THE TOBA BATAK, FORMERLY AND NOW

Dr. J. Keuning
(translated by Claire Holt)

TRANSLATION SERIES

MODERN INDONESIA PROJECT

Southeast Asia Program
Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

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PREFACE

Undoubtedly one of the most useful surveys of the social and political organization of the Toba Bataks is Dr. J. Keuning's article which appeared in the September 1952 issue of the Dutch scholarly journal Indonesië. The Cornell Modern Indonesia Project is happy to have an opportunity to make this important article available in English translation through its Translation Series. We wish to express our gratitude to Dr. Keuning and the editors of Indonesië for their permission to publish it. We are particularly grateful to Dr. Keuning for his willingness to provide elucidations and bibliography and for checking the translation and glossary with such care.

To Claire Holt we wish to express our thanks for her excellent translation. Having herself visited the Toba Batak area both before and after the war in conjunction with her own research, she is particularly well qualified to do this. Mrs. Holt is at present a Visiting Professor in Cornell University's Southeast Asia Program.

March 25, 1958
Ithaca, New York

George McT. Kahin
Director

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PREFACE OF THE TRANSLATOR

While working on my own research materials related to the regions of Lake Toba, which I first visited in 1938 and revisited in 1956, I came across this article of Dr. J. Keuning and immediately felt regretful that it is accessible to so few students--at Cornell University and elsewhere. Though the necessity of mastering the Dutch language for studies connected with Indonesia's past is increasingly being realized--everywhere--it is a long process. By bits and pieces, a fraction of the many excellent scholarly works originally written in Dutch appear in English translations. I found Dr. Keuning's lecture to contain a very clear statement illuminating simultaneously important historical, sociological and political facets of Toba Batak society. It provides a good preliminary orientation for students wishing to go deeper into the subject, and a concise survey for those who may never be able to do so.

The author's statements are based on extensive study and first-hand experience. Born in 1911, Dr. Keuning studied Indology at Leiden University between 1929 and 1935 with a view toward future civil service in Indonesia. His doctoral thesis dealt with Batak adat-law.* The years between 1935 and 1942 he spent as administrative officer (controleur) in the Batak lands with headquarters, at different times, in Sibolga, Balige and Siborong-borong. For one year and a half he acted as chairman of the highest courts for criminal and civil cases adjudged principally according to Toba Batak customary law. He was interned by the Japanese from 1942 to 1945, returned to the Netherlands on sick leave in 1946 and was later prevented from returning to Indonesia for medical reasons. Since 1948, he has been active at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde at Leiden, where he is at present Conservator of the Indonesian division. Among Dr. Keuning's publications, there are other articles dealing with Toba Batak society and its political and social structure.

C. H.

* Verwantschapsrecht en Volksordening, Huwelijksrecht en Erfrecht in het Koeriagebied van Tapanoeli. Thesis, 1948. (Kinship Law and Social Organization, Marriage and Inheritance Law in the Kuria territory of Tapanuli.)

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GLOSSARY

Abbreviations: (B) Batak language
(D) Dutch
(G) German
(I) Indonesian
(J) Javanese

adat (I)	: custom; customary law; tradition; traditional rules
adat pasisir (I)	: adat of the coastal region, especially north and south of Sibolga
ama (B)	: father
ambtenaar ter beschikking (D)	: lit. "official at the disposal" (of a higher authority)--aide
anak (I,B)	: child
anak boru (B)	: see boru
anggi (B)	: younger brother
Badan Pekerdja (I)	: lit. "working body"--work committee
boru (B)	: lit. daughter(s); also short for anak boru--designation of the patri-lineage into which the women of a patrilineal group marry
bupati (I)	: regent
controleur (D)	: lit. comptroller, inspector; title of a Dutch administrative officer in the Netherlands-Indian civil service, in charge of a large district.
demang (I)	: title of a head of a district
Dewan Negeri (J)	: Council of an administrative territorial unit constituted as a "negeri"--lit. land, state

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Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Kebupaten Tapanuli Utara (I) : Council of People's Representatives of the Regency North Tapanuli

djaihutan (B) : head of a territorial unit called hundulan (abbr. of radja ihutan)

haha (B) : elder brother

hamadjuon (B) : progress

Hatopan (B) Christen Batak : Union of Batak Christians; before the last war a small but active group of dissenters from the Batak Church

