ro ma di guru sipul ni adji (asa ro) ma di borma sjam siko (tang asa) ro ma di guru tanggab(o)si asa ro ma (di) .... datu panguulu asa(ro) ma di guru manga...... adji asa ro di guru buwaja ni adji(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 silansapton (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
menuk di pordomuwan ni (pa)gori dis(i) do
golang-golang do(hot) tintin dohot napuran do-
hot) omas dohot mlaq rap do di pordomuwan ni
pogori ija ma inon harorobo ni manuk nianggun-
ang(gun ni) pasang nisampang-sampang ni rajas
martotos ma tali donda di longa ni lautan possa ma
odunj marompas ma pansur paridian ni sigit
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
lunglunggan hapilinni djaha laho tandang mate
di dalan ma na laho tandang inon ale datu porman-
uk e barang kapa(da) hordja dj(a)owat ma inon
ale datu. If the cock is in the centre of the com-
pass, and there also are the bracelet, the finger-
ing, 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-sput
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 pormanuha 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 com-
pass and 7 for the intervening spaces except be-
tween 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 ofara, mist, north.
ruma ni ngot 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 sifulon (a remote
ancestor) and nitungkaju (tree-spirit) cause the
illness, and likewise for the other 7 points of the compass.
Bark books containing prescriptions for pormanuha
are found in nearly every collection of Batak
manuscripts. See BAT. 37–42.

1) tuwanan; in this pustaha the forms tuwanja and
tilahunja are not used. After the word tuwanan there
follows a further specification of the omen. These speci-
fications, full of allusions to Batak mythology, cannot
for the most part be understood without further expla-
nation 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 lan-
guage 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 Volks-
verhalten p. 59 and no. 18; M. A. M. Renes-Boldingh,
Batakische sagen en legenden, pp.149 et sqq.). 5) manogu-
nagu, also used in BAT. 47. 6) sikaso, medium; on
the functions of pande and pangula see Korn’s article.
7) l. 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 kětica (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 Ma-kassaarsche 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. Sikurda denotes both u and ë; final -h is mostly written. The copyist was a Karo-Batak (of the mĕrga Karo-karo, p. a 41) who wrote in poda-language with very few Karo words, and some Simalungun forms like gŏran (gĕran), ‘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 appa-

ently means the same as ale datunami, ‘O our datu!’ The word andiba(h) (or perhaps andi
ba(h)) is only used in poda-language, e.g. in the Mandailing pustaha 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 pĕrmamis.

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

a 13–17 On the motion of Pane bĕkn (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 pĕrmamis and their significance in war. The five clans (mĕrga) of the Karo-Batak: Simbiring, Ginting, Tarigan, Karo-karo and Pĕra-
n̄ın-angin are mentioned in connection with the 5 pĕrmamis.

a 28–29 Another drawing of pane.

a 29–37 Pĕda ni kana-kata ni p(a)ngguraha na

waluh, instructions about the 8 panggorda, with illustrations. See Winkler, pp. 217 et sqq. Here their names are:

1. (gurdaha) mĕrguru

     źenggang, hornbill or, in water, fish.

     di lajo mĕrguru ikan,

2. (name missing) – pĕrik, the Java sparrow.

3. suwa – bijang, dog.

4. musi – silo-silo, otter.

5. sërpa – nipe, snake.

6. singa – orimo, tiger.

7. sĳang bınaja – gajo, crab.

8. mĕrsabuwa – suba-suba (or sĕba-

     sĕba?); 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 gurdaña is remarkable. It shows two birds with puppets on their backs, probably to express the idea that the gurdaña is not a common hornbill but a fabulous bird.

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

b 42 blank.

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

b 41–57 The 12 pērmesa, 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: porbuhitam). 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 kēlika, to be consulted before starting on a journey.

b 1 glued to the cover.

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 Adjı Pajung'. (b) Aggressive magic (pangulubalang) called djutch santanggo, "a piece of meat".

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) panusatan 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 dumatan tambor boliala ro ma hasosan ro ma haleon di hula 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 imbulo masilean bea di runa ni ulu bus bea di runa ni salah siiluta 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.: inong ditabari do mangajup parbonangan dohot harpe ... asa mauili, 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.

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 datunani 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 Tobal-Batak p. 164). To call (the good) we say: ama ni hahu, hahuon 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 pojung, see Cat. Dublin, p. 50.

1-2 blank.

2-15 (large bindu) Poda ni lotoganta di na tees di hita mago-mago na morgoar djuhut satanggo ma inon na todi(ng) gurutna guru hinombingan ni adji asa hupadahan 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)tago, "a piece of meat". From our master Guru Hionmbingan 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 dawwat 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 hurried 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 djunggu meang, Angkola djunggu meong, Simalungun djunggal meong; in BAT. 67 djonggi meong).
sibaso lajang-jango (hovering shaman) = borong-borong (black bumble-bee).
pillit mallongong (humming plectrum) = dalital (a kind of bee).
naga umujok-mujok di hahasa (dragon that turns about in space) = hida (a kind of large white larva that lives inside the stem and stalks of the sugar-palm).
naga mangiprut 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 lautun (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 taov ni djuhut satanggo, a (magic) medicine derived from the pangululabalang Djuhut santanggo: ingredients and incantations.

b 19 blank.

**Adji pajung; manuk gantung.**

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

Incomplete bark book. 16 leaves, $14\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ 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 pandjiahai 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 porrnahon gurampang bosì, cock-oracle Iron Lobster, according to Van der Tuuk’s dictionary sigurampang bosì, ‘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 sumung datu porpor darangh at hata ni adji ma inon esa hupodahon ma ro di ho ale simatuwa na poso guruh Hanson 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 rumu na palungkang tali pasa na di halanglu modom paipa-ipai tondi ni djolma manisija asa di ?hung-kun(g) ma hanuhon asa dibon ma tu bariba ni dolok. Mauwa (l. mahuwa) mahu boanonmu ale begu? Aitingan dilehon sumangot ni ompumu do ho asa huboan ho tu bariba ni dolok. Ija boti do, palma mahu djolo asa husu(ng) kung djolo sumangot ni daompu(ng) doho sumarsar na bolon. Hupaulak do ho o(n)tong, di rungkungmo do tali pasa on. Asa tindang ma tonai ni djolma manisija di ulumbalatuk. Mauwa ma ahu ihottan(8)mu ale begu sumangot ni ompu sumarsar na bolon? Ale djolma manisija, ado(ng) ma tonan-tonanarnu so ditabari ho, mungbang pe bubumu, halioan pe umamu, so ditabari ho, harom babi, sumonggop 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 nose; 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 clan. All right, I agree to let you go back, (but) this noose shall stay around 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 dumalang si tapi sombauta na unboan 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 bejasaahu boannomnu tu harangan na beguon? Asa huboan pe ho nilohon ni sumangot ni ompumu porada dohot pangu(lu)balingmu dohot begu ni amamu. Uwa, hutsche djolo ale! Olo, di rungungmu tali pasa on. Djongdjong ma ibana di bal(n)ang di pintu, be(19)gu tumijop ihur ni tali pasa. Ale sumangot ni doompung dohot ho pangulubaling sinuan dohot ho homban ni uma, beasa lehomommuahu tu si tapi sombauta? Hulehon pe ho, harom babimu, haliom emem, mamindo babamu 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 pangulubaling, 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, pangulubaling (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 = silaon na bolon, the common ancestor of a clan. See Van der Tuuk's dictionary s.v. sarsar: sinarsar silaon 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 BKT 114 p. 242. Sinila means: who is treated respectfully; silaon, who should be treated respectfully; both words are used for the same ancestor-ghost. An exact parallel is Simahungun sinumbah, the venerated one = Toba sombaon, he who should be venerated, for a spirit who dwells in a holy place. Van der Tuuk derives silaon from laon, old, long ago, but this a popular etymology. A confirmation that the stem is
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, handul ma datu diatas lage i. Molo na laho porang paranganna, dibosikkon ma rambu i, hape anggo fondung siganu ari do, dieang-eang ma rambu i. Ia porbage ni na mamosikkon rambu, asa dihembang ma amak di tonga ni alaman, disi ma nasida morpungu saluhutna. Dung i asa disorpi ma ulos rigidup sada, dippekkon ma tu dfolo ni datu i. Dung ni asa dipatibal ma ambu-ambuan saluhutna. Dung i asa ditonggo datu i ma saluhutna na gumongom portibi on. Dung sun ditonggo asa dimintorai ma rambu i. Dung sun dimintorai asa dibuang datu i ma tuadas ulos i. Disi ma diida datu i barang na denggan barang na dae. I ma porbagen. Ia porbage ni na mangeang-eang, asa dihembang ma sada lage handulan ni datu i. Dung ia asa dippekkon ma poradapuan di dfolo 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 ditio p ma tali ni inganan ni rambu i, diordong ma pitu hali. Sun diordong asa diungkap ma inganananna 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 *rigidup* 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 manusak huta rimbaru beja hita dipadatu halak di bisara na godang beja hita laho mangoli ale datu na di pudi i ma na todin gurunta si mangara pintu na di borngin asa ro ma di ho ale simandalahe 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 (l. 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 sipaoitik djambar ni na begu asa hupodahon ma di ho ale ibebere guru mangalagang ni adji asa ro ma di ho ale guru pangadjiyan ni adji radja ni sijak bagi na sijak panomuwan na dangoi 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 panggora ni adji guru so matondik ni adji di tano batu odjing 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 Pangadjiyan 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 Panggora 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 *Naiboru*. 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 (*somboon*) 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 Lumbantoruan, to our master Radja Palluhutan Datu Gusrar ni adji anak Nai Haiiton, to our master Radja na Tinggit 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 Sihoktang.

In manuscripts that use the sub-Toba spelling the name Saur ni adji is spelt Sajur ni adji. The name of his pupil Datu Gusrar 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 Tinggit, 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 Pangadjiyan 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 Pangadjiyan 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 Pangadjiyan’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 Volksverhalen, 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-Batak. 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. 81), ale Aritonang (Paris, Musée de l'homme, no. 85.5.17).

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 schematic drawings of the positions of the strings, like those in BAT. 36. As in that MS. there follows a poda ni sara 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. 24–28). Sara is the Toba-Batak pronunciation of tjaru (Karo-Batak, e.g. in BAT. 32: sitjauwi sitik pantéménta asa měhuli, 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 haroon; a haroon should be eaten in the morning if omens are auspicious; in the event of ill omens, sara 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, Ower het Gwaisme 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 dawa, 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 × 10 1/4 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 Kuala 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 Kuala are so damaged that large parts of the text are illegible. The be-
DIVINATION

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 tempi, the sign by which, in Mandailing writing, the ka is distinguished from the ha. The word in which it occurs is datongkahkon or datongkahon, which, in Simulungun, 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; yya 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 pandjoral 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 parombunam, 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 persili. The same drawings with nearly the same text are found in other pustahas with the title: pada ni persili ni surat na sampulu sia. Cf. Winkler, BK1 110, pp. 356 et sqq. and pl. 5.

a 40 Illegible.

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 radjaonon di gordang pauluhon, 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 gendérang 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 pandatang 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. Adjı nangka piring is the name of the cock in the oracle called manuk di ampong (a cock under a basket).

b 34–40 Poda ni simonang-monang, divination by means of a diagram of 5 x 4 squares. Cf. Cat. Dublin pp. 77 et sqq. (where somonang is a printing error), a MS. in the museum in Leeuwarden and Amsterdam MS. A 6502.

Pormanuhon (manuk di ampong).

BAT. 37 (Cod. Bat. 11).
Bark book. 40 leaves, 20 x 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. 130):

*Ia uloan 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 hasauna dibuat ma anduri sada, ia goar ni naga padoha ni adji; ampong sada, ia goar ni pangulu na opat; dari-dari sada, ia goar ni sang radja multi; ia paduaun tinlin, 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 paononhon misk, ia goar ni sibidjaon; ia papituon napuran, ia goar ni siumbon. Dung ni asa diradjja ma anduri inon dibahen ma dohot soso. Dung i diseat ma manuk i, sun diseat dipabongot ma tu bogasan ampong i. Dung i asa mortangiang ma datu. Dung mate dibego manuk i ina adong be humurtlik, asa diungkap ma ampong i, ditilik ma porpeak ni manuk i ohot pordompakna. Disi ma diboto datu barang na uli pormanuhon i barang na dae. Molo na denegan do pormanuhon i dipoharaoan ma, hape melo na dae diporsilii ma inon. I ma uloan 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 multi* (Illustrious King); secondly a finger-ring, called *san 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 *sibidaon*; seventhly betel, called *siumbon*. 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’ (basea na pilu) 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 mauti; 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 Grand sire the Oracle-Cock may not point towards him. Now, with a prayer, the datu brings an offering to the lizard of the earth (boraspali 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 sibbororon 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 (am pang na basang basahi) which will be the cover (paratalungkupan) 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 bos 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 (sandi-sandi) 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 (nai). 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 Grand sire 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, Grand sire, 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 keeking 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, man ak 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 Batera 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 songor tinonahon songon boli ni boru, boa-bea ni daompung parmanuhon si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba on. Asa mari ma hamu gurungku, Radja Engkat Manisia na mian di hasandutan, 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 baunje, na marpati-pati na di lansangan, adjari do ahu e, lutfuri do ahu e, ompung nagurungku, umbuangkon manuk laba-laba ni daompung Batera Guru Doli on tumopot sosu na denggan sosu na uli. Asa huboto do indungmu inang na di Hailon, huboto do indungmu inang na di Tulison, huboto do indungmu inang na di Taboron, huboto do indungmu inang na di Poholon, huboto do indungmu inang na di Tungkao, 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, mohos tidang maboltik, marpiso ma dainang tidang masolot, marbadju-badju tidang masoluk, aso soluk boa-boam Nai Boru Sinomba tumopot sosu na uli tumopot sosu na denggan, marsimata ma dainang tidang mabirbin, marbalung-balung tidang madijangal, morsanggul ma dainang tidang madijgar, marmiak ma dainang tidang malias, aso lis roha ni dainang Nai Boru Sinomba tumopot sosu na uli tumopot sosu na denggan boa-boam na daompung parmanuhon on si Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba on, manuk laba-laba ni daompung Batera Guru Doli on, na tangi pinggol na tonggor mata on, asa latap tonggor tallihon daompung parmanuhon barang dia sosu di roham
sitopotonomu na dumengan bogasni monang di gora on. Aso maranpurum na dainang Nai Boru Sinomba tidang mapurti aso mapurti roha na da-inang tumopot soso na uli tumopot soso na denggan, ningon lumpak sung Songon pandjudjung ni na-boru parpajak ni daompung parmanuhon si Adji Nangka Piring on, ningon Songon pandji-pandji do ithur ni daompung parmanuhon on digom-gom amang siopat djual on, ningon manumpak do radja manumpak namora manumpak parhurungan asa mauli, ningon manumpak do si daeng 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 hatonahon i ale ompung parmanuhon Adji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba na ingot di bakti na so lupa di bota na ingot di hatsa na so lupa di tona, inang na donda di ahasa, inang na pasak di baunge, na marpati-pati na di lanangan, adjari do ahu e inang Nai Boru Sinomba, ahu na pamasuk parmanuhon on tu bagasan ni amang si opat djual on aso tu na denggan aso tu na uli harorobo ni parmanuhon on. Come down you, grandisires 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 Grandisire Batara Guru the Male, (the cock) whose ear is sharp, whose eye is watchful, grandisire 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, grand-sire 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 Halton, 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 Tungkaon, I know that your clan is Na di Borboron. May you be wet without 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 betel, that your heart may be stimulated to face the lucky sign, to face the good.
sign: our reverend grandsire sir Adjji Nangka Piring must be lumpak 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 Adjji 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 pursili); if they are lucky, he gives a ceremonial meal to confirm the luck. A lucky prediction is called mandjorot, “binding”, an unlucky one mansuta, “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 rotan 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 Sitanggang Simbolon, idok ho ma ibamu so huboto, huboto do ibamu Sitanggang 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 Faiangon;
ganup do margo 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).
—3 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 pustaha 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 porman-
uhon 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 padohna ni adji, the name of the
dragon in the underworld who causes earth-
quakes; 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 uatu) represents the mid-
dle world. According to Batak mythology, each desa
has its king, often invoked in sacrificial prayers.
Winkler thinks that the seven hase (i.e. the in-
gredients 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 cer-
tain groups of relatives; silung bane, silansapon,
sibidjaon and sisumboon. The first one, sang radja
mulia, is the every-day name of a kind of ear-
ing 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 ma-
gele bunga) are obscure. The last one sounds
like the names used in pangaraksoon, the circum-
locutory 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 mention-
ed 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. Šrī) among the pormamis.
The name pangulu na opat, the four upper ones,
alludes to the four legs of the ampan 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 pustaha in a pri-
vate 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 pustaha 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
lodong ipar ni lautau si numongnong omas di longa
ni lautau ija mungbang ninna adji nangka piring
logia mumbang barang hita dipadatu halak di
hasuhuton bolon bea di sahit madorsa bea mor-
domu bao bea hita unPasuk huta rimbaru bea hita
tumolono uama barang disuru halak mormanuk barang
di batikan huta asa dalaba-laba ma ompunta adji
nangka piring i ma na lodong na di borhu asa
ro ma di ho guru langgong ni adji asa ro ma di ho
guru so laosan ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru na
psa ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru mangula ni adji
anak ni dfaj(n)dji(n)Ma tian lano palipi nai borngin
asa ro ma di ho radja manorsa ni adji namora
sibombaning ni adji asa ro ma di ho guru hatunggal
ni adji anak ni hutaagol sian tano aek radja asa
hupaharon muse ma di ho tibeb(re) guru so ta-
ronggot ni adji asa hupaharon muse ma di ho
dwamang simatua guru mano(ng)lang ni adji
ingot ma ho di pada ni helamu guru mangga ni
adji anak ni na di poholon di lano pangaribuan
dwamang guru manongtang ni adji. Instructions
about the cock-oracle Adjı 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 Adjı Nangka Piring says
it will float, then certainly it will float. If we are
asked to act as data in war, or in the case of a
serious illness, or for a mariage, 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 Adjı Nangka Piring to fall (twitching
under the basket). This oracle comes from (a
teacher) of olden times (or: of the marga Naiborhu? Cf. p. 147); through the intermediary of
seven teachers it came to Guru Manongtang ni
adjı, 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 adjı, a man of the marga Sipoholon, who lived
in Pangaribuan, at least this seems to be meant,
though at first Guru so Taronggot ni adjı is said
to have taught it to Guru Manongtang ni adjı.
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 Übersicht van de
Volksverhalen der Batak, no. 9, p. 71).

A 3-14 Immediately after this introduction, with-
out a new heading, a list of omens begins. Every
paragraph begins with dfaja, ‘if’, and is illustrat-
ed by a drawing of the cock, showing its position,
either alone or with some of the ingredients. The
first paragraph is:
Dfaja dumatang ruma ni porhangkungan ija ma
manuk ditumpak porhurungan dfaja diadop(p)on
do hasea dfaja di ho(n)tas di hasuhuton mamora
ma hita dfaja pordomu bao marosu ma na mor-
domu bao inon dfaja pangase u(ma) dapotang
(1.-tan) one ma hita di uma inon dfaja pamasuk
huta ringbaru(1. rim-) mamora ma hi(ta) di huta
inon dfaja di sahit mahoras ma na sahi(ton)
dfaja lago landang marutli ma hita di porta(n)-
dangan mangan minum ma hita di portandangan
ale guru mano(ng)lang ni adjı di djolo do ho pagi-
pagian 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).
Dfaja manuk djumudjung rambu, if the cock car-
ries an ominous sign on its head.
Dfaja imbula 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 imbula ni manuk lohot di pat ni manuk.
if feathers cleave to the cock’s legs.
Djaha imbula ni manuk lohot dohot daroni di tutuk ni manuk djana panguk utuni tu pamatangni, if feathers and blood cleave to the bill and the head of the cock is twisted towards its body.

Djaha sision ni manuk pago tu indorana bea tu anduri, if a nail of the cock sticks into its breast or in the winnow.

Djaha imbula sumungke ampang, if a feather protrudes from underneath the basket.

Djaha imbula majup di anduri, if a feather floats (on blood) in the winnow.

Djaha imbula ni manuk tu balijan ni ampang djana morasupu-sapu dare i ma hatu-hatu ni gurunta lompit ni o(m)punata magira marsik ma sira di abal-abal matarlar ma Napuran marsik ma oek di bukuhat polut ma Napuran toding bolitan tu sihu- wale malos ma arsam ganupparijan paina-ima sihuwaleni adong ma tuwamboru na so na gabe di runa inon mordta... 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 djumudlung pagori, if the cock carries the lines of the compass on its head.

Djaha manuk mangalait-liat djana mornqungtut djana disarar-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 mornqungtut djana disarar-sarat ma toini dja-(ha)/di sahit nit(tor) mate ma na sahit inon djaha pangase u/ma dipangan titus uma inon ingon morbus do a/sa mauli dja(ha) sita-sita ditaru sampen ma o(m)pu ni hor(dja) inon magarrag hapihini djaha panduga boru so/be maranak bori (i)non djaha porhau runa ditaru sa(m)par ma/o(m)pu ni runa inon djaha laho tandang dirius (t. dirasun) halak ma na la/h(o) tandanggi inon ale datu na mangadjji di dja...

Djaha imbula ni manuk matakukak di pudi ija panduga boru na so maranak so be/maranak boru inon dj(a)(ha) di sahit ni na dji 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 imbula lohot 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 verrenken Glie- dern’).

a 14–18 Podu ni pamanutan ni pormanuhan 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 ogoni, lightning, south-east.

Ruma ni sang balu barani di dangsina, loadstone, south.

Ruma ni ronggu 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 2761/28) has ruma ni Sang Maisma di otara, cf. my Volksverhalen, no. 110.

Ruma ni songgot-songgot di irisani, 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. 276/23).
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 manahili, 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; sirakak 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; pangalulubang, the ghost who acts as a champion (ulubang) 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 pormanuhan) 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 of(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 poril ni rambu, the ‘substitutes’ for the five rambu mentioned above, but the names are somewhat different here, namely: batu holing, rambu panaluwan, rambu bisa, rambu sori and rambu mangal(m)bang.

a 26–28 Poda ni pormanuhan, 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 mohalangulu 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 sumbun di rungkung ni manuk, if the bracelet is around the cock’s neck.
Djaha golang-golang sumbun di pat ni manuk sihamun, if the bracelet is around the cock’s right leg.
Djaha golang-golang sumbun di patna sihambiring, 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 dipohalangulu 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 miyak, if the lamp-black or the oil is in the cock’s mouth.
Djaha manuk dipohalangulu imbuluni bea miyak, 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 dumalang toktohan silungduwa inang silumbane (?).
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Djaha dumatang na birangsa madabu do tu luabang (7). Djaha dumatang isosoxan tu tanoman (this paragraph is repeated, probably by mistake). Djaha imbulu ni manuk dohoi daroni djana mor-simbur-simbur daroni ija djana ronggang da matutang 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 pada 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: rumu 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 Grand sire 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. karma: who does not forget man's deeds in his previous incarnations. 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 cruz interpretum. Dr. Winkler took it to mean: 'hut', following Warneck's dictionary: laba-laba – bale-bale, 'ärmliches Strohhütten', 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.

Pormanuhon (manuk di ampang).

BAT. 38 (Cod. Bat. 12).

Bark book. 19 leaves, 11 \times 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 Kopenhagen 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 pormanuhan adji nangka piring na boru sinomba ma inon manuk laba-laba ni ompu(n)na batara guru doli na namo(ng)nong omas sada tapean tu tonga ni lautan rea ija mungbang ninna adji nangka piring mung-bang ma tutu tampil hinopola 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 runa beja di porhuddjain-djain dabocho hita marapot dohot djandji(n)na inon beja di panusuk huta rimbaru dabocho do mamora halak di huta inon beja di bisara na godang di hasuhuton na bolon dabocho do hita monang di hasuhuton inon beja di pangase uma dabocho do uma inon gabe beja di pandaga tuwangboru na so maranak beja di badjoan hita laho dabocho ma hita dapolon di porbadjoan asa i ma na toding gurungha radja so bali ni adji asa ra ma di ho aloi toga ni adji na mijaan di tano siregar asa ra ma di ho ale guru dairi ni adji bajo ompu radja manungsang ni adji datu na begu datu portandang tu huta ni halak dibahen portondjon garaparitaan (1. ganap ari ganap ton?) ale amang sitiwang na torop asa ro ma di ho ale anggi doli guru anggasa ni adji na mijaan di tano silanggor ma inon ale datu. Instructions about the oracle of the fowl Adjji Nangka Piring Nai Boru Sinomba, the twitching cock of our Grandsize Batara Guru the Male, that sinks a jarful of gold (tapean = Mal. tempayan, earthenware jar) in the middle of the ocean; if Adjji 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 Adjji Nangka Piring says he will live, he will certainly live. When somebody has a wound as small as the eye of a needle, if Adjji 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 soru 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 the 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 porsillian (a substitute must be given); one porhangkungan (success can be guaranteed); one parutangan (resulting in debt). 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 $3\frac{1}{4}$(of a buffalo, $3,\$) in an exceptional case a buffalo and a cow (paduwa lomba, $6,\$). The finger-ring (lintin, 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
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betel (dapuran, for the more common napuran, called si dejang taraloji, a name that is also found in the partadjomburikan; see above p. 50): 3 sorpikan ($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 BKJ 103 pp. 339 et sqq. and 105 pp. 111 et sqq.—The poda ni pangargai ni hasae na pitu in MS. Rotterdam, Ethn. Mus. 31079 gives a different rate. In a pustaha (no. 955) in the Horniman Museum, London, the prices are doubled ‘i ‘i ‘i 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 silungan dolok; rambu simanunggaling; rambu sinageduk.

b 12–17 Poda ni pamusatan ni manuk di ampong, instructions about the quintessence of the fowl in the basket. 8 paragraphs: djaha manuk marobo tu 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 dfolma ma inon ningon sahaba do goar ni halak dohot maramani dohot siaha dohot maro(m)puni asa mauli sadu 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-ka ma-ga-ta na-pa- wa; (left-hand side, from below): ra-nga-da-i-ula-i djaa-ja-sa. In the fifth group i is repeated instead of the obsolete nya.

There is a text on londung humala dfolma, “men’s talisman-divination” in MS. Paris, Musée de l’homme, no. 85.3.17.

b 19 glued to the cover.

Formanuhon; 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 (pandjahlai) 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–28th 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 x 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. 4½ 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); pangulabalang.

BAT. 41 (Cod. Bat. 16).
Bark book. 31 leaves, 10½ x 10½ 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 siagjan, O Siagian (a Toba-Batak marga).
Acquired by the library in 1951.

Subject: Divination by means of a cock (gorakgorakkan ni manuk): a charm (songon) against thieves; aggressive and defensive magic (pangulabalang, sipalimbar).

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 (*adjı 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 29–31 blank.

b 1–4 blank.

b 5–22 *Poda ni pangulubalang sihirik lumpat* (?reading very doubtful), about the *pangulubalang* ‘jumping cricket’. At the end on pp. 22 and 23 are some black drawings.


b 30–31 blank.

**Manuk gantung; panampuhi; pangarhari; pamanu 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 inscribed: 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 *pamanu 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. 23 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 pangaranai 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 Niapoon 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 borhah tijan tano pal(i)pi tijan lumban sitohang uruk mada a(le om)pu ng siwuwan ni na torop aza ulang ma ho (lupa a)le anggi doli di pada ni pamunu tanduk pinodah(on) ni hahamu bao ompu ni uhun 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 tolupulu, 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 pangalaha ni pa(mu)nu tan(dak) tu (hu)lu ni musunta, called at the end: pandjudjur ni rambu modom ni pamunu tandem 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 pang-gorda (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 mushia mapispis, 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 pamolong 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 alona, 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 tandak, 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 latap, 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.

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 ulaan ni gorak-gorahan pira ni manuk, tu por-siti rompar-rompar pe djadi, tu na mambahen pagar ni ina pe djadi, sandok ulaan ni manisiatjado gorak-gorahan pira ni manuk.
Ia porbagena: asa dilompa ma pira ni manuk i, hibal do diposombu. Dung masak, asa dibahen ma aek tu dosar barang tu saoan, tusi ma dirembe pira ni manuk i. Dung borgo asa dililik ma djolo langkat ni pira ni manuk i. Dung sun dililik asa dilangkati ma tutu. Dung i, asa dibuat ma idfuk, dibola ma pira ni manuk i, dililik datu i ma tutu barang aha na mandalang. Disi ma diboto datu na uli barang na roa. I ma ulaan 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

Pangarhari.
BAT. 43 (Nat. Mus. C 1516).
Bark book. 63 leaves, 6 x 3½-2½ 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.
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 abaranu, ..., 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'.

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:

*Di jaha dumatang manggarut barang sijambilo, if the patron gives us the egg whilst he is scratching his skin, or with his left hand...*

*Di jaha diloppa tinaru mallotuk djana humaritik hatani djana hobarobobob hatani, if the egg makes a cracking, rustling or bubbling sound whilst being boiled...*

*Di jaha rumia ni manuman-nunan, perhaps: if the egg breaks and the contents form various shapes in the water...*

*Di jaha bau mangaus(?), if it has a burnt(?) smell...*

*Di jaha malum baumi, if it has a fresh smell...*

*Di jaha bau migar, if it smells acid...*

*Di jaha nang marbau, if it has no smell at all...*

*Di jaha tinaru manrisan budjor nassa gandjang ni radjah, if the egg has a fissure as long as the human figure, from which the contents protrude...*

*Di jaha luha nahe ni radjah sijamun, if the right leg of the figure is wounded; ... sijambilo, the left leg; ... tulan, the bones (ribs?), right or left; ... binenge, the waist; ... bollokini, the stomach; ... kikik, the arm-pit; ... a(?),bora, the shoulder; ... borgokini, the neck; ... babahni, the mouth; a 63 glued to the cover.

b1 blank.

b2–38 Continuation of a 62: *di jaha luha igungni, if the nose is wounded; ... malani, the eyes; ... pingoloni, the ears; ... paralimbubuwan, the top of the head; di jaha tinaru suwang marhundulan, if the egg appears to have a (flat) base; di jaha dumatang sitapi na rumondok iya ma di hundulan songon tindukan ni djarum sina, if the sign sitapi
DIVINATION

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 mabanijan londi djana nang mapogu 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 erpegu, ‘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 one); war, etc. Several kinds of religious ceremonies are prescribed to avert evil omens, in some cases ‘andohar sijal’, in the hope that it may find acceptance.

b 39–41 The human figure that should be drawn or 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, manangkii ma hemu debata di toruh, humandul ma hamu debata (ai) tongah, asa turun ma hamu pangulabalangku, pangulabalang ni gurungku, pangulabalang ni pengarharikku sangke mangau ama ni manik mangimpal, asa mangimpal mongbol ma hamu, suwasa ma hamu na goring, tango ma hamu rambu sipatiga-tiga, djodiak tulak botara guru, porqis pogu, isijan buni londi, asa d(?)/dangkon ha ma runa ni parlaba-taban parshuiljan, ija dong do mraa bingkolang asa madete marosak ma hamu, (dja)ha suwada mara suwada bingkolang, asa manappak ma simogol. Ase ho ma dainang na podjudjung-djudjung na suwaw bunga-bunga mirah, na mapogukon na suwaw pagat ni onggang, na mardilahkon na suwaw dilah ni lajung, na marigungkon na suwaw ombauan sina, na marmahohen na suwaw panduja sarga, na marpinggolhon ombingan djawa, na marambuluhon na suwaw pidjar holing, na marhabongkon na suwaw pangaju, na marlajuon na suwaw pandji mejal-ajal, na marosangkon sisahang na uwaluh, na martolokon na suwaw baluran, na marbituhahon na suwaw tali donda di lautan, na marpusu-pusuhon na suwaw ponggung-ponggun, na marbilalangkon na suwaw pangga lijan-lijan, na marale-atekon na suwaw batu pasagi, na marorak-orakken na suwaw simumbumbak, na margilang-gilangkon na suwaw purul-purul, na marukkukkon na suwaw ulambu djati, na mardarokkon na suwaw bunga-bunga mirah, na martulankon na suwaw lintombu tunggal, na mar(no)hekcon na suwaw pandjabet koling, na mardjari-djarihon na suwaw porang nialis, na marisiklonkon na suwaw piso pornabung, asa podahon ham ma, nimu ompung nebata hosig-hosi, asa ulang ham mangomou u(lang) ham marmismis ulang ham manlanuh asa masintong pe gan si(b(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 pangulabalang, pangulabalang of my teacher, pangulabalang of my Releaser, (called) Sangke manga(h)i, 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 hill 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 ears, your tail resembles a fluttering streamer, your chin is *sisahang na uwaluh* (having eight gullies?)², your throat is like a drain, your bowels are like an anchor-cable at sea, your heart is like ......., your crawl 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.