Hollands-Inlandse School (D) : Netherlands-Indigenous School, a seven-year elementary school with Dutch as language of instruction

hula-hula (B) : the patri-lineage whence a patrilineal group gets its daughters-in-law

hundulan (B) : small administrative territorial unit composed of several village-complexes

Huria (B) Kristen Indonesia : Congregation of Indonesian Christians

huta (B) : village, hamlet

Huta Dame (B) : Village of Peace

kampong (I) : lit. village; vicinity; settlement; a small complex of huta in the Batak regions instituted by the Netherlands-Indian Administration

kepala negeri (I) : head of a negeri

ketjamatan (I) : an administrative sub-division of a district

kuria (I) : the smallest statutory community in the southern regions of Tapanuli, the equivalent of negeri in Toba Batak regions

Lontung (B) : name of one of the two legendary sons of the first Batak man, after whom a Toba Batak moeity is named

marga (B) : an exogamous patrilineal group--sib, clan

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marga radja (B)	: lit. chief marga--a patrilineal group established in a region in the distant past and with special rights on land; also the marga of chiefs, i.e. traditionally chiefs had to be members of a marga radja
MULO (D)	: abbreviation for Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs--(more advanced elementary education)--a junior high school of occidental pattern in prewar Indonesia
negeri (I)	: 1. land, state; capital city 2. smallest statutory community in Batak regions
OSVIA (D)	: abbreviation of a name of a school for Indonesian civil administrators before the war--Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren
parboru (B)	: father and other close relations of the bride
pasar (I)	: market
pauseang (B)	: designation of a ricefield given by a father to his daughter at marriage or a few years thereafter
piso (I,B)	: knife or sword; general designation of gifts from the boru to its hula-hula relations
radja huta (B)	: village chief
radja ihutan (B)	: title of a chief of a hundulan
radja padua (B)	: title of a chief of a sub-division of a hundulan
rapat (I)	: lit. council, also designation for a court of justice
rapat adat (I)	: adat council, i.e. council of elders and dignitaries on questions of customary law
Rheinische Mission (G)	: name of a German mission--the Rhenish Mission, with headquarters at Wuppertal-Barmen near Düsseldorf
sahala haradjaon (B)	: attributes or qualities of chieftainship

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sawah (I)	: irrigated rice field
si (B)	: prefix to personal names--the, the one
singa (B)	: (from Sanskrit singha--lion) designation for stylized, carved heads of a monstrous creature--a traditional, protective ornament of Toba Batak stuctures
sintua (B)	: lit. elder; title of an auxiliary functionary in a Christian Batak congregation
Si Radja Batak	: name of the mythological progenitor of all Toba Batak
Sumba	: (see Lontung)
tjamat (I)	: head of a ketjamatan (sub-division of a district)
toko (I)	: shop
ubi (I)	: general designation for yams
ulos (B)	: woven cloth: also general designation of gifts from the hula-hula to the boru
wedana (J)	: title of a head of a district

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THE TOBA BATAK, FORMERLY AND NOW*

by Dr. J. Keuning

The aim of this article is first to provide in broad outline some insight into the social factors that play a decisive rôle in the social order of the Toba Batak; then to impart something about this society as it appeared shortly before its contact with the West--i.e. in the first half of the nineteenth century; and, finally to discuss a few significant facts and changes that resulted from the breakdown of its self-imposed isolation. The beginnings of this break may be placed around 1860, when the Rheinische Mission chose the Toba Batak area as a field for its missionary activities.

For the readers of this journal a brief sketch will suffice concerning the nature of the territory inhabited by the Toba Batak and their means of subsistence.