³) 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, *Huta Batak maninggoring* p. 121: *sahang* = *labal* or *sangkan*, facing (the eight directions).

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**Parmunian; ari rodjang na pitu; si pinang rambe.**

BAT. 44 (Cod. Bat. 5).

Bark book. 41 leaves, 17¹/₄ × 5¹/₂ 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 princesoms.

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 parmuniyan ma inon pandjiahai 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: Dqaha di agoni mormuni sogot ro ma dorbija hu bana pangului pe soni do ija tonda borngin adong tahi ni na sadjubahon di na gulung 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 pormunian 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 uloon ni pormunian moto adong halak na djumpanan djea didokkon ma dirior datu pormunianna asa diboto barang aha haroanna barang aha por-silina asa diboto na djumpanan i paulionna. I ma uloon 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 pustaha on pormunian in Van der Tuuk’s collection (Cod. Or. 3464) begins: Poda ni pormunijanta ma inon di rumu ni halak djaha tihuus morpisip di rumu ni halak beja rangkop halak mohatalahata. 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 rangkđm, 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: Dqaha di adintija hita laddang sogot djahat, pangului maruli, tongarijan salang sae, gulung djampahan musu ma hita, bot djahat, ija pinangan ni arina bulung-bulung barangsi darambuskon, pilih mata mambuwat, mabanasi 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 balu porkas
mudaha sampetuwa boraspati madoras sihora sa-
musori samisara sangbinaja binafahon begu binaja-
kon adji ni halak binafahon utang ni ari utang ni
panorang sah mat 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, spills them on
the forefinger, stretches this finger forward seven
times, blows on it seven times, recites the incan-
tation seven times over the fingers and stretches
them forward. Han tuwan katebat, di suma tuwan
palekah, di angkara (sic) puwang putori hidjo, di
madaha tuwan sihuudi-huudi, di boraspati tuwan
sarindang-rindang, di sihora tuwan sidjamuning,
di samisara tuwan sithosa-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 differ-
ent version is given in the pustaha which has just
been cited on pormunian (Leiden Cod. Or. 3464).
Here the names for the (spirits of the) seven days
are: arintija katebat, suma si deang salebat, ang-
gara putori hidjo, muda morhata djadi, boraspati
sarindang-rindang, singkora si djamuning, sami-
sara 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 djahut, 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 un-
stuck.
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 guranta ase dimangsikon sijadim
ma di lapijanta inon ale amang guruwu, instruc-
tions 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 un-
known). 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 bundangan
ni radja bana ulang hita ra ijadjaradjari bonar pe
hatani ilat do uhurni mabirong ruponi magerer
matani tangga martring luhanu pisoni onggo do
madabu halangan bangke hapilini nidindjam pe
ra do djolma horbo halahinon lojo do gulkan lasina
hapilini djaha barita mago di biding lombang
di bona ni haju hapilini 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 porajja mago so mago
mamora so mamora bana tumaram mate anakini
pahiduwa daparsilihon ulos haholongan ni ale ase
mauli djaha (di) sahit botara guru manahiti ma-
dokah lang nibere binoba ni uhur ni tondi ro ho-
mani adji ni halak doambangi bani bulungudjan-
gan 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 de-
ceitful; 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.
adajak 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.
sibangguwa ni horbo ari i ale, buffalo is taboo on this day.
sibangguwa ni bos, iron is taboo.
guru ni ome, forbidden rice on the field.
guru ni lano, 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: sibangguwa ni djolma, man is taboo, e.g. BAT. 49 and 60 (Plate 16), Cat. Dublin pp. 71, 81; MS. Amsterdam A 4170d, 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 × 7 1/4 cm. Two wooden covers decorated with scratched figures. Karo-Batak spelling. Sikurún 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 pada-language with a few Karo words.
Acquired in 1937.
DIVINATION

Subject: A kind of divination called têndung. 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 (B.A.T. 46) has pieces of string to be grasped at random. That copy will be described next. In comparing the two copies we shall call B.A.T. 45: A and B.A.T. 46: B. C refers to a MS. in Cologne (see p. 179).

a 1–2 blank.

a 3, after a bindu: Djeta têrdjatab api na laga djahat djeta [baguda] di sakit b(e)gu nini na manakiti dêkêl sipatah na manakiti asa dibere di asi (l. asu) na birêng dêkêl dengke nidalang di alaman di bulung ni bagêl dabêre dê(m)pak nari i |||| djeta kita bingkas ku banaulu ni kalak marulih ma kita ulang malawên dj dêlita ija malawên agwan dêlita na lako mërbanuwu |||| djeta lako bingkas (l. bingkas) sarabakta ari pitu kita bingkas djahat ale gurunami na mërdjaga, if one seises 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 sipêsta, sipista or sipusta, Sim. and Tob. sapata, Skr. āpatha); 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 djeta têrdjatab and translate them where the meaning is more or less certain.

a 4 rungrung bahuta; drawing (b 20) with legend: aku debata rungrung bahuta badik 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 1/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 punggrung (l. punggur); (b 17) kalak mate dikadabut punggr djahat andiba datu, a person who dies by a falling branch; inauspicious. Cf. C a 27/b 13.

a 11 delêk simanabun; (b 16) aku debata ni gunung simanabun badik 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 lakal 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 sikurun followed by pënëngën (the Skr. virāma). In C a 21/b 19: arimo manangkap.

a 21 si dajang gapati; (b 11) aku ma debata ni si dambang gapaki badjik(ik) ma inzn 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: nanggapati birhala di ampuwan.

a 22 the name is missing; (b 10) very doubtful reading: aku ma debata karalingan dibëlit sa djahat. Cf. C a 19/b 21: kalak dibëlit 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 mësëng mate banigatang (l. bintang) bëlëkan; (b 8) aku debata bintang bëlëken 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 mësëng, a person dying in a fire.

a 27 nejur mërbëras; (b 7) aku debata njur mërëras 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 runah ni b(e)gu na mago-mago na mahzi; (b 6) aku na mago-mago di na malawën djahat andibah datu, (the ghost of) an unlucky person, inauspicious. Not in C.

a 31–32 blank.

a 33 putëri; (b 5) aku ma debata ni bënu ni dutëri (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 diikut kalak; (b 2) aku ma debata ni adj(i) badjik andibah datu diikut 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 diikut kalak, someone bound by another person.

a 39 dajang tamijan; (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 djiang, a burnt person, inauspicious. Cf. B VI; C a 11/b 29.
a 42 si dejang bēru ni adji pangutusan badjik. Cf. B XIV b; C a 10/b 30.
a 44 panēpa mate ma na upas utang djiang (obscure). Cf. B XIV a; C a 9/b 31.
a 45 kalak nitangkap buwoja djiang, a person seized by a crocodile, inauspicious. Cf. C a 8/b 32.
a 47 pulēri (again), brings good fortune. Cf. C a 7/b 33: bēru ni mangradja, the daughter of a king.
a 50 baringin matimbu djati (a fabulous banian-tree) badjik. Cf. B V; C a 5/b 35.
a 55–56 The beginning of the incantation (pēda ni pērmangmang 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 bēru (daughter), alin (?) and pangululabang of the tėndung, to the rambu (strings), kusip (small beads), simata (beads), mangsī (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 parom bunan. The first paragraph is: aku ma debata ikan raja diatas kuta ni musuh ija diatas kutata djiang ma inax 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 pērmesā (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 mērga 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.

q 1) In a Mandailing pustaha (Leiden Ethn. Mus. 741/7 a 46) simata ustp.

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 1/2 × 7 cm.

The spelling follows the same system as in the preceding copy; sikurán stands for u, è 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 tèndung 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 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: Pèda ni tèndungta na mèrgèrankèn tèndung (pa)rahu tinandangan barang kita mèrdjalan beja kita man-gali (for poda-language mangoli) barang tu-mèndungkèn parulihan beja tumèndungi pèrdjuma-wènta beja kita tumèndungi sakit na dèrsa na umbèlè(h) na manakiti pèlefèn ningèn mahuli dx dìdxèk tèndungta inxn asa k(i)ta lako diéntang kalak manambari ningèn mahuli dx tèndungta na mèrgèrankèn tèndung parahu tinandangan ma inxn pinèdah ni girunta guru pèrgaqx (l. pèr-gèğèh, poda-language porgogo?) datu sxdip ma guru ngeli pe mèdhah i datu sxdip aka da minèfèra ni i mama ninta datu mangguru pagijan pàgi 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 tèndung says it is auspicious we should go to treat a patient. The instructions come from a teacher called Datu Sèdíp (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 (tèndung), 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 (lit. annexe to a house). Then the datu addresses himself to Debata Kasi-kasi: if no evil threatens my patient, may he seize baringin tunuh (sic) djati, salahulan rumere, sêh (?) simanabun, baringin mèrbuwah, or dajang bêru sinambah ni batara guru. If danger threatens him, may he seize tanêh baruk, kalak mate di bajangên, or kalak mate di usungan.

Aku têranging sakanan kamu sou lêngka kabangkejan
Aku mangan nitêsês kamu sou lêngka lêsês.
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 kila mèrtanakên têndung têrdjabat kamara djali 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 pêrrangin 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 djàhat ma inxn tuwankan u(we) bah ale datu pagî, 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 djàhat; picture see b.
a 3 pxti...ba (?).
a 5 di mata ni bulan djàhat.
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 kêrdja djàhat 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 kêrdja djàhat.

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 djàhat, other people's lamp-black offering, inauspicious. Picture see b.
a 2 radja(h) ni têndung 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 têndung.
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 djàti badjik. (Skr. kumâra?). See I a 8.

V. 2 leaves.
a 2 baringin tumuh 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 baringën 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 kërdja (dja)hat ma inxn kawanku uwe bah. b 3 At the bottom of this page is the beginning of a third legend: aku ma debata ni putëri 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 buuta 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 buhata.


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 nang-gepati; legend belonging to the next page: arimo manangkap. X see V.

XI. 1 leaf. a godjah tamijang-tijang badjik. Cf. A a 39. b Drawing without a legend.

XII. 1 leaf. a bërma kamxtxri. b legend in a later handwriting: bërma kamxtxri 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 lëpas 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 bëru adji baijik. Cf. A a 42.

XV. 1 leaf. a bajo manandangi badjik. b baju (written with këbërëtën) manrandingi ba- djik.

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 kërdja 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 tumbah djati and salabalan rumere in the text, but simanabun (cf. A a 11) and baringin mërbuwah are missing (the tree on the picture XIII b might be the 'fruit-bearing banian-tree'); dajang bërú sinumbah ni batara guru is perhaps identical with XII a: bërma kamzetari, 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 tanëh baruk (barren ground?) and kalak mate di bajangén (a person who died in the stocks).

The agreement between the two books of têndung 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 djinudijung (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.
linangkap (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 sareh-roha.
parkahul ni tondung, other side: tondung subutan mula djiadi.
buwa manangkop, 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‘î-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.
radþa 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. 

Gurun simanabun, Mount (the Malay word is used) Simanabun. Cf. the incantation in B I, and A a 11.

Pungur 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.

Beringin tumbuh djati, the mythical banian-tree. It has little resemblance to a tree in this picture. Cf. A a 50 and B V.

Another Karo-Batak tendarung 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 tendarung ra. 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 tendarung ... (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 1/2 – 11 cm, some leaves smaller. Two wooden covers. Karo-Batak writing; sikurun stands for e and u, seldom for o. Karo-Batak language with many expressions from poda-language. The writing is well preserved, but many folds 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 Pëda ni katagahanta di kalak na têrêp pagija(n) datu gurunami (u)lang lupa di pëdah ni (gu)ru si kalêbe pagijan datu guru si katêbe kijan. Mesa di bulan si, ka, pahasada mërguru kambing ëja palêmukni, 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), mërsêba (kaba-kaba), metuna (goja), mërkata (rikrik), singa (arimo), kanija (kaliki).
The order of the alphabet is: a, ka, sa, pa, na, ga, da, dja, ta, ba, ja, ma, nga, uwa, la, nya, ra, i, u.
The end of this paragraph is: ale datu guru si mërdjaga-djaga lapihanta bangan ta(m)bær lungunna na(m)bær ale masuwi na(m)bær kakapan matahut o silih si mërdjaga. For bangan-ban, cf. p. 89.

a 30–34 Pëda ni përshili i përëmsa sampulu duwa asa nipëdahkan guru(n)ta kaka panawar kuta li-buru ki asa nisu(n)kun agina panawar rumah bale bapana bëru radja manggisa asa ras silihna purba mërgana mërgërankën si so gëm....be asa ena ma kata-kata për(i)hi ni për(mesa) na so lëbëh na so kurang nina guru(n)ta ale. Instructions about the substitutes to be given to the 12 përëmsa. What is said about the origin of these instructions is not clear. Kuta Li(m)bær 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)buwu ijarik tëm-tëm buntal përshili ni parangan dë biulan sipakašën radjahna ma inxn, a shield made of a tiger's hide, a dagger, and the thorn of a boxfish 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 pangurdaha combined with the 8 points of the compass. The same kind of illustrations. The last paragraph is: Rangin bakul-bakul ijarik buntal përshili ni parangënta si wulah desa pangalako ni pangurduha se lëngka përkerëjërkën 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 këlika with figures with and
DIVINATION

without heads, called ketika Djoehor 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 pérnamis arranged in five different ways on its back.
b 2 A diagram of 7 x 7 sections, all containing the letter nga, some forward, some backward.
b 3 A diagram of 4 x 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a (6)</th>
<th>ba (2)</th>
<th>pa (7)</th>
<th>na (5)</th>
<th>wa (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma (5)</td>
<td>ta (4)</td>
<td>sa (4)</td>
<td>ja (9)</td>
<td>da (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra (2)</td>
<td>ga (8)</td>
<td>dja (7)</td>
<td>la (3)</td>
<td>nga (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka (6)</td>
<td>i (1)</td>
<td>u (1)</td>
<td>nja (5)</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table belongs to the following text:
b 4–12 Pêda ni rosia(n)la di kamusuhan inxi asa sipasang kata-kata nu rosijanta si mëlh mura si mëlh kita mënang si mëlh kita talu asa sirasi-kën kita guru ras sukut ras anak bëru na ras musuhta asa sitënggër ma lëbe pangidahanta asa kita lako mër(pë)rangkën musuhta asa ulang lupa pêdah ni guru(n)ta si(m)biring mëragna ni tanëh si nën kita nari si bëlang përdalan ni tanëh pakpak nari maba-maba ate masuai so (written su) téralak 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 bëru (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 mërga Simbirng from Si Nëm 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 rosia is described in Neumann’s dictionary s.v. rosia: 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 dëkët na siwah talu na uwaluh di(ba)-kën na siwah bangan ajam-(a)jam(?) sakuta... na silih guru pak(pak?) asa rêh ma (n)dube ku tanëh kubu asa (n)imangisikën silih si(m)biring mëragna 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 mërga Simbirng 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 (mukaménat, Muhammad).
b 17–23 Pêda ni tabas ni panggurduha beja di bulan sapulu duwa beja di pérnamis beja di raksatunggal beja ari rêngang beja di ari si pita beja uwari rxta(?) asa ena ma tabasna managuta
(I. man gurunta?) nini bapa rungajan pang(ut)u
suka na mérkandu-kandukën bapa djinañin asa
nisusurkënnu tu kaka tabo asa nisungkun?
panawar bapa na(ng)gil nimangsikën ma (n)dube
tanëh kubu asa ni rumah bale mérpuwangkë
sith bapa malih kade ma dija pangguru o sithi
nina anak si(m)biring mérguna malahal kidah
kakapan nibahan lahang bëlah ngalakën kala
enya ma tabasna ma inxn 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 en-
emy. The chain of transmission gives some names
that were not mentioned before but it ends again
in the place called Kubu.