From a purely geographical viewpoint, the region falls into four distinct parts:

1. Lake Toba, about 2,950 feet above sea level, with the island Samosir--populated by some 100,000 people--in it, and the areas along the lake's eastern and southern shores, densely populated and fertile, with a favorable, even climate due to the levelling effects of the large surface of water;

2. the sawah (irrigated rice field) plain of Silindung, some 25 miles to the south, similarly elevated to 2,950 feet, but much warmer during the day and considerably cooler at night-time;

3. the barren highlands of Toba between them--truly a steppe region trenched by ravines, cold and bleak in the rainy season--a region where the inhabitants must wrench their meagre harvest from an unwilling soil; and finally

4. the real mountain-terrain which includes Habinsaran--literally, "the place where the sun rises"--and the area between the interior and the coast of the Indian Ocean, the heart of the Bukit Barisan mountains, often covered with jungle, where the Toba Batak have built their small sawah in the narrow valleys, and where the chronic deficiency of rice is made up for by the cultivation of ubi.

* This article is based on a lecture given on December 13, 1951, at the Rijksmuseun voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. It was first published in Dutch in Indonesië, VI, No. 2, September 1952, The Hague.

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Agriculture is and was the principal means of subsistence in the whole Toba Batak region. Wet rice cultivation is highly developed in Toba and Silindung, where long and well-maintained irrigation ditches have been known for centuries. There is also wet rice cultivation on the Highlands and in Habinsaran,--barely possible considering the nature of the ground--in addition to maize and varieties of ubi. In recent years the cultivation of vegetables, especially of cabbage and onions, has been successfully undertaken in Samosir and in the Highlands.

The Toba Batak live in small villages with no more than some ten family-houses--villages mostly surrounded by a high earthen wall overgrown by adjacent bamboo stools, a micro-world in itself. In the last decades a few little towns have developed--centers of trade and communication and of weekly markets visited by thousands of men and women. In order of importance the principal centers are: Tarutung, Balige, Siborong-borong Porsea, Dolok Sanggul and Pangururan on Samosir.

The Toba Batak as a group, counting some 500,000 members, are located in the middle of other Batak groupings. To the north and northwest their neighbors are the Karo-, Simelungun-, and Dairi- or Pakpak Batak; in the east their territory borders on the Malay coastal area of Sumatra; while to the south of the central Batak-land live the Angkola and Mandailing Batak groups. As for the coastal area on the Indian Ocean, a gradual infiltration of other ethnic elements had taken place there in the course of time. Besides the Batak, we find there--especially in the harbor-towns of Sibolga and Barus, but elsewhere too--many Minangkabau, Achehnese, Niha /people from the island Nias/ and also Chinese. Out of the long, daily association of these groups with each other, a mixed culture has developed, the so-called adat pasisir /custom of the coastal region/, with characteristics of its own, especially in the sphere of marriage and inheritance rights.

From a cultural viewpoint all the above mentioned Batak groups can be regarded as subdivisions of one people, the Batak people, counting some 1 to 1½ million souls. They speak one language, their myths and traditions point to a common origin, their social organization with its varied forms of expression is basically the same.

Even though each Batak group speaks its own dialect, which at first contact is oftentimes mutually unintelligible, the vocabulary, sentence-structure and script of these dialects show so many similarities that no doubt can be entertained that we deal here with one language. This view, as far as I know, is accepted among linguists without exception. Further proof from practical life is the fact that a Toba Batak, for example, can acquire fluency in another Batak dialect without much trouble and effort and the same is true of members of the other Batak groups.

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All Batak consider the Toba Batak territory as their cradle, the land of their origin. Here, according to a Toba Batak version of the myth of origin, Si Boru Deak Parudjar, daughter of one of the gods, descended from heaven and, after a victorious battle with the serpent Naga Padoha, shaped the earth out of a lump she brought with her. Thereafter she married the son of a god who found her in the first Batak village--Si Andjur Mula-Mula, situated on the slope of the holy mountain Pusuk Buhit at the western side of Lake Toba. From this union the first Batak was born--Si Radja Batak, the progenitor of all Batak.