b 23–26 Pëda ni sipëljah përang di kasukutan na
bëlhë (written with the Toba-Batak sign for u
in the first and sikurë in the second syllable), about
sipëljah përang, some kind of protective magic
(to break (pëljah) the enemy’s line of battle?)
to be used in war; the ingredients and the incan-
tation; followed by pëda ni lëpsung idap ni sipëljah
përang, ‘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 Kate-
bat bulu manuk magara badja m(i)nakh.
Tuwan Sidjamuning rimo mungkur ale.
Tuwan Saudji-udji bëdja minak piti bëllo sinu-
bul(?)
Tuwan Sari(n)ang ri(n)dang bëdja minak ale.
Tuwan Sausah-usah bëdja minak radang marijën
um(bu)-umbuwuan ale.
Tuwan Saudjoh-udjoh(?) bëdja minak ale gur-
numi.
Tuwan Putëri dan baljir tu panurungi sangkaba-
bah dëmpak utara kita nabasina 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: përmamis. On p. a 4 is a
diagram of 5 × 5 sections with the initial letters of
the names of the five përmamis. 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 mëpërangkën musuh di mamis di
përba sëri ni katika di (pus)timä gëraka 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 përmamis.

b 41 glued to the cover.

b 36–34 Pëda ni ra(n)bu përlako ni ra(n)bu
sikabang-kabang, the revolution of the rambu
sikabang-kabang, indicating its compass position
for every day of the month.

b 33–31 Pëda ni parëmbunanta di kasukutan na
bëlhë, on the ominous meaning of clouds in war-
time (without illustrations). Cf. Index s.v. parom-
bunah.

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 wood-
en 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.

1–24 Poda ni ari rodjang ma inon na marhasomankon 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 suniṣa (Skr. sāṇya, empty) and puniṣa (Skr. pūṇya, 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:

Ja ualon ni ari rodjang, molo halak laho mordalan barang laho mangoli barang laho mortunggu barang laho mortiga-tiga ditilik ma i; disi ma dibzio na penggan barang na dae. Molo tole ma ibana borhat dibahen ma pangalomuk dohot panahut. I ma ualon 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 pana-hut (deterrent) are indicated, but only pinangan ni 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, BKL 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. lemu, cow. The Malay lists I have consulted are:


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.


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. kuljing, 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. śunya, 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).  
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.

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 adintja ni pollak ari huda ari inon girah do hita mulak ifa pinangan ni arini ambili pitu dongan lapok (l. lapang) ni ome dongan boras dongan batu di tongh ni eek dongan urat ni padang togh 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 *todjak*, 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.


3. *Ari singa ari babujut*, lion or tiger; B *mira* (? probably corrupt); D *babijat*, tiger. Malay *harimau*, tiger.

4. *Ari sanga* (l. *singa*? but cf. 26) *ari huting ari sampe*, lion(?), cat or ?; B *huting*; D *simpe*. Malay *kuljing*, cat. For *sampe* or *simpe* cf. 5.

5. *Ari singa ari sampe*, lion or ?; B *singa*; D *simpe*, (si)nga. Malay *simpai*, a monkey, see above.


8. A *marguru lombu*, ruled by the cow; B no name; D *ari na somotan* ? Malay *lembu*, cow.


11. A *marguru bintang*, ruled by the moon (bin*tang*, star, in Simalungan—moon); B *simboling* ?; 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.


15. A *ari ihan*, fish; B *hidjang*, barking-deer (cf. 2); D *singa* (cf. 14). Malay *ikan*, fish.


17. A *ari mena*, Pisces; B missing; D *hole*, a tree,
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, *trulak pukang*, ilium.

27. A *morguru mena*, ruled by Pisces; B *halu* (for *hantu*? cf. 20); D *olang* (Malay, kite, cf. 17), *ulat*, worm; K *panah*, arrow, cf. 30; Malay *ulat*, worm?

28. A *morguru 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 tamaming*, 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 *naksatra* list there is a word meaning arrow on the 8th day.

24–28 Two tables of lucky and unlucky moments on the seven days of the week.

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 anggora Tuwan Sarindang-rindang di daksina dagalangkon.*

*Ija di mudaha Tuwan Sihudji-hudji di nariti nagalangkon.*

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 *hari*, 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 *morguru maradjia hita* ?; B missing; D *rijai*.. (last letter illegible); K *djelma*, man (cf. 22). Malay *harang*, charcoal.

22. A *morguru poja*, ruled by the swamp; B missing; D *arijar* ?; K *orang* (cf. 21). Malay orang, man, or *udang*, shrimp.

23. A *morguru morti ari lomos ari huda*. The word *morti* may be corrupted from *mortika*, Scorpio; *lomos* means fearful; *huda*, horse (cf. 1); B missing; D lomos; K timbangang, scales (translation of *tola*, Libra). Malay *belolang*, 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 *morguru ma mesa ari samsam*, ruled by (?) Aries (mesa); the word samsam is not in the dictionaries; B pasak, peg; D pasak; K *perkis*, ant. Malay pasak, peg.
DIVINATION

Ija di borospati 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 Mudjadjii 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 princedom 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 (kelika Djobohor, see BAT. 32, cover). b 35–27 Drawing of pane bolon (2 pages), followed by a list of possible circumstances in this divination (pandjhai) 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 pamesa (signs of the zodiac) with clumsy drawings. On the right half of pp. 20–25, in the opposite direction, the panggora; 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 hjorbo sampohul dapot ma mufsulta na malimbei3 pordalan/ni ale amang garunamije pagi.
djaha his2ta mordjalan hu (ba)nuwa/ni halak di singkora purasa ari gadjeh marguru maka hu2-lang be h[ita laho di noriti gorahanidiri risanni sori ija pina/ning ni arini hubang dongan bu/nga-bunga dongan rudang dengan batu/ale amang datu na mangadjije pagiyan.
djaha hita mordjalan hu banuwa ni/l halak di samisara purasa ari/rdja ari inon marulih ma hita /samuwana ma halak mako[s]h di h[ita di daksina gorahanidji jota sori ija pinangan ni arini ullop wu[pok ni padang to]guh dongan bunga-bunga
mirah dapot/niusunata na teppang ale amang datu.

Djaka kalak rēk kēna di irisan nari, if a visitor

\textsuperscript{1} At the other side we find paragraphs beginning:

Djaka kalak rēk kēna di irisan nari, if a visitor

\textsuperscript{2} come from the north-east, and likewise for the

\textsuperscript{3} other directions.

\textsuperscript{4} An incantation begins: \textit{edi ma tabasna pagajan:

\textsuperscript{5} ung bissumirlah irraham dirahim}, this is the in-

\textsuperscript{6} cantation to be used: Oṁ, bismillāhi ‘r-rahmāni

\textsuperscript{7} ‘r-rahim. \textit{Edi}, according to Neumaan, is a dialect

\textsuperscript{8} word of Gunung-gunung and Kēmbarēn, meaning

\textsuperscript{9} ‘this’.

\textsuperscript{10} Other paragraph headings are: \textit{Pēda ni subutan kita laku mērdjalan pagajan: bissumirlah...}, in-

\textsuperscript{11} structions for a charm to be used when we go

\textsuperscript{12} travelling: Bismillāhi..., and: \textit{Pēda ni kata-kata

\textsuperscript{13} ni pagar adji malim}, about the protective magic
called Adjī Malim. This \textit{pagar} is also the subject

\textsuperscript{14} of MSS. Amsterdam A 4152 d and Paris, Musée
de l’homme no. 85.3.2.

\textbf{Ari rodjang; pagar.}

\textit{BAT}. 49 (Nat. Mus. C 1520).

A small bark book, badly damaged by wear and

\textsuperscript{15} tear. 30 leaves, c. \(6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\) cm. No covers. Ink of

\textsuperscript{16} poor quality. Karo-Batak spelling with sikurdn for

\textsuperscript{17} both \(u\) and \(e\). As only disconnected pieces of text

\textsuperscript{18} can be deciphered no regular description of the

\textsuperscript{19} 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.

\textsuperscript{20} Some beginnings of paragraphs are: \textit{Pēd(ah n)i

\textsuperscript{21} kata-kata ni (pa)nđjakai uware rodjang}, a table

\textsuperscript{22} of the rēdjang days. Cf. \textit{BAT}. 48. It is peculiar to

\textsuperscript{23} find this word spelt \textit{rodjang} in Karo-Batak, where

\textsuperscript{24} one would expect to find \textit{rēdjang} as in Malay.

\textsuperscript{25} Another paragraph begins without a title: \textit{Ija di

\textsuperscript{26} adintija sibangguwa ni djēlma}, on Sunday man

\textsuperscript{27} is taboo. Cf. \textit{BAT}. 46 and 60. At the end of this

\textsuperscript{28} side there are some drawings of the points of the

\textsuperscript{29} compass.
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 boraspai ni poltak ari singa djaha hita noldjalan-djalan maruli ma hita wulang* (Simalungun spelling for ulang) *simbe panorangla tongarijan* (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(r)i, 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 *dalat*, 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 lack 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. 11¹/₄ × 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 panusatan ni panggaroda*, the quintessence of the oracle of the 8 *panggorda* (see Winkler, index s. v.) with small figures. The word is consistently spelt *panggaroda*, and as this form is found in some other pastahs and the word is derived from Skr. *garuda*, this is probably not a mistake but an alternative form.

a 20–27 *Poda ni panusatan 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 panusatan ni pormesa na sampulu* (sic for *sampulu*) *dawa*, 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 umbulo musu bingkas*, to find the auspicious moment for the beginning of an expedition by consulting the *pormamis*.

b 29–31 *Poda ni penogu-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.**

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.**

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, *Batakisch Leesboek*, II p. 105.

**Përmasis.**

BAT. 56 (Nat. Mus. C 1416).
Bamboo box with wooden cover. $23 \times 4$ cm (with the cover). Genuine, perhaps old specimen. Blackened by smoke. Acquired in 1907–08.
Karo-Batak writing. Table of the *përmasis* consisting of a square with $5 \times 5$ 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). *Përmasa* (signs of the zodiac), etc.

**Përmasis.**

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 *përmasis*, 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, $33 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ 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 Simarangkir. 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 Tumanggu 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 Tanggal, whose sons were Radja Solobean and his two brothers Ompun Tuan Djojor (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 chiefstain 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 aru todo-todo poda ni panumpuan 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 panaranan ni anak panaranan ni ha'ti djumadilidjan 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 sitiga 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. sibangguwa ni djolma inon, on this day man is taboo.
2. sibangguwa ni siopat pat, on this day quadrupeds are taboo.
3. sibangguwa ni bos ma inon, on this day iron is taboo.
4. sibangguwa ni ulos, on this day cloth is taboo.
5. sibangguwa ni eme, on this day paddy is taboo.
6. sibangguwa ni mas ma i, on this day gold is taboo.
7. sibangguwa 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 hortak di lautun sabulan nai ro ma gora tu halahi sahit kapilingna*, i.e. if, on the first day of the month, Naga Lumeang (the Hovering Dragon) is at the bathingplace, together with Papa di Hortak di lautun (? otherwise unknown), in one month misfortune will come to those people, or otherwise illness. *Di boraspati ni pollak do si papa di hortak (sic) di lautun mangan naga lumeang di longa djabu sabulan nai ro ma gora sahit tu halahi ago(a)n hapilingna ale amang su(h)ultami*, 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 kérbo).**

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. 63 (Nat. Mus. C 6448). Broken, and one half lost. 18 × 3 1/4 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 hamiscan (-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 *taoor na pitu hali taor*. For the distinction between *tambar* and *taoor* see Winkler p. 96 et seqq. In some regions, e.g. in Simalungun, *tambar* is the common word for an ordinary medicine (called daon in Toba), whilst *tauar* is an antidote against magical poisons. But in this text both *tambar* and *taoor* are magic medicines, and so probably Winkler's distinction holds good here: *tambar* is used against the kind of poison called *visa* and *taoor* against *resun*. *Taoor* is an alternative form of the word *taoor*. The instructions are from Guru Setan ni adji to Guru Piongot ni adji to Guru Pangaluan ni adji in Lumban Ina-in. (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: *arla 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 taoor na pitu hali taor*, about the *taoor* 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 hasilatan*, the quintessence about a medicine which cannot be superceded by any inimical magic. On p. 32 the *dalu* says: *ija so dilehon upanta tapaneekon 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 *taoor* 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 × 15½ 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 pangulabalan, but from p. a 6 onwards the subject of the text is tambar, medicine. On p. a 16 there is a poda ni tambarla, instructions about our medicine, which begins with a chain of transmission. The following words can still be read: i ma salusu na todung urang ra asa ro .... guru sunggu na mian 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 margha), 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 Kuaiu river belongs to the territory of the marga Pasaribu, so it seems very probable that this pustaha does indeed come from the Kuaiu 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 djuhul 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 pormunian nipi na sambor ma inon ale guru manarsar ni adji barang halak djumpanan bandedi barang ulok di sombaon na laga barang babi harom barang asu harom barang man-nuk sumopsop pirana barang amporik mararsar 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 sjuj haroon ni asa mauli ija so do dipangan inon djaaoat 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 pangutai (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 radjaradjaan ni daon burnung ma inon ale datu i do tabasni i do podani ija burnung ni horbo laho tu babak ija burnung ni foda laho tu ursa ija burnung ni lombu laho tu bedu ija burnung ni bali laho tu aili ija burnung ni asu laho tu bungaihur ija burnung ni hating laho tu tampulak ija burnung ni djolma laho tu pongkalan asa tarsangkil torpilit ma ho burnung isumana 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 tiger cat, 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 lanjil, the slanting banian-tree in the sky, is accompanied by a small illustration.

b 26 A divination-table (hatiha) of 7 x 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, $8^1/2 \times 8$ cm); one of
thicker bark (1 + 15 leaves, 7-8 x 8 1/2 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. Gronbech, 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 x 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. gilitin = giling; for -t (lumat = lumat); for -k (itok = 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 sitorulawanku; 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 sipanalum 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 panambari. This is followed by the text of the incantation.
a 29–34 Poda ni tambarta tambar ni sahlit antari, on a medicine against antari. 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 sibottang 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 sibottang panggu harmless.
b 12–18 Poda ni paranggironta ... 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 dasuro ma saborning 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.

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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 manok (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.