From Si Andjur Mula-Mula the Batak ancestors spread into adjacent Samosir and from there further and ever further over the whole Batak land. The vicissitudes of these ancestors are related in an extensive cycle of stories. While stories about the progressive occupation of new territories in the distant past are wholly legendary, some historical truth can be discerned in those dealing with later centuries. On the basis of these stories and the situation today, this spread of the Batak was recorded and mapped by the Batak civil officer and expert on adat, Waldemar Huta Galung in his Pustaha taringot tu tarombo ni bangso Batak*; by the late resident, Ypes,** in his valuable book on the social organization and land rights of the Toba Batak; and by the eminent /scholar/ Vergouwen, in his admirable work, Het Rechtsleven der Toba Bataks.***

Thus, implied is a consciousness of unity which must have prevailed in an earlier period among the Batak groups even though mutual contacts may not have been particularly frequent. This feeling of unity was strongly undermined by the course of history in the past century when the Angkola-Batak and the Mandailing group embraced Islam; when the Toba Batak were subjected to the influence of Christianity; and the Karo- and Simelungun Batak were administratively incorporated into the residency of Sumatra-East-Coast and were not integrated with other Batak groups in the residency Tapanuli. It was especially the differentiation in religion that brought about such strong antagonism between North- and South-Tapanuli, between the Toba Batak and the Mandailing, that the latter initiated, after 1920, a campaign: they no longer wished to be regarded

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* /Book Concerning the Origin and Genealogy of the Batak People/. Zendingsdrukkery, Laguboti /Sumatra/ 1926.

** /W. K. H. Ypes, Bijdrage tot de kennis van de stamverwantschap, de inheemsche rechtsgemeenschappen en het grondenrecht der Toba en Dairi-Bataks (Contribution to the Study of the Kinship System, Indigenous Autonomous Communities and the Land-rights of the Toba and Dairi-Batak), The Hague, 1932./

*** /J. C. Vergouwen, Judicial Life of the Toba Batak, The Hague, 1933./

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as Batak but wanted recognition as a separate group. It seems that after the war the relations between the Mandailing and the Toba Batak improved.

Finally, it is not difficult to demonstrate that the social structure of all Batak groups rests on a common base. The patrilineal kinship system is dominant everywhere; all Batak know the marga as an exogamous patrilineal clan; they know the asymmetrical connubium as the marriage form; they have territorial bonds which disclose the same structure; and their adat--customary law--reverts in essence to the same basic conceptions.

In Toba Batak society--to which from now on we will wholly limit our discussion--the kinship system with its interwoven bonds of affinal relationships was and is of primary importance. The genealogical principle of this society, with its unilateral patrilineal form and the asymmetrical connubium that links the patri-lineages to each other, commands our attention in the first place. Other factors--such as common location in one territory, common interest in secular and sacred affairs--in most cases are the direct outgrowth of the bonds of kinship by blood or ties through intermarriage.

People live together in smaller or larger patrilineal groups each having its own function and significance in the social order. Of greatest importance, next to the family, is the minor lineage that consists, for example, of descendants of one great-grandfather or one great-great-grandfather. To define the idea, we may state that this is a group of people who live together in one village or in a few neighboring villages, who have close daily contact with each other, who help each other when necessary, who share in one another's joys and sorrows, and who take a common stand against undesirable intervention from outside. Above this minor group there is the major lineage whose unity is based on common patrilineal descent from one ancestor who lived some six to ten generations ago. Such a major lineage inhabits one region with a few dozen villages which have all issued from one common mother-village. These people, too, know each other, meet regularly at festive meals occasioned by a marriage or a death; their rice fields lie interspersed with each other and are irrigated out of communally built and maintained conduits. In times past they used to assemble after the harvest for religious celebration, to thank the gods and the ancestors for the crops with a sacrificial animal and to pray for welfare in the time ahead.

One meets with all kinds of gradations here--the lineages overlap and it depends sometimes on special circumstances as to which group appears strongest as a unit. Also personal factors in leadership often play a temporary role therein.

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Above this major lineage we encounter the marga, the great patrilineal group /or sib/ which according to tradition stems from one ancestor who lived at the dawn of memory--the marga that gives the individual Batak his surname. One man may be called Siahaan, another Situmorang, Pardede, Napitupulu, or Huta Galung and so on. There are scores of marga--there are some that consist of thousands of members. At times a marga inhabits contiguous territory, but often a marga is spread over a number of separated areas. It is possible, however, in most cases to determine by someone's marga name from which region he, or his father, or grandfather, originated.