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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 balijie(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 sna 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 sisejanka, 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 na 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 kthir 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.

b 1–15 The text begins abruptly in the middle of an enumeration of ingredients for a tawar, probably called minak londi sambah, 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..., oq! 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 mangoboli...). 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 tondang 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 sikurân for both u and è; 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: Pèdah ni tawar bugang beja kalak këna bèdil beja kalak këna lëmbing asa sipadabuh tawarta inan rêh bapa kuta buluh asa rêh bapa amun pantjari ëmas ni tanëh këmbaran
MEDICINE

surbakti mërga sibuwe ladingan 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 Këmbarën, a man of the mërga 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 bërusumirlah irahmani rahim ung bëru sandana bëru sandana inggap di batagina ko na kaju dudal[mu] mulamu djadi anak ni tuwan radja bëndahari këmpu ni tuwan rubijah tabuh ni bobo ni tapijan lëbe anak bëru sangkan anak laki lubuh ma kape sidibëru rëmbang di bëlah purna asa tabuh ma kape sidilaki rëmbang di tula bëntjar mata ni ari asa nigëran na(n)dena sidibëru si bëru dajang angge-angge asa digëran na(n)dena sidilaki tuwan sajih muda kaju dudal mulamu djadi anak ni tuwan radja bëndahari këmpu ni tuwan rubijah asa mërturang dx kita alo tuwan sajih muda tabwar bisa ni turang(n)du alo bëru dajang angge-angge mërturang dx kita tabwar ipuh sigira-gira tabwar ipuh ramin tabwar ipuh dakanan tabwar ipuh matah tabwar ipuh mirah tabwar ipuh putih tabwar ipuh itam tabwar ipuh tabwar ipuh matu tabwar ipuh da-

wan tabwar ni(n)ta tabwar nina malum ni(n)ta ma-

lam nina malum sakalijan ni(n)ta pagijn. The

incantation speaks of a sister and brother, children of Tuwan Radja Bëndahari, grandchildren of Tu-

wan Rubijah; their origin is the dudal tree. Their

mother gives them names: si Bëru Dajang Angge-

änge 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 përmamis.

The text of the two pages reproduced in Plate 27 is:

tu dëngan sira pitu kalï/pitu dëngan kapur sakupang/
dëngan tinaruh ni manuk/putih têlu kibul dëngä/n
bauw-bauwuan ni djawi l/ëmbal ija gënhë kësa/ja
inxn giling tërłuma/l kijan asa dobxrëbxr/tinaruh
inxn si magër/singna dabuwaat si bën/larna djadi
pando(m)pëlna/za dabuh di pit(ng)gan putih/dëkël
jëi(m)pa ni si sarangsong/sagantang asa dabadjäji-
mina/ki dipulpul-tabasi dëmpak katika manggeluh/
asa sibuligakën ma sa/lada sulah lima puluh ku/rang
duwa bahan deba ma saabal/abal ni tanganta datu
pë/dah ma inxn asa dieënka/ën ni bë(na) ni ingil-
ingil/dëngan tinaruh bëlïjë galuh/badjä minak
përsëma(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 nobuwa

ma pulunganni langkitang sada..., instructions

about the prescription for a medicine against dis-

eases 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.
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 repertoires of laments 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 kana pana kana kana raneh man haru karinga
kana kana kana kana kana kana kana redana, 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 sēngawan man tuldak ingan sinim-
bēk pērtēnunan... 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 bəngin musu arjan na maramahon dating do aku na maringan di sopipil na so marhuta na so maralanan na dung mulak do uhun ni radja indodong 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 him self 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 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 1/2 lines of Karo-Batak writing. The sign for ḍ 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 'mantri 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) kulja(ṅ)gun(g) nina si Ngañai sabap upahku ngērēme la aku ngalari Sibajak Djégorap, nai pe ēnggo aku ēngga(n)-lung surat, asa gu(n)da(ri) pe lana niēmbah-k(ṉ)nā galanna (l. galarna) ba(ṅ)ku nina si Ngañai, e(n)da pudunku ē(m)pat bërni, de la kīn niē(m)bahkēn Sēbajak Djégorap galanna (l. galarna) ba(ṅ)ku nina si Ngañai, bitjara me rēdalan, dju(m)pa aku si ba(n)lji nasuluh kusułuh, dju(m) pa aku djēma, djēma kubunuh. Upah kalak ngē(m)bahkēn surat duwa pulah.

Translation: This is a letter I hang up, so says si Ngañai, because my wages for 'soaking' are not paid to me by the Sibayak (chief) of Udjing Gorap. I have already hung up a letter once before, but until now he has not brought me the payment, so says si Ngañai; now I put my limit at four nights; if the Sibayak of Udjing Gorap does not bring me his payment (before the end of this time), so says si Ngañai, 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).
Djëgorap could also be the Siabak's name, but the Malay translation has Udjun gor. If this is correct, it must be the name of a place, and Djëgorap must be a shortened colloquial form.

A small but interesting problem is the meaning of the word ngërême, that indicates the kind of work for which payment is demanded by the author of the letter. According to the Karo-Batak dictionaries by Jonstra and Neumann, there are two homonymous words réme, one meaning small-pox, and the other the stem of a verb meaning to soak. The Malay translation has: oepab 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 ngërême. Names for small-pox are often taboo-substitutes, and the original meaning of réme, 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 me rédalan' is: custom is that, going. For érdalan (or érdalin in the dialect of the Karo-plateau) meaning: 'to have its way'. Mr. Van den Berg gave me the example: aturén radja-radja érdalin, 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-luh, 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 bërngi,
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 × 31/2 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 tuwannani datok ponsan radja di topi angkup ni humondur ponsan ija boli 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. 301/2 × 51/2 cm. Text: ahu surat ni guru manungsaung 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 naigong do ahu… (the remainder is illegible). A letter from Guru Manungsaung 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 tawan rasiden na di ponsan hatongos hamu surat naenganon mangido sruammu ro tu silindung manolongi hamu pauli uhni i inda ro ija i pe tuan nungma sappe mate radja ompu ni manonggara dibunu halak di panyariibuan dipangan di silindung pe tuan nungna halak masihatan di pudi ni surat na hatongos hamu i i i pe tuan ija so hatop ro niolat ni tuja tongos surat tu hamu pabo(a) na sa dipagang ho silindung alat songoni pe i nadong do podan di ponsan dohot tuan djuris dohot tuan rasiden air bangi na pinangan horbo parpadanan susa di silindung susa na gumponi nannon susa di silindung ro ahu manopot ho hutongos dohot surat paboahon na masibunuan di silindung indadong ra ho manolongi hamu manguhum parhataan ni halak ija i pe ija na sa tohas suratnami naingnon tongos surat tu hamu 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 Pangeribuan 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, 23½ × 3½ and 21 × 2½ cm.

Bound together with a string made of the fibre of the sugar-palm. Acquired in 1987.

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 pamaubui 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 siraran pusuk dohot pusuk ni simanganggali dongan pusuk ni simorangkop-langkop ulang hurang ulang lobi asa dashatton ma sibijangsa panuluan dohot pandalo ni onggang dongan damar dohot haminagun dongan ambalo dongan panlis dohot puli asa dashatton ma ganup sondi-(26)sondini asa dalangkopi ma di bulung ni andulpak niraigawal asa simbo-simbona inon asa pandal ma panangkopini asa dapaas ak mu lu ni musun inon di bulu parapat na pungguron sada lampis di songkri na suwak dohot di andalu na tarulang pula do gandjangni na mamunuk buhu na mate dibahon(?) asa dabisi ma di munuk hubu……….. ambu-ambuwan indahan……….. dohot nitak dohot sugu-sagu tombal ija arini di arin na topik di(?) dalom bulan pe boti do asa daahon(?) ma tu pangulubalang pamuhuinta inon dohot bulan(?) masitaugapan(?) ma dabahon dohot ari dohot pormesa dohot panggord ma dohot pormasim 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 ompa 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 panggorda 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 hapoltong ha tutupan ma ho [hatin] hatindijan ma ho musungku so marusap so mormuni mate mona mate moni lusut di ambalalungung madabu di patala djonggi ma ho hira-hira ni musungku ro di pahompungku. Ija dung do dat(?)onai asa daguwal ma gondang pitu hali dude asa morsarama ma hita asa dadabu ma tu lubang tano tahalkalal 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 datapami. Djaha maguling tu sihambirang beja tu djolo-djolo monang ma hita di hasuhuton inon. Ija dung do asa dasangkopi ma di duri asa datanomi ma asa daradjia ma uvalu desa di anduri dohot tano (28) asa dapatal ma porbe na bontar di sihamun hinunihin di sihambirang badja dohot minak dohot napuran sada be porbe inon ija torang do arin asa dallig ma ija tu sihambirang do porbe inon laho talu ma hita ija tu adopanta do laho porbe inon lodja palaho pordjuhut do hita ija tu sihamun do monang ma hita beja badja beja minak beja napuran ale datapami. Ija hita umbahon umpasak ulu ni musunta asa dapanon ma bosi sawang agat djop ma dabahon ija di toru ni datapumpa
ma saringgupan simorhikh 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 dumpongan ni adji. (Drawing of a quadruped).


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 Manadaling’, as Van der Tuuk calls them.

ari asa baba ma tu rumah 11 dijan datas ni 16 pagar 16 daku(n)duli ma patna manungkuni ulu ni musunta ale datu gurunami. Djaka kita dapatan di bulan sipakalima sarai ma djolo di balijan ija dung do andjaki asa porkor-in korinkan ma djolo tu djahe tu djulu asa pabongot tu rumah dompak kuta ni musunta 17 ija didatas pagar ma ulu-ulu ni musunta asa bokita ma djolo tibali 17 di manuk so langkah lalu mornakan mornitak matsh morboras banu budja minak asa tanom ma 18 manuk inon di batang buruk dung dapsalitkon buruk ma ko musuhu buku ma ko musuhu ninta ale datu. Djaka kita dapatan di bulan sipakaonom bitukani ma djo(lo) tu rumah dasong-song ma djolo babahna di buluh parapat beja di bulung ni tutup porti ija so do bitukana datondol ma ulu ni musunta didatas 19 pagar dasurakkon disionon ma dasungkuni ro di rumah buku ma ko musu(h)ku ninta ale datu gurunami. Djaka kita dapatan di bulan sipakapitu pinggolna ma djolo tu rumah datanomkon ma djolo di toruh ni balatuk rumah ni suktu di balijan do ulu-ulu ni musunta sada borungin di tanoh mate sada borungin patlindang ma djo(lo) kaju ni podompodom di babo ni ulu-ulu inon datamoni di batang-batang buruk sada borungin tanganna ma daku(n)duli manungkuni ale. Djaka kita dapatan di bulan sipakauvaluwh 20 djukutna ma djolo boban tu rumah 21 di balijan do ulu-uluni sada borungin 22 asa palit ma di daroh ni debata asa pabongot tu rumah asa sungkuni di rumah ale datu. Djaka kita dapatan di bulan sipakasivah silekon ma djolo napuran di balijan timan toruh ni panungkowan ulu ni musunta djaridjarina ma djolo (si)ku(n)duli manungkuni ale Kail ni adji. Djaka kita dapatan di bulan sipakasampuluh datutupi ma djolo matani sikamun di bulung bidalang 23 badjora bunikon ma djolo buknik (di) na sahe 23 ale datu. Djaka kita dapatan di bulan li tangtang tangkukuk 24 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 Dadiru suwada aku lupa di podah inon. — — —. Podा ni panungkuni ulu-ulu ni musuhta barang dung ma dapatan paranganta dung di porsipanomtan 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) ontakon badja minak ma dokot dahupa dokot rangin dokot gi(n)torang tangting asa ontakon 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 sonders di rumah asa tidindi ma di gi(n)torang djangan asa tataja ma di alaman asa dagasingkon ma dompak desa na mate inon asa tonggor ma karorobo ni ni 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 baritamu kaputusan lihir asa ko katalpokan kiti kako-kako kasoranen 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).
Poda ni pa(nung)kuni ulu-ulu ni musuhta barang dung ma dapotan paranganta todning porentoman nari asa sungk(uni) ma ulu-ulu inon asa sungkuni barita ma ulu-ulu inon barang ro ma paranganta todning porentoman nari morboban ulu-ulu ni musuhta asa paima di[ra] porpada-ngan ontakon rangin babujut dokot songkir na suwak dokot badja minak boras banua (sa)put ma di ulos ni na mate inon napuran sada karoi(pit) dongo 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 tinidhi di rangin babujut di rumah asa sungkuni barita di alaman asa gasing-kon 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 morba-ring-barininggan di tongah ni portibi baritamu kaputusan di ari ma ko katalpokan kites asa ko katorbanan dolok simanabun asa ko kabolonan ajok kako kako asa ko kusipat di kaju pasagi dormae(?) simandakuwe kulakon simandakuwe
Mokumunu nungu ngendungan ngendungan makatlongkong makatlongkong majukakal. 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 kaholo-
an ajok kako asa ko kusipat di kaju pasagi
dormae simandakwe kumari kumari simanda-
kuwe ninta manu(ng)kuni ulu-ulu ni musuha
barang dung ma dapotan paranganta toding por-
pantoman nari ulang lupa di podah ni gurumu
ale guru manalom (sa)ngap andiba ko(?) datu-
nami 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)or-
mamu mate sinontangmu mate si manontang ko
mate kokom ma ko musungku si anu mate sima-
gandungkuwe ini ma(?) pinorsintamu baing
na sor pinorsintamu aka pinorsintamu boras ni
gala-gala pinorsintamu aka pinorsintamu boras ni
bungbung do kapeja pinorsintamu aka pinor-
sintamu badja minak boras banu do kapeja pi-
norsintamu napuran do kapeja pinorsintamu asa
ko kusipat ni kaju pasagi dorma dorma sipan-
dakwe kaputusan di ari kaputusan kosah mate si-
nontangmu domu na ma ko mate mona mate moni
ma ko musuhku si anu asa katompowan dolok
simanabun kadondonan debata sitompo langit
katindjian 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 por-
dompanak ni ulu-ulu ni musuha 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
musuha barang dung ma dapotan paranganta
laho bingkas asa dabuwat ma boras ni latujung
boras ni kimang pe mauli dongan bulung ni tu-
tup portibi pistikon tabasna ma inon ija por-
pangiranna dipantil ni (ping?) gan ma dabakon
ija portabasta napuran in(on ma?) ale gurunami
olo amangnami andiba. Surung ma ko pangulu-
balang ni gurungku pangulubalangku pangulu-
balang ni pangir ni ulu-ulu ama ni katutupan
kapolnatan ina ni katutupan kapolnatan batara
si katutupan kapolnatan surung katutupan kapol-
natan 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 tudang marusap
fidang mormuni (djaka) marusap mormuni ka-
tindijan pustaka djati ma ko kira-kira ni musuh-
ku kadabuwan punggur labuh ma ko kira-kira
ni musuhku si anu so mo lu surung bunuh
ninta mortabas ale guru.

Asa palu ma[a]ma] di songkir na suwak ija[ija]
dung do palu asa da[a]kapit ma asa baling ma
asa sungkuni ma asa gariljankon ma ija so do
mauli asa daukali ma dakapit asa daukkakon ma
ningon ba(?) ge(?) kapatena do asa patadi datu
ghuru disi ma dabothok kalak ra bu(?)kuwan dokot
so ra disi ma datonggor kasukoton mordijja
dokot so mordijja asa antari ma di manuk buruk
sopang di nakan salusung dongan ombu-ombu-
wan (t)omboal dongan ditak m...... dongan rond-
dang dongan sipora bosih di langki binoon
dongan boras (ba)nu badja minak napuran ija
pangantari(n)ta saput ni pangulubalang tombl
dongan andiru talkas-talkas dongan tanduk do-
gen pola di limas lajo di limas ija dung do lukut
asa antari ma di alaman asa pijo ma tondi
musuha dokot tondi ni kapungha ija dung do
simangmangkon asa sitonon 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 pakaupa-kaup. Ija sumpol ni babahna bulung ni pagom-pagom dokot bulung ni podom-podom ija tutup ni kalibubuna bulung ni kalibangbang 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 ulubalang buluh parapat ma dapasokkon di kalibubuna radjahekon 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 siluvak ma kalibubuna asa siradjah dokot sipasok asa siantari ale guru.

Under the title: Poda ni kota-kata ni panggasingon latak-latak ni musunata, instructions about the spinning of our enemy's severed head, we find only an enumeration of ingredients, beginning: asa buwat bulung ilom tom dongan panom-panom dongan poldok-poldok dongan songkir masuwak dongan bulung dulpak dongan pasuk pangulubalang gonap ... sa ... podom-podom, etc.