Today the significance of the marga rests mainly on the rule of exogamy; otherwise it is too large to come into the forefront of social life.

Marriage or sexual intercourse between a man and a woman of the same marga is regarded as incest, the supreme transgression that in former times was punishable by death. Even in modern times its occurrence is exceedingly rare, and such an exceptional case then causes heavy social repercussions.

Above the marga we further find the "great marga" or "head marga,"*composed along traditional patrilineal lines of a group of marga, and, finally, above this greater unit there are the two moieties into which the Toba Batak people are divided: Sumba and Lontung, whose origin are the two sons of Si Radja Batak.

To gain a visual image of this society's structure, it is best to visualize a tree which forks close to the ground into two heavy branches--Sumba and Lontung. Each of these main branches has a number of lateral limbs--the head-marga such as Si Bagot ni Pohan, Sipaettua, Guru Mangaloksa, Radja Mangarerak, etc. Each of these limbs has further branches--the marga and every one of these has twigs and sprouts: the major and minor lineages.

This patrilineal kinship system is reflected, as elsewhere, in the kinship terminology which is classificatory. To give only a few examples--a Batak calls all persons of his own generation in his marga either haha or anggi, older or younger brother; his ama is not only his father but also all other men of his marga of the latter's generation; and he calls all persons who in his marga are genealogically on the same generational level with his sons, his anak /children/. This does not imply, however, that he regards all his relations in the same manner or treats them alike. He differentiates substantially between his own father and his uncles--brothers, cousins and cousins-once-removed of his father; or between his own brothers and those persons whom we would call cousins, or cousins once or twice removed, provided we keep in mind only agnate cousins.

Within the minor lineage, a group descended for instance from one great-grandfather, a very real sense of solidarity exists, a true feeling of blood-ties. This sense weakens as

* /See footnote on p. 22./

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the common ancestor of the persons concerned is more remote; but it reappears among fellow-marga-members, able to establish their mutual relationship only after long conjectures and calculations, when they happen to meet outside their own familiar environment. They are also certain to be helpful to each other under these circumstances.

It is self-evident that in this society the worship of ancestors was the all-important, though not the only, facet of religious life.

As already mentioned earlier, asymmetrical connubium is practiced in this patrilineally ordered society--a system of unilateral marital relationships between lineages, with due consideration, of course, to marga exogamy. The maidens of lineage A of marga I marry young men of lineage B of marge II; the maidens of lineage B become the brides of men of lineage C of marga III, etc. The stress is intentionally upon the lineage and not on the marga. It was surmised that these unilateral marriage relationships should have run aground between the marga as a whole. Girls of marga I to marga II, from marga II to marga III, from III to IV, etc., so that, in theory, one gets a closed system of marital interrelationships involving all Batak marga.

Whether this perhaps was the case in the past, when the Batak, much fewer in number, lived within a much smaller area, or whether Sumba and Lontung were at that time exogamous moieties, may become an interesting subject for theoretical speculations. For an understanding of the present state of affairs it is of less importance.

It is thus--and must have been so for centuries--that unilateral marriage relationships link primarily patri-lineages; it is quite possible that a man of the marga Siahaan is married to a woman of the marga Napitupulu and vice versa, a man of Napitupulu with a woman of Siahaan, provided that the lineages concerned lie sufficiently far apart in the genealogical tree of the marga.

In this asymmetrical connubium--wherein, concomitantly, a preferred form is marriage with a mother's-brother's daughter, in a limited classificatory sense, and marriage with a father's-sister's daughter is obviously strictly forbidden--we always have to deal with a tri-partite relationship between three patri-lineages. On the one side is the hula-hula, the group whence the wives of a given patri-lineage originate; on the other, the boru, the group into which the girls of that lineage marry. This however is only theoretical. In practice each lineage has more than one hula-hula and more than one boru because in the course of years new intermarriage relations are initiated with other lineages. This happens despite a certain preference for strengthening already existing affinal ties through further marriages between members of the youngest generation of the same

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pair of lineages, who then can continue building upon prior bonds. In years past this was the customary pattern, more than at the present when improved means of communication and the greater mobility of Batak society offer much greater opportunities for contacts.

According to now obsolete terminology, a Batak marriage is one of bride-price and is often described in older literature as bride-purchase; it was supposed that the young woman--without any rights--was sold by her father to the family of the bridegroom where she was taken over and treated as a piece of property. Closer study of folk-life and a juster appreciation of the woman's position and of the division of labor between the sexes has taught us differently. It is true that at a marriage the man's family presents a gift to the parboru, the father and close relations of the bride--a gift which in recent times is most frequently a sum of money but which formerly was mostly in natura, such as rice or cattle or other presents. This could be regarded as a compensation for the transference of the woman from one lineage to another, but then it should be considered in context, as a part-transaction in a system of exchange-of-gifts which either already existed, if the two lineages concerned had a prior affinal relationship or would be inaugurated with this gift. The exchange of gifts will be perpetuated at all kinds of occasions that will present themselves in the future: another wedding, a feast at the exhumation and entombment of the bones of a venerated ancestor, at a birth, formerly at a tooth-filing ceremony, nowadays at some church celebration, also when sickness and misfortune strike--in short, at all occasions that are out of the ordinary frame of daily life.

These gifts between groups related to each other through intermarriage of their members have a special name. They are called ulos (literally "cloth" or "woven textile") when given by the hula-hula to the boru. The return present from the boru to the hula-hula is called piso-piso (piso means "knife" or "sword"). Thus--feminine against masculine goods. An ulos-gift could actually be a cloth or several cloths, but can take the form of a sawah as well; the piso-gift nowadays is no longer a knife, but consists of money, cattle, or rice, for example, but never of land.

Only the hula-hula can give a rice-field to the boru, on various occasions--as pauseang when the young couple moves to a separate dwelling some time after the wedding; as ulos na so ra buruk--"a garment that never wears out"--when the family is afflicted by serious adversity, sickness, childlessness; as indahan arian--literally "daily rice"--a sawah specially intended for a firstborn, and in other similar forms. These gifts are always transmitted at a common festive meal, with a solemn address, and always there is a counter-gift from the boru either one that has been given already on an earlier occasion, or presented simultaneously, or given later when some adversity in the hula-hula group offers an opportunity therefor.

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This exchange of presents is a strictly adhered to social obligation and of great importance in social intercourse.

Thus we see the life of a Toba Batak interwoven with that of the kin groups among whom he was born, and also of the different affinal lineages of whose existence he has already become quite conscious early in life.

With his own marriage, a marriage of his sister or his daughter, some of these affinal relatives acquire for him a special significance as groups: they then become his direct hula-hula or boru, his nearest relations to whom he will turn first, in those cases when either the adat or his personal circumstances force him to do so. Together with the members of his own family, these relatives will assist him in a law suit; when in need, these hula-hula and boru will frequently help him out; it will be they who will try to restore peace when dissension rages among the relatives--not an exceptional situation among the Toba Batak with their strong sense of personal dignity, their sensitivity with regard to signs of proper esteem of their social status, and their tenacious opposition, to the extreme, against a true or imaginary injustice.

One can hardly speak of any even somewhat consolidated classes in this society. There never was, and there is not now, a hereditary class of chieftains. Everyone who in a certain region belonged to the marga radja, i.e. to the lineage that since long ago held the rights to the lands of that region, could set himself up as chief if he possessed the appropriate personal qualities and was acceptable by virtue of greater wealth. Every descendant of a founder of a village could become radja huta, first among the descendants inhabiting the village, where again the qualities of his character and personal superiority weighed heaviest. Theoretically one attributed the sahala haradjaon, the qualities a radja should possess,--courage, intelligence and eloquence, hospitality and wealth--to the oldest branch of the lineage concerned; in practice, recognition of leadership was granted to one whose acts and behaviour showed vigour and perseverance. Such a leader could exercise considerable influence upon the local major and minor clans despite being a member of the middle or youngest branch of his lineage. His son could succeed him in his position, had a certain right to preference, but still had to demonstrate that he was worthy of it.