F. Amsterdam, Royal Institute for the Tropics, 1772/157 b 33 et sqq. With variae leciones from G.
The chain of transmission in F counts 17 names; the first eleven of these are the same 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 sutifon) 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. Dowom published a note in 1877 (see my Volkswahrheiten, p. 11). Dowom's uncle had acquired it in Calcutta in 1845.

(33) Poda ni pamapau ulu¹ ni musunta ma i barang hita dumabu hasuhuton ia hita dapatan manaban ulu ni musunta asa dapagukguk ma adop mata ni ari sundut asa dapandol ma pitu halii³ asa dasungkuon ma baritani: aha do bari tamu ale hapala simanduhe asa ho diaparang surik soribindjaja da ulu hapa-hapa da ulu hopo-hopo haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan (34) busisamu ma ho ale hapala simanduhe surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku asa datuktuk ma musengan pitu halii asa sungkuon ma musengan niporsintahon ni inana: ale hapala simanduhe aha do pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe asa ho p(i)naran g ni surik soribindjaja haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu bulung haju niompakpon ma ulani hapala simanduhe surakkon sariohon ale paranganku asa tuktuk ma pitu halii asa pandol pitu halii aha do ulani niporsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe itak di losung-losung ulani pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hurcha hapala simanduhe asa ho pinaran g ni surik soribindjaja asa ho haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamu pitun sundut ma tidang marusap tidang mormunji (35) ma ho siamo ningga surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku aha do ulani niporsintahon ni inamu
<di ho ale hapala simanduhe njior na poso huroha
asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja asa ho
haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamut pitun
sudut ma ho sianu so mangalo ah(u) tidang ma-
rusap tidang mormunji sianu ningta aha do ale
pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala siman-
duhe antap ma ulani itak ni dumen gantang-
gantang do asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja
haputusan dirimu hapulangan busisamut pitun
sudut ma ho musungku sianu tidang marusap
tidang mormunji ma ho sianu so sumintahon ahu
a(ha) do pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala
simanduhe antap ma ulani anisun na marhagun
do ale hapala simanduhe asa ho pinarang ni surik
soribindjaja asa ho haputusan dirimu hapu-
laangan 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
glejan3 ulani pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho asa ho
pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan ma
dirimu hapulangan busisamut 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 soribin-
djaja haputusan ma dirimu hapulangan busisamut
surakkon sariohon4 bo ale paranganku pitun sun-
dut ma ho sianu so mangalo ahu so sumintai
sianu musungku ningta aha do ulani niporsin-
tahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala si (37) manduhe
hube ni bargot na mamboboru huroha asa ho
diparang surik soribindjaja haputusan ma diri-
mu hapulangan busisamut pitun sundut ma ho
musungku sianu so mangalo ahu surakkon sa-
richon bo ale paranganku aha do pinarsintahon
ni inamu di ho ale hapala simanduhe goal tinu-
tung-tutung ma huroha asa ho pinarang ni surik
soribindjaja haputusan dirimu hapulangan busi-
samut surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku pitun
sundut ma ho musungku sianu so mangalo ahu
aha do ulani niporsintahon ni inamu di ho ale
hapala simanduhe antap ma ulani ihan niura-ura
asa ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan
ma dirimu hapulangan busisamut surakkon sario-
hon bo ale paranganku pitun sundut ma ho
musungku sianu so mangalo ahu so sumintai ahu
tidang marusap tidang mor(38)munji sianu ningta
ahu do pinarsintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala
simanduhe djuhut na nidaroan huroha asa
ho pinarang ni surik soribindjaja haputusan ma
dirimu hapulangan busisamut ma ho musungku
si anu so mangalo ahu tidang marusap ti(dang)
mormunji surakkon sariohon bo ale paranganku
aha do pin(ar)sintahon ni inamu di ho ale hapala
simanduhe andap ma ulani salah na modomkon
aso ho diparang surik soribindjaja haputusan
dirimu hapulangan busisamut 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
busisamut 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 sima-
simana ro6 di banu sada mate mona mate moni
hatorbanan dolok sigandamona hatorbanan dolok
simanabun ma ho sianu harumpahan hajuara
na bolon ma ho sianu ha(da)buau pontah da iji
ma ho musungku sianu mate ma ho lusus* tumpur
tu patala djonggi ma ho intop apu 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 sonra* 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 tuang 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 munsuta andi ba.

Qi 1) G ulu-ulu. 2) G + asa datuktuk ni panopa bosi pitu halli. 3) Read with G: bengejon. 4) sic in F; G sarjehon. 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 marja 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 dapahhe ma pamuhui ulu-ulu ningon mangoloi do ibani asa dasungkuni dabuhui ulu-ulu inon ale sisean na mangguru Guru Tinumpahan ni adji dohot ho ahe Guru Sampuara ni adji ningon mangolo do sitaifda 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 tora 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 diparanakkon debata mula tompon maranak debata mula tompon 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 sumunkuni 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 harompan hanari na bolon hatorbanan dolok simanabun hagulangan batu sigilang-gilangi hadabuhan bintang simbolon asa ro ma hagilangan ni rohamu asa ho manggagat di bulung ni podompodom 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 atenu hator stasan ni rohamu atik indahan sinube-sube hator stasan ni rohamu ija i do pinorsintamatu 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 mordijadi ale adji sang kapala he atik indahan na mortele na so tandos dipangan inamu na mordijadi ija i do pinorsintamatu tangis ma ho ale adji sang kapala he asa butindi ma ho diatas amgang asa hundul ma ho hutondjol dohot rangin babijat hutondjol ma ho dohot gondang parang asa harumpahan hanari na bolon hagulangan batu sigilang-gilangi harosahan tabu-tabu hataporan hudon hatalpohan hite so tarulahulak so tarulihullk songon hadadabu ni bulung-bulung
tambalahut so tarida-ida songon porhabang ni umpamal asa hupasak ma dohot songkir na suwak asa borgo ma rohama maragun-agun ma-rijak-rijak hababoon tali timbangan di dalan lubuk di tonga-tonga ni puwangan-puwangan di rijk-rijak huringkuwan basine di dalan na mamah 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 ma 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 andurjianongan salsal pitu bulung panataya ulu-ulu dongan andalpak pitu harambar dongan bulung ni suhat sibururan pitu harambar dongan bulung ni silung dua pitu harambar dongan bulung ni silung mate pitu harambar dongan bulung ni bira-bira pitu har-rambar dongan tarugi na pago di bonana pitu dabuwat dongan asa dasosna 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 terop tijan huta ni musunta dohot na t(o)ga(?) manum(pah)i(?) tijan huta ni musunta asa dasapak ma di salim-ubuna dohot sinoro ni porhas di igunqua ma deba di matana ma deba di pingolna ma deba di harongatanna ma deba di a...na ma deba asa tu salimubuna asa dadabu ma tu lubang asa dabahen ma halto na rurus tu bagasan lubang inon ija pamuhui sahuta hassihola 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 dataom hos mata ni ari dataom gumuling mata ni ari pe mauli asa dadongkon ma tondi ni tinadingna inon rap ma nasida dohot ulu-ulu inon asa mandadu ma hita mangandjak ma hita mangandung-andung ma hita datu morsarama ma hita morsurak-surak ma hita asa darajahan ma simbora inon pitu halai daradja pitu halai darobur dohot goar ma musunta inon daradjahon di simbora inon ija timbangan ni simbora satal sabu-suk sapijak asa datuwallon ma tu baba ni ulu-ulu inon di bulung ni sipuspus pe daradjahon daradjahon goar ma alonta inon ulang lupa di porsarat ni aie amang Guru Tinumpahan ni adji oie dohot ho Guru Sampuara ni adji i ma poda ni panindihon ulu-ulu poda ni guurnata Datu Abar so Laosan ni adji anak ni Ompu Tuwan so Tar-lindang ni adji Sigalingging na mjian di tano Huta Namora asa udut sipaudut djangkit sipadjangkit mordangka songon haju morsirang songon da- lan poda ni hadatuon ondi ingot(??) ho ale Guru Badija ni adji anak ni Situmorang na mjian di tano Huta Gurgur ale sisean na mangguru o iolo mahu gurunani. – 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 panungkunghi (l. panungkuni) ulu-ulu ni musunta beja hita dapatan morparang asa dabuat ma napuran sadang karopit dohot perbue hinuni- han dohot miang (l. miak) badja dohot daupa dohot songkir na suak pula do asta(l. atas)ni ija gagatonni bulung ni sampilulut ija songsongni bulung ni andulpak sosona (l. songsong ni) pingolni dohot bulung ni podom-podom langgumna pe i do dabahon ija di gugun(g) dolok do mate di
tonga ni alaman dusu(ng)kuni djolo daadaupa do ulu-ulu inon ija di borne-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 mongido 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 kap ape ngka asa ho morbaring-baring di tonga ni portib ija baritangku hataporan hudun (l. hudon) hagodangan ajeke hatalpohan hita 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 handuhem u aha ma hape na so huporsinta handuemu indahan sube-subemu na so huporsinta ni handuemu aha ma hape na so pinorsinta ni handuemu (ga)a-gala ma hape na so pinorsinta ni handuemu aha ma ha(pe) na so pinorsinta ni handuhem u gaol ma ha(pe) pinorsinta ni handuhem u aha ma hape pinorsinta ni handuhem u pinasa ma hape pinorsinta ni handuem u aha ma hape na so pinorsinta ni handuem u djuhut ma hape pinorsinta ni handuem u asa ho morbaring-baring ada ho di on do iha asa hamari hamari ma ibunmu hamari hamari aha ma margamu asa ho diindo ibotomu asa ho diindo amamu asa ho diindo inamu asa ho diindo tulangmu margamu asa ho diindo hahamu disipat di haju di pasagi borha ma he pulang kon 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 hirahira ni musungku asa hututupi ma ho di bulung ni podom-podom asa torpodom ma ho mata(??) ni musungku ninta mamu(hu) ulu-ulu adale datu na mangguru oi. Ija pangondatta dat(u) datondjol-tondjol ma pitu hali di rangin babijat datindi tindi 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 hosi ma dabahon badji-badjit asa dahuwat ma abuwu dadopdop dadadjai ija dung do dabadjai asa dalapuhon ma tu abuwu 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 dahisi ma ulu ni halak dasahani dasulangi ma dagoar ma sibali mingalap ma goarri mari ma ho pangulubalang ni ari mangurupi mangalap musungku mari ma ho pangulubalang ni purba mari ma ho pangulubalang ni mangirisanni mangurupi si anu manaru musuta asa hupasak ma tu bordompahannu asa tu pingolmu asa tu tangkuhukmu pani (l. dung ni?) dapakkon asa dasapat ma dohot saput ni pangulubalang suda asa dahali ma tano pitu asta bagasni asa dasurungi ma pitu hali mate mangonkori 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 musunumi. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ama ni balik manganap ina ni balik manganap botara sibalik manganap 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 musunara loralobal. 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 ariski ate-ate ina ni ariski ate-ate batara siarsik ate-ate surung ariski 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 horno pe boti do di asu pe boti do di binatang pe boti do dabahon tombal do na pinulungta inon paluwaon tu huta ni musunata 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 ijadon na morhata dapasidung ma hasuhuton ni ale datu. Poda ni pamuhui ni ulu-ulu( tu) ni t(i)ntongtohanta 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 pidi unang do hamu lupa di poda ni guruta ale datu na di pidi. Asa aha do baritamu simanduwa surakon stiljan aha do baritamu surik sori mundjai anang aha do pinarinsam tu 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 dabuwait ma bulung ni latong nganduri dohot bulung ni suhat siruhurhurana(?) dohot silung mate dohot ahar lombak suda bulung ni pangulubalang pi(tu) be dabuwait songon suga suda [maru] marutang na so dohot pitu be dongan tarugi na pago di bonana tolul halu pitu bilangannun dabuwait asa dibosna ma pangulu ni musuta inon dohot daro ni manak 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 ............ bunu asa di matamu asa di pinggolmu asa digungmu sahali laho tu ha ... pihanmu sahali laho asa di bohina asa di harongatanni ganup sondi-sondii ni halak disi maek borgo asa dabahon ma tano rurus pitu pohul ro di lubang adop lubang do ulu ni musuta sihpat tot do bagas ni lubang asa dataponi ma dohot (ta)no rurus dohot bunggur na di atas ija arini di boraspati ni tangkop di sibangguwa ni halak di arri mate sadabu (1. madabu?) ma tu pata jajongi songgop ma tu simbalalalung datanom ma hos mata nijari lumihuupon ulu ni musuta dasungku ma bulan na p(i)(na)rintjampon 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 dahuwa ma halto-halito pitu hali pitu halo daro-bur 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 porpanrang 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 polltuk tuwak di tanduk dongan burangir na ombang burangir haropit lindjang ararib na poso tobu na poso ranom (I. dmon?) sanggolom sarumpajit tujung pisang na lamun dongan barang sadija ombu-ombu'djan dongan ija singkop (I. 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 dimang-mang ho tijop ma pandjabat di siambirang panuktuk di siamun gampit ma rangkon pandjabatti aru-aru tuktuk rangkon panuktukki lao-lao mar-mintora ale datunami ingot ho di pangalao ni patangis ulu-ulu inon.


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

¹) I. pangido (emendation by Dr. L. Manik).
several times, but there is no indication of a Mandailimg-Batak origin of this *pustaha*. 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 su-
mungkuni barita ni ulu ni musunta beja hita tumutupi rambu ni musunta beja tumutupi nipini asa dasungkun ma baritani. Aha baritamu asa ho mangang-angang so mari asa ho hatindijan asa ho tatutupan tidang marusap tidang mormunjii ma ho musungku si anu asa ho mate mona mate moni ma ho panodo ni musungku asa dalousmin ma di gara ni api dadjulukkan asa dapuhon ma-
jok ni baby asa dalangkopi ma palangka ni baby asa daulakkon ma tu hubangan ni baby ni mu-
sunta beja di guluwan ni horbo ni musunta diha-
nan hapilinni di palangka ni babini di torumbera ni musunta ija desani mangirisanni asa dao ma di balijan ni huta ni musunta ija arini di adintija tala di suma ni mate hapilinni ija ro do ulubal-
langta asa dapangan ma manuk na modompon na dapangan manuk sampun borna hosur hita mangan mahuk hita minum dung mangahon ti-
man huta ni musunta asa dabuwar ma urat ni sianglang 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 balutuk dahoris. Ija porpangirani asa dabuwar ma bulung ni langge sihuk pitung kibul na tungkap dalimashon asa datonggor ma gurunta debata sunijahon mom-
bal debata ra dadok. Ung debata na sunijahon sunijahon sada sunijahon duwa sunijahon tolu sunijahon ompat sunijahon limang sunijahon on-
nom sunijahon pitu sunijahon ma guling lima debata manggowar banuwa ho na sungkot di langit ho na ri(n)san di banto-banto ho na ma-
bonde debata panaluwan ho ulim panaluwan de-
Bata hatahutan ho ulim hatahutan ho debata hu-
maaloh ho dang humaloh ding botara lihi ho si humara bira ho si padoha si padihi ho adji siparsangkaoti toha onang oning hana haputunjia ada ho si suwari mamboban sire noba mangalele turun do ho dijahu djangan ho turun di musungku sina(nu) manalu ma h(i)a ninta mormintora. *Poda ni panindí ulu ni musunta asa dabuwar ma bulung ni andulpak pitu di igungni sihamun pitu di sihambrang pitu di babani pitu di matani si-
(b 22) hamun pitu di matani di sihambrang pitu be tombal di pinggolni pitu be pitu di sambubuni pitu di salibonni pitu di panampulan asa dara-
djahon ma gowar ni musunta tombal asa datindi ma di batu asa dasuwan abawan ma pitun djomput tombal hita morslip pitun sundut ma ho musungku so malo abu hagulingan batu sigi-
lang-gilang hatorbanan dolok simanabun ma ho musungku so marusap so mormuni bunu mu-
sungku.*

Poda ni hatotoganta di hasuhuton ija ma inon panutupi di ulu ni musunta ulang mormuni tina-
dingkoni beja pulas beja djadi pamuhu tunduk beja songon ni halak datutupi djadi pamunu lambe ni halak djadi pamunu adji ni halak na dapot hita ija ma inon morgowar panutupi so-
gen 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 dabuwar ma bulung ni andulpak pitu ulang ma haje datutupi asa daradja ma bulung ni andul-
pak 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 dabuwar 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 dadondenoni 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 ho musungku hatorbanan dolok simanahun 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 mahorasi ulubalang di pamusatan ma dadabuhan asa dasulang ma di pamuhijanni suwa be musunta morbaba dibahon panindi tu-tupi hita ulu ni musunta asa borgo ma ho ate-ate ni musungku so malo ahu di songon pe boti di 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 pahompui.

(b 26) Poda ni panungkuni ulu-ulu ni musunta ma inon barang hita dapatan ulu ni musunta asa dasungkuni ma asa dabuwas ma napuran sadang karopit dongan boras banu dongan badja mijak dongan daupa dongan songkr na suwak pula do atasni ija gagoninni bulung ni sampilulu ma ija panongsong ni pinggoloni andulpak dongan bulung ni podom-podom di igungni pinggoloni pe i do ija di babani bulung ni latong ija di gugung do mate ale musunta inon di alaman da dasungkuni ija di boroi-borno di 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 abu manungkuni ulu-ulu ni halak onon asa maranak ma debata mutula 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 abu manungkuni ulu-ulu ni halak onon boti ma ninta. Aha do baritamu sang kapahe asa ho morbarita-barita di tonga ni porti bi on ija baritangku hataporan hudon hahoho hahoho hadodangan ajok hahoho hatalpohan hite hahoho hagolapan dolok simanahun hahoho hagolapan hahoho asa ho disipat haju pasagi borna borna he aha ma pean na so di-torsintai ni handue napuran ma na so huporsintai ni handuemu aha ma hapeja na so hu pinorsinta ni handue indahan sube-sube ma hapeja ma 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 dijutu ma hapeja pinasa hapeja pinarsinta ni handuemu manuk ma hapeja na s(o) hu pinorsintamu handuemu hamari ma hahmari ma ibunnu 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 simanahun tidang marusap tidang mormuni ma ho musungku maggat ma ho di bulung ni sampilulu 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
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 lejun—knee (Toba tol, Simalungun towod, Karo tiveti or lijun), 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 dapati tual asa dasungkuni ma ulu ni musunta. Apa baritamu sang kapala e asa ho morbaring-baringan di poribi barangku dung ma haputusan li(h)iir hahohahataporan hudon hahohahotherapyan dokor hahohahosoloman ajor hahohahobohikan hite asa ho dilipat di haju pasagi dorma dorma e pulangkon simandungkuwemu hamari hamari simandungkuwemu ninta pitu hali asa dauluk-ulaki ma tole boti do sondjatana. Aha baritamu sang kapala e asa ho dilipat di haju patagi dorma dorma e ho alamu diandung hahapamukabunisudamamati boramu idjoo boramu mate simandungkuwemu pinsorsintahonmu rube pinsorsintahonmu napuran pinsorsintahonmu niura pinsorsintahonmu gala-gala pinsorsintahonmu asa ho disinpat di haju pasagi dorma dorma e haputusan li(h)iir masok ho sang kapala e mate ma disinon utangmumate mona mate mona mate hom ma ho na hatompoan dokol hadondonan debata sitompo lang hatindijian debata si gandamona mate hom ma ho si anu so mangalo ahu ninta.

Poda ni panananom ni ulu ni musunta ....... di sibambarang 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 dasangkoapi ma di lubang di andiru na rasras di tonga ni alaman.

Ija panganon ni ulu-ulu ni musunta asa dabuwait ma indahan binorna-borna dongan manuk boru sopang mangan ma ho ninta.

Poda ni pamasok ni ulu-ulu ni musunta inon asa dabuwait ma bulu parapat dongan bulung ni pagom-pagom saput ni ulu-ulu inon dongan pedom-pedom ija suwada bulu parapat indalu niulang kapilinni.

Poda ni tang-tangi janta tumanom ulu-ulu ija madabu do udan di huta ni musunta beja hilap beja ronggru di huta ni musunta suwada be hita torbalos musunta di hasuhuton inon di hita ma debata panaluwan djati manalu ma hita ija ningan hetanta do hilap beja ronggru beja halinsungsomadungdung hasuhuton inon ija udan do di huta ni musun(ta) tumateang ni musunta somadatorbalos musunta hita di hasuhutoninon ija hita montat ulu ni musunta ulang umaosi tejunta dagajung-gajung sintik awakata 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 hataluwana asa dapijo ma sumagot inani sumagot amani sumagot na gumabesa di bortijan asa dasungkun ma inani dohot amangudani dohot gorarna ro di tulagui 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 manali tu pudinta asa dapaturun ma debata ni sugi riman mari ma ho hita umbalik bangke debata sihaboran sihaboran pardabu ma rumu ni musunta ale amang.
Poda ni hita humurhuri na mate di hasuhuton na bolon asa dapahosing ma bohina dopak huta ni musunta tumandakkon mata ni ari patni dumondoni shambirang asa dabahon ma tadjombara damar ija torsorop do pondi ni musunta di tadjombara ija s'uwada 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-borna na gorsing na bontar na biron dongan hube dongan gala-gala dongan rube dongan tinutung dongan indahan boroh dongan hushus dongan bunga-bunga tombal pinangan ni halak daontat.
Poda ni hita pabalik bangke di hasuhuton asa dabuowat ma hosajani lapik ni bangke halto na rurus pitu hibul dongan latong anduri pitu-pitu rambar dongan latong ursa dongan latong andarasi pitu-pitu sada bage tombal bulung kaju na. . . . top sada so halaosan dongan ipuh sada ridon dongan hatunggal dongan lolong bobbob dongan hidu dongan basir pitu hibul asa dalapik kon ma di na mate inon asa datonggo hon ma sibangko di bangke sibangko di hilap sibangko di ronggur sibangko di bintang sibangko di bulan sibangko di ari sibangko di ombun mari ma hamu mangan mari ma hamu minum sibangko di bangke sibangko di pija sibangko di pingol sibangko di mata sibangko di tangan sibangko di dilah mari ma hamu mangan manuk pogong mangan minum mangan pinanganmu di hurungan manik hinagabohonmu di bortijan di surat nantagina di gab(e) ompung batara guru di hurungan manik ni mu debata hasi-hasni ninta mormangmang disi-non asa daradjahon ma di bulung hatunggal lapik ni bangke pagi-pagijan ale Balijot hata so malayang ni adji ijo pondi. (figure)

Another fragment from the same MS:

Radja ni sirahar padang ma inon baen panutupi ulu ni musuhta beja pamuhui musunta anso magotinadingkon ni musuhta inon barang hita mandemban anak badjang beja di bulung ni silong mate daradjahkon radjahi 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 pungguoron nalompit baen sumpol ni igung ni musuhta ulang hita torbalos musuhta di hasuhuton (figure).
Radja ni sitompo bu(n)gkulan ni musuhta asa
daradjahkon di bulung ni sarago panutupi ping-
gol ni musuhta sihambirang radjah ni simborah
pe bo'i do dabanon radjahni (figure).

Radja ni tanoh ma inon bokas manungkuni
thahal-thahal ni musuhta beja hita mangandjahi
thahal-thahal ni musuhta asa datindi(h)i ma pitu
hali di rangin babujut di ulu ni musuhta dohot
gindorang indik-indik asa dainingkon ma pitu
hali datindidhkon ma di halimbubu ni musuhta
daparap ma pitu hali di tanganta ulang hita
hatimbalan musuhta ija pangaradjahta ija hita
mangaraadjah 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 ni piso tudjung
balu asa dasantum ma di bulung pamangananta
inon dohot ni bulung panibalanta inon asa
dabahon ma dibagas bangkuruk musuhta inon asa
dadabuh dibagas lubang pamanomanta inon ni
ulu-ulu ni musuhta inon ale datu guru (figure).

Radja ni bulung ni dulang badjora ma inon baen
gondje ni datu manungkuni manungkuni manu-
rungi manurungi do hapeja na lilu do na manu-
turi barang hita mamuhui ulu ni musuhta radja
ni mare-mare ma inon baen gondjenta manu-
rungi baen hoba-hoba pe bo'ti do daradjahkon
baen hoba-hoba mangigohakon ulu ni musuhta
ija pangijoganta songon pangijoga pinan ija pa-
ngaradjahta 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 nanturug dongan tambur
ni na mate sadari ija dung do luhut hosaja inon
asa dalehoh ma dipatpat na dung mabalu balu
langkitang inon ija dung do dipatpat asa dasa-
orhon ma dohot pangaradjahta 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 indi-
cation 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 musungra inon ija dung do dabuhui
pitung karambar digung sihamun pitung karam-
bar 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 dabinosa ma
di manuk asa dapatibal ma di adop ni tahal ni
musuta ragam ni sipangan(o)n ni djolma manisia
asa dadabu asa dasungkuni ma tahal ni musungra
inon asa dabuwat ma bulung ni pangulubalang
hinan na rusur (L. rurus) pitung karambar asa
datanom ma tu tano mate beja tu tano rurus sun-
dut mata na ari hita tumanomsa mate madabu
ma ho hira-hira ni musungku urang samuana
madabu ma harahir ni musuku alap ma tua(n)
borumu alap ma dongannya ahala(p) ma na sahuta
inon ho liput tu batala djongi madabu ma di
ambalalungan diomsop supat (L. pusat) samu-
dora ma ho musungku si anu tidang marupus
tidang mormuni hira-hira ni musungku i ma
mintora ni panuruni ma inon asa dasangkopi
ma di tano mate hasangkopian hatidijin ma ho
hira-hira ni musungku pitu halidapatn-polpat
ma ho musungku asa datindi ma di batu pitu
sundut ma ho so malo ahu.

Aha do baritamu inang simandue surok salijong-
mu di surik soribindjaya [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 siihurhan bulung ni latong bulung ni silung mate bulung ni pangu lubalang hinan pitu be bilangan(n)i duri pitu be sada goaran dongoon basir bulu parapat tarugi na pago di bonani tombal pitu be bilanganni asa dabosna ma di daro ni manuk hulabu asa da tonggo ma di lubang pananomanta inon asa dapi jo ma to(n)diini timan tiding nilati(n)ni na pa hughahonsa tidang marusap tidang mornuni asa dapassahun do hau na rurus di ambubuni asa di pinggolun 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 mamahita hita datu dasungkun ma ari hatububu dohot bulan dohot pahasorangina ija tangis do asa dasulang ma asa daiogai ma pitu hali morhallo-hallo hita mandudu pitu hali marandjak ma hita datu asa daboba ma tu rumu tu huta tu tano rurur (l. rurus) beja tu tano mate liput mata ni ari hita lumputhon ulu ni musuta inon ija di singbora panuwa(n)gaba ni musungta pitu hali dalala pitu hali darobur asa datuwalkkon 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 maranggar ma hita disinon ija dung do boti dapangan babi tumpak ija dung do boti punu ma musungta madabu ma si (l. di?) ambalalunung madabu ma harahar ni musuta dionsop pusut samudora ma roha ni musuta gabe dadaboru ma roha ni musuku.

Poda ni pamohu ni panurunita di musuta asa dabuwat bulu na pungguron homhom gindjangni dongoon bulu na mamuhung dongoon 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 simanang gali pusuk ni simorlangkop-langkop pitu be ulang lobi ulang hurang asa dagaling limot asa daradja ma bulung ni andulpak dohot simbra asa dasihat di sibijanga panaluwan dohot pandalo ni onggang na marimbalo pantis hamindjon dasihat ganup sondi-sondini asa datangkopii di bulung ni andulpak nira daja inon di bula parapat na pungguron di songkir na suwak dongoon 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 simbajorna anso so sondot tu huta ni musuta ija dabulan pormangmang bulan si tolu gonop tolu mamunu ma ho di musungku sada ina sada ompu sada huta so marusap so mornuni bunu musungku. Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ama ni bu(hu) di bulan sipahasa ama ni buhu di aringting arintia pe umbu(nu)jí musuku ama ni buhu pormesa pormesa pa umbunun 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 mornuni madabu ma di a(m)-balalalunung 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 sibambahang bea tu djolo monang ma hita di hasuhuton inon. Ija dund do asa dasangkopi ma di a(n)duri asa tano asa daradja anduri pe daradja ulu desa dapatibal pohue na bontar di sibamun pohue hinunihin di sibambahang ija tu hambirang do laho pohue inon talu ma hita ija napuran sada be pohue inon dohot badja dohot mija(k) sada be pohue dabahon ija tu adop do pohue di palaho djuhut(o) dope hita ija tu djolo do pohue monang ma hita beja badja beja napuran beja minak ija hita umbahon ulu ni musuta dafatepahon bosi suwang agat dabahon tadjom dabahon ija di taruni datunpa ma saringgapan 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 nipu na handue ulu-ulu ni djolma hupata(ja)ta(j)a nipimu parsintaanmu rohamu turuti nipimu tu . . . . nipimu turuti nipu hanohon di parmu djadjaan dinamu aha ma ulu-ulu ni djolma si torjomba-djomba surung djombai ma huta ni musungku inang na ra dona ahu tuma simandaue ija ulu-ulu si martunggalingan tungsalingkon ma huta ni musungku ho ma simandaue ulu-ulu si harhar tompasan ni inamu diparsintaohon inamu di indahan sing(?)on na huning di udjung ni hite si dumao-daoel surung daolhon ma ulu ni musungku bunu hira-hira ni musungku. Inang simand(a)ue ija ma ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho di aha ma ho diparsintaohon inamu di indahan na gorsing ma ho diparsintaohon di singgar-singgar ma ho diparsintaohon ma ho mate di tano rurus ma haroburanmu marurus musungku. Inang simandaue ija ma ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintaohon inamu di indahan na bontar ma ho diparsintaohon inamu di ari golap dipanganhon di tano mate di tano mate ma hatubawanmu matehon ma hosa ni musungku surung bunu parage. Inang simandaue ija ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintaohon inamu di ason sirabaron diparsintaohon inamu di ombun laos ma ho di tano mate ma hatubawanmu matehon ma roha ni musungku bunu. Inang simandaue ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintaohon inamu di djuhut dianang ma ho diparsintaohon inamu di ari golap di tano mate ma hatubawanmu matehon hosa ni musunta bunu . . pe bunu soro bunu. Inang simandaue ulu-ulu ni djolma di aha ma ho diparsintaohon inamu di djuhut tinangingan di singgar-singgar ma ho di tano rurus hatubawanmu 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 hatika di borpur(?) hatoboanmu laho ma ho tu purba manise nipimu disi pe uboto hangodanggangan ajek(?) ditenggang singgar-singgar di tonga ni borngin ulu-ulu simandaue sombu ma pusumu boro ma ate-atemu bunu ma musungku i ma simandaue. Inang simandaue aha do baritamul 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 hapoton na so haturutan nipi asa laho ma ho tu ajek mangid parsinta-sintaanmu dilehon ma di ho djuhut indapodo i parsintaanmu asa laho ma ho tu dangersin
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 parsinta-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 parsinta-sintaanmu dalehon ma di ho pusu-pusu inda podo i parsinta-sintaanmu asa laho ma ho tu irisanna dilehon ma di ho ragam-ragam ni djuhut ragam-ragam ni papanganon inda podo i parsintaanmu 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 dijolma 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(ri) sopang panalawan do na tumaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue surung taluhan 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 panalwa(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 marhalsungsung do na tumaja ulu-ulu sisangkat madue surung marhalsungsung ma ho di huta ni musungku. Asa hutaja do hutaja do ulu-ulu sisangkat madue si tapi humaluhip na tumaja ulu-ulu surung humaluhip 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 bahunon ma bosa ni musungku bunu i ma panitang ulu-ulu ija hita tumumpur huta ni musungta i adong do musunta datongthi 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)ohan asa daida ma porharoon 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 pangulubalan di purba mari ma hamu pangulubalang sibintang hias hijas . . . . ma bosa ni musungku mari ma hamu pangulubalang . . . . na mangurupi si anu on tumoru . . . . si anu on balik mamunu ma ho di bosa 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 hombom pitu hali da . . . . . . . . . . . . pi pitu hali . . . . . na biron 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 pinulunga