Neither did the Netherlands-Indian administration succeed in establishing a firmer hereditary principle in connection with chieftainship, even though from time to time it made efforts in this direction. When in 1937 a new head had to be installed over a large negeri--the highest autonomous community created by the Netherlands government--in the region of Balige, no less than 90 candidates presented themselves, who all, in long speeches,

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attempted to prove their unique rights to this elevated position. In a remote small negeri of Habinsaran some 40 candidates appeared to plead for their claims to the title.

In the past, this lack of stability--together with other causes--often led to strife, when certain personalities, together with their following of blood and marital relatives, pushed to the fore. Such strife, though in most cases relatively bloodless, caused periods of local unrest, later followed by some consolidation with the emergence of a victor, or by an achievement of a truce with the recognition of a leader who by his very success had proved his right to recognition.

The Toba Batak had lived in virtual isolation from the outside world for a long time. Ages ago they were affected by ideas of the Hinduistic world which shows among other things in the names of their deities such as Batara Guru, Soripada, Mangalabulan, Boraspati; in their calendar where the names of the days and months are of Sanskrit origin; in their soothsaying, in the Singa ornament on their houses, their copper bracelets and their script which is regarded as deriving from India. However, a long period of almost complete isolation followed thereafter, a time when little more was known of the Batak than tales that they were gruesome cannibals, spending their energies in internecine wars, cruel people preferably to be avoided.

This isolation was interrupted only in the thirties of the past century by a fierce raid of robbery and plunder by the Padri--a fanatical Moslem sect from Minangkabau who occupied all of south-Tapanuli from where they ultimately and with great difficulty were driven out by Netherlands-Indian military forces.

The first Europeans who penetrate into Toba Batak territory are the English Baptist missionaries Burton and Ward. Upon advice of Raffles, they trek in the beginning of 1824 from Sibolga to Silindung, where they are well received, and try to preach Christianity. They have no success, however: the Batak advise them, emphatically, that they have no use for other ideas and customs and force them to leave within a few days.

These two missionaries evidently have been sympathetic observers. They land in a market place where they are surrounded by a mass of people, running into the thousands, who are so curious that the visitors must remain on show for hours and hours and repeatedly answer all sorts of questions. They praise Batak hospitality; have a good word to say about their chiefs, who manage to keep the crowd at a certain distance with the help of their long copper pipes; admire the sturdy houses decorated with colored woodcarvings and the regular system of building these structures; they manage to obtain in the course of only a few days some preliminary insights concerning the Batak religious concep-

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tions and to reduce the extravagant tales of Batak cannibalism and cruelty to calmer proportions.

Owing to this journey we get some preliminary knowledge of Batak society in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is a society in which a certain order reigns; where it is possible for great masses of people to assemble; where there are chiefs who can impose their authority; where there are many persons who can read and write their own script; where the cultivation of irrigated rice-fields and everything connected therewith is well developed; where the architecture and utensils testify to good craftsmanship--all of which is later confirmed by the first accounts of the German missionaries who begin their work in Silindung shortly after 1860. Later writings often show a tendency to overstress less favorable factors, such as local wars and feuds, and to give the impression that this society was in a state of constant upheaval while in fact such events were usually locally limited and incidental.

Burton's and Ward's trip leads to no further consequences. The British administration disappears from Sumatra in the same year, 1824. The Dutch successors will still maintain a policy of non-intervention in the Toba Batak area for decades to come.

In the years that follow, a few more European explorers come to Silindung--among them the famous Junghuhn--but these short visits are of little significance to the Toba Batak, give them no more than a glimpse of the outside world from which they wish to keep apart.

The great onslaught for opening up the Central Batak-land comes--without himself being conscious of it--from the great linguist Dr. Neubronner van der Tuuk. Commissioned by the Netherlands Bible Society, he settles in 1850 in the vicinity of Barus as the only European among the Batak. He has to overcome much opposition, but succeeds in the course of about one year in securing acceptance. His stay has been very fruitful for the study of the Batak language--an excellent dictionary, a grammar which is still in use, with reading texts in the Toba-, Dairi- and Mandailing dialects, and a sizable collection of written texts of Batak stories, were the result.