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 para- ngan tu huta ni musunta beja panindinta di hata- tahutta asa database ma pitu [ha]hali. Ung bogang-bogang boging-boging taon ho t(on)di hatutupan hatindian ma hosa ni musungku si anu tondi ni sahut situ(tu) suhut pangabiri ulubalang por- dj(o)lo-djolo di musungku surung bunu porsule porsuwahehon. 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 monoktohi di bisara na godang panga(be-ga)be ni debata na helung ija ma inon guru ni djubut dasulangkon tu baba ni musunta inon. Asa daradjahon ma goar ni musunta bulang ni andulpak pitu di babani pitu di pinggolni pitu di igungni pitu di matani esa daradjahon ma goar ni musunta na ngolu di simbora pitu hali daradjia pitu hali darobur pitu hali dasurungi esa datuangkon ma tu ulu ni musunta esa datanom ma tu hamatean ni debata na helung asa datindi ma di galapang batu hapilinni esa datuang ma di ajok borgo asa haborgoon ma ho hosa ni musunta sada ira 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 Loe Riman, apparently in the Dairi- Batak country (læ, 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) (ni) musunta barang dung ma hita
dapotan asa dasungkun . . .
. . . tahal ni musunta andi ma datunami. a . . .
. . . sang(?)ha(?)la e haho-haho asa ho
morbata morbaring . . .
. . . portbi barita haputusan lihir haho-haho(ho hatapo)
(ra)n hudon haho-haho hasoranan dolok haho-ha(ho) . . .
. . . oman ajar haho-haho hahohohon haho-haho
(dil)ipat di haju pe(sa)gi dorma-dorma

dorja dulang . . .
(siman)duhu e hamari hamari simanduhu e ninta
ma(mungkun)l
(ta)hal-tahal ni musunta asa daulak-ulak pitu ha(l)
(b)oti ma padab ni datu asa dapati(hal?)
. . . ma tahal-tahal asa da . . .
(mu)sejan ma tahal-tahal ni musunta asa dapati(hal)
. . . ombuwun manak boru sopang morbagot di
t(nde)k . . .
. . . ok di gantang asa database ma.
Aha barita mang pala . . .
(m)orbata batahan di babo portibi asa ho di . . .
(ha)ju pasas dorma-dorma a haputusan lihir (a) . . .
. . . pala e mate ma simonontangmu mate mona
mate moni . . .
. . . o . . ma ho si anu mat(e) hatorbanan dolok
s(manabun) . . .
. . . ho musu(ng)ku si anu hadondon nan batu
sигілгюн-g . . .
(s)j anu ninta si anu hadabuwan . . . . . . ma ho . . .
APPENDIX

(nin)ta manungkuni tahal-tahal
ni musunta ale guru ... (ni) adji. Poda ni pa(na)nom tahal-tahal ni (mu)sun.
(ta) di tano mate di sihambirangta rumuwar di d ... papulinni sundut mata n(i) ari hita laho p ...
... hita laho pitu halı daondam asa dadabu ma t(?) ...
(dasangkopi ma di anduri na tatas
na torbuwang(?) ...
... dapor hita asa dasapak ma uluni di bulu parapat ...
... lubalang ulang dasapak ija panaput
ni tahal-tahal bul(ung) ...
(pa)gom dongan bulung ni podom-podom hapiling ...
(bulung) ni dulang hapillingi pamasuk
ulu-ulu inon ...
... janta mananom tahal-tahal ni musunta ija ma di ...
... hita ni musunta be(ja?) hilap
toding hita ni musunta ...
... toding ranginta so da torbalos musunta ni ...
... ita ma debata panaluwan djiati manalu
ma hita ija ni ...
... musunta do ronggur beja ribut beja
halisungs(ung) ...
... huton inon ija udan do di tonga ni hita 1 ...
... matangis porsimagatan musunta so ...
... musunta hita di hasuhuton inon i ...
......................... ulu-ulu(?) ulang
... luaos tato ...
... o asa mau(?)i. Poda ni panindi ni ulu-ulu ni
(musun)nta asa dabuvat ma hasajani bulung
ni andulpak
c. 10 lines omitted in my copy, illegible?!
... I ho le gorat na mijan di lae riman asa ro ma di ...
... oso sipajung asa ro ma di ho ale amang
slanakku guru ...
(ni) adji ulang ma ho lupa di poda ni
pamuhu ni tahal-tahal ma i.
Poda ni panangkopi lubang asa dapa-
tunggalgina ma hujdarta asa da tong(go?) ma na
.................. (There was a drawing on the part of the bark that is torn off at the end of the last two lines).

T. Heidelberg, Museum für Völkerkunde, No. 2238. A MS. from Nainggolan on the isle of Samosir. Trans-
literated by Dr. L. Manik.
Poda ni pamuhui ni ulu-ulu ni musunta pangala-
ho ni pamunu tanduk barang so morhasudungan
ma hasuhuton inon asa dahuhi ma djuhut ni
musunta beja haju ni musunta asa dabuvat ma
bulung ni andulpak lapik ni ulu-ulu ni musunta
inon. Ija panutupi ulu ni musunta podom-podom.
Ija pamasukni haju ni sirago dosi hapillinni dohot
sinoro ni porhas dohot singalit ni gipul dohot ipu
saridon. Ija hita mamuhui halak songon na ma-
gulak do hita sundut mata ni ari dumabusi tu
bagas lubang radja ma djolo tanoman ni adjinta
inon di situmulak di portibi di gordang na duwa
ma dabahon, sada di gordang djangat ma sada di
gordang na pitu d(?) hordja?).
Poda ni mintora ni pamunu tanduk panungkun
ni ulu-ulu ni musunta na dung finongtohan dapor
do dabahon (mang)kuling, asa database ma pitu
hali laos bosik di lili tunggal. Aha baritumu ale
ghalau asa ho morbariing-baring di tonga ni
portibi on asa ho hagasan ...... te harosahan
hudon hatopiran pinggan (t)ohal pinorsintamu
pege pinorsintamu saga-sagu pinorsintamu asa
tarui ma na sainahon ho dongannu mate. Ra-
djani ma inon di simbora lapik ni ulu-ulu ni
musunta.

U. Dublin, Ch. B. 1133; see Cat. Dublin p. 76.

V. Goirle (Noord-Brabant, The Netherlands), Mission
Museum no. 908.

Pictures of headhunters are found in some bark books,
mostly among the warriors surrounding the drawing of
the Great Dragon, e.g. Dublin Catalogue p. 65 and
BKI 112 plate 1 faeong p. 26, but most clearly in a
pustaha that was once in the Mission Museum at Goirle.
Its subject was rambu siporhas, the string-oracle. In
this oracle the data should give careful attention to
various circumstances, i.e. the shapes of clouds in the
sky. One of these shapes is illustrated as a headhunter
carrying a severed head. As the Goirle collection was
sold before I had photographed the illustration I can
only give a reproduction of a tracing made whilst I
studied the text (Fig. 42). The drawing was accom-
panied by the following legend: Dja ha ombun man-
djana ulu-ulu di hita monang ma hita ija trompa asu na


begu ma tinongtohan inon igma tompa hora do anak ni na mago-nago ma bunuona ija dingan musinta do inon djaasat 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).
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adji dolos, suicide magic? This is the meaning of Simalungun dolos, Dairi dêlês, Karo dêlîs, but cf. Manik 200 (alluring magic) and MS. Amsterdam 1754/1 b32 adji pandolos, a kind of panonglongi ('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 I (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 parsimboroaon (from simbora, lead, tin, Skr. lîvra) 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 putu, the thirty days of the month 190

ari redjang (Karo rêdjang), 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 lêpihan. 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 parbegumonggopan, 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 Hunderte markiert

binds (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
bious, sacrificial confederation; possible etymology
134
Borotan clans 151, 153
borotan, see sacrificial post
buffalo-ribs (Karo rangrang kérbo) 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
butil; dibutil 107, to be wrapped up? This seems to be the meaning in this context. WMH has only butil, '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 Acehnese, 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 perbintangénkén 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 'Dairiland' 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 hadatawön 32, 42
debát (Skr. devátá), deity; also used for a pangulubalang 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.
djninudjung 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 kinipandén) 44, 124-131
gorak-gorahan, ominous signs, litt. (involuntary) twitchings, inside an oracle animal. Sim. gorak-gorakan, hence the orthography gorak-gorakan 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 gord, 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

haiawas (Sim.) = Toba halás, galangal (Alpinia Galanga Willd.) 196

hamiralan (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
haitha (Karo kētika), divination-table, magic square, diagram for divination 140, 141, 180 (Mal.kelika Djohor), 187, 195

halotoga, (magical) support (making one firm, ioga). It often, but not always, refers to a pangululabang 100, 104; 142 (totoga, perhaps a scribal error); 196; 179 (katēgahan, Karo)
headhunting, though not as prominent a feature in Batak culture as in many other regions of Indonesia, was probably practised by the Batak 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

ioga, see yoga
illustrations in Batak books 49, 52–77
incendiar letter, Toba pulas, Karo id. or surat tjianggung 96, 109, 201; Plate 17
invulnerable (Sim.hobal, Toba hobol, Karo kēbal) 43, 123, 124, 187

ioga = ioga

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 kēbērētēn (ē) is written under the consonant in order to distinguish it from the kētolangēn (o), which has the same shape but is written above the consonant. Usually both kēbērētēn and kētolangēn are written above the consonant and kētolangēn is distinguished by a small dash at its left side. See p. 42

katēgahan, see hatotoga

kēbērētēn (Karo), the sign for ē; in Toba and Simalungun haborolan, used for u 42, 120
Kēmbarēn, a Karo-Batak region 188

kētolangēn (Karo), the sign for o (often pronounced au). 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

kinipandēn, 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, lapihan, lapihan, 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
mangawang, incantation 100, 134
mangulak, see ulak
manuk gantung, see parmanuhon
marga (Southern Batak; Sim.morga, Northern Batak mérga; perhaps from Skr.varga), a patrilineal 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. ọṇ) 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 pada-language word for the lance (hudjur) 121
namora, representative of the morga 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
palimppest 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 pada ni pamuhu tanduk and pada 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 hororo 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 sampalu dua pamunu tanduk see pamuhu tanduk pamusan, quintessence, short pada 99, 139, 157, 158, 159, 161, 164

panampuh, the lemon-oracle, see Winkler I 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 bélên, the Great Dragon, sometimes identified with Naga Pada- ha, 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 lumang, mentioned p. 191, 192 is probably another name for pane lumajang

pangarambui 158, see rambu

pangarhari, divination by means of an egg 163, 165–168

pangerumai, 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 śīḷpaśāstra translated by Kears 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 gordawa in pada-language, gordaha in Simalungun, gurdaha in Karo. In bark books the word gorda is so often written without a pango- lat (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. grēdra), vulture, but I think that Skr. garudā must be the origin. This is the name in the śīḷpaśāstra 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 pengulubalang, 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

gangas, ritual purifier 116, 120

gandhi, see Таким(н)h

ganogu-noogu, alluring magic 189

ganobiti (unexplained) 104

ganurumi, a kind of aggressive magic 121, 180

gareg a bugang, a medicine for the treatment of wounded warriors 104

garubihan, buffalo-oracle 43, 132–138, 140, 141

garhalaan, divination calendar based on the conjunctions of Scorpio (Batak hala, Skr. kāla) with the moon 43, 162, 190

parik si Djonaha, see labyrinth

parramitis, Karo parramitis, 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. partadjombrikan

parmanahon, 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 ampong from the position of the cock after its death under a basket (ampong) 43, 50, 138, 139, 150–162; Plate 18; manuk gantung 143, 162, 163

parrmesa, Karo parrmesa, 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)

parrmanian, parrmani-munijan, omens taken from natural phenomena and dreams 43, 93, 168, 169, 187, 195

parrumbunan, omens taken from the shapes of clouds 43, 50, 119, 149, 174, 182, 228, 229

parrangiron (Toba), paranoia (Sim.), ritual purification with lemon juice 119

parrsantian 191; ruma parrsantian, family-house, see Cultureel Indië I, p. 285–291

parrsili (Karo parrsilihi), a substitute given to the spirits for a patient, a warrior, etc. 44, 104, 149, 180

parrsimboroen 123, see amulet

parrsuroan see 116, 117; from suro 197

partadjombrikan (Sim.), a diagram for divination arranged in the same way as the table of parrmis. 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 Tadjam Burit in a Mandailing-Batak text, MS. Manik No. 118. Identification with the constellation Scorpio seems probable, because in another Mandailing text (Leiden Or. 6246a 30) we find hala tadjombruk, which would mean: the scorpion with the sharp rear end 50, 155, 161, 162

parrmetar, Karo, marksman 125

parrbintangènkin, Karo, table of constellations 50

parrmis, see parrmis

parrmesa, see parrmesa

parrsilihi, see parrsili

pàrlik, a kind of songon, protector against thieves 100

parrnang na 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

parrda, 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 denselben Baume nisten. Probably the same as the Simalungun holt-holt marporhas (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 kēji-kēji pērkas is the name of the cover of the pērminakan, a small vessel for magic oil. Perhaps some pērminakans have a cover made of this substance

pustaha, pustaka, see bark books

putaran (Karo; Neumann’s dict. pērputarēn), 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. radja) 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 raksi 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 raksi is a corruption of aksara (Skr. aksara syllable). Another Batak word raksi, meaning ‘quality, feature’ may be derived from Skr. laksana 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 sorni, 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 pērbēljik, the girdle of Orion (3 stars), Mal. bélantik. 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 kērbo, see buffalo-ribs

rasijan, horoscope 162, 181

rau (Skr. Rāhu), see rambu

rock inscriptions, in Batak script, at Lobu Hamidjon 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 borolan, Sim. arihan, Karo tungkalen) 54-56, 132
sahat, a kind of poison 122
Samosir, the large island in Lake Toba 99 a.e. sarang bëdil (Karo) or sarang timah (Karo), an amulet against bullets 123, 124 sarib (Sim.), sarim (Dairi); Toba dasar, half a coconut-shell 196 sara, a kind of offering 148, 149 scapulimancy, probably not practised by the Batak 43 sibanggu(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 sikurun
sikurun (Karo), the sign used for -u in writing on bamboo; in bark books it is used for u and é and sometimes for o. In Toba (sihoro) 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 simarggit na bolon, a diagram for divination 120 simonang-monang, divination by means of the numerical value of letters arranged in a diagram of 5 x 4 or 10 x 2 squares 140, 181 Singa Mangaradja, the Divine King at Bangkara 178 sipaimbar, magic to direct ill luck from oneself to the enemy 165, 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 1 p. 59 sitorilawanka, a poda-language word used in incantations, meaning 'my opponent' 196 small-pox, treated by water 202 Solomon's seal (looped string), Batak lapak 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 Srimidjaja, 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 suru, 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 lwoar, 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 *osa turun ma hanu* 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

*tajombara*, a certain application of a *pagar*, protective magic 165. Cf. Manik No. 321; MS. Leiden Or. 3459 a3, 3490 b28 (*tadjombara ni pa-gara*)

*tajom burik*, see *partadjomburikan*

tambar, see *tabar* 122, 193–199

tamba tuwa (Toba), tamba tuwah (Sim.) a medicine against barrenness and impotence 121, 194

targki, see bark books

taor = 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.

*taor 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 pamedillon, 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

tendung, see *tendung* 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

*limdi(h)*, *manindi(h)*. For the possible meaning see p. 106

Toba-Batak, the largest group of Batak speaking people 97 a.e.

tendung (Karo *tendung*), 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

tendung beras, 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 Simabungun state of Dolog Silou, one of the spirits invoked in the *tabas ni pamahani* 187. She is also meant by 'Tuwan Puteri', 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 *ifjoga* or *ojoga* 51, 98, 101

zodiac, see *parmessa*