Van der Tuuk's scholarly work is directly connected with the beginning of the activities of the Rheinische Mission among the Toba Batak, which were to become so momentous to them. In 1859, the Rheinische Mission was forced to abandon its field of activity in South Borneo, after the murder of a few missionaries. A new field was being sought and the Batak Lands were chosen after the inspector of the mission, Dr. Fabri, more or less accidentally met Van der Tuuk while on a visit to the Netherlands and was informed by the latter about the Toba Batak and their region.

On October 7, 1861, a decision is taken by four missionaries meeting in Sipirok to proceed northwards, especially to the land of the Toba Batak.

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This date assuredly can be regarded as the turning point that initiates an entirely new situation for the Toba Batak, for now begins their real contact with the West. Wavering at first, then in ever more rapid progression, conversion to Christianity in its Lutheran form takes place, with an increasingly speedy adjustment and adaptation to a new world of ideas that are assimilated in one's own fashion.

This did not happen without initial resistance. When the great missionary, Nommensen--called the apostle of the Batak--settles as first missionary in Silindung in 1864, he certainly is not received with open arms. The people are hospitable, of course,--adat demands it--but they unceasingly insist that he depart. When this meets with no success whatsoever, and Nommensen tenaciously maintains that he wishes to stay on permanently, all manner of obstruction is put in his way. He gets land for a house only after a great deal of trouble, and in a swampy place at that; he may not have wood cut for his house, but must content himself with old materials of an abandoned dwelling at a high purchase price. However, Nommensen is not a man easily deflected by such adversities from the task which he feels to be his calling. With endless patience he talks with the people untiringly, addicted as they are to captious argumentation; plays the violin for them till deep into the night; keeps showing them things he had brought from Europe; and always remains friendly, ever ready to be of assistance.

Before long the situation improves somewhat. People begin to listen attentively to his Bible stories--those of the Old Testament are particularly appreciated. One realizes that this strange person has not come for selfish purposes, that one can learn something from him; that he is not bent on acquiring a position of power. After a year or so, Nommensen baptizes the first eight Batak. A year later there are over 50 men and women--and with this he finds himself suddenly in the midst of new and grave problems. These first Christians suffer great enmity from their social environment. They participate no longer in their own religious customs, refuse to make contributions to the feasts, and turn away--with exaggerated zeal, originally stimulated by Nommensen--from various Batak institutions. This leads to their expulsion, they must leave their villages, relinquish their rice-fields. Nommensen receives them in his place, founds as it were a new village which he names Huta Dame--Village of Peace.

The situation improves considerably when a few leading chieftains embrace Christianity. This conversion of a few radja is of greater significance than would be judged superficially. For they are heads of a lineage, of a territory comprising several villages; they constitute an example for all the men and women who recognize them as leaders; they are the public conscience, as it were, the protectors of adat and of law. It is they who judge, formally and informally, what is just and right. This signifies a turning point for Silindung; one begins to take pride in inviting Nommensen, the friend of several influential

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chiefs, as a guest of honor to a meal, and one calls for his assistance at disputes.

Moreover, Nommensen begins to utilize Batak ambition, the craving for esteem and prestige, also of those who heretofore had no opportunity to assert themselves amid the vicissitudes of Batak society. This he achieves by appointments of sintua, leaders whom he makes responsible for the proper behavior of the first Christians and who, furthermore, are to propagate the new faith among their pagan relations and other co-habitants of their region, all of which gratifies their sense of self-esteem. Batak enthusiasm for innovation is engaged also with the establishment of a school where young and old can learn things that elevate them above their social environment.

Thus, within a few years, the Rheinische Mission had come to occupy in Silindung a recognized or at least a tolerated position. Gradually--even if rather slowly in the beginning--the number of Christians grows. New missionaries arrive who, after a short while, establish their own stations. Nommensen himself builds a big church at Pearadja, near Tarutung, which to the present day remains the center of the Batak Church.

While the start of the Rheinische Mission's work is thus very encouraging, serious trouble begins as soon as it turns towards the North--real, organized resistance of the old against the new arises.

The leader of this resistance is Ompu Pulo Batu, the twelfth and last Singa Mangaradja, a militant personality, exponent of Batak paganism and nationalism, who persevered until his death in 1907.

I cannot dwell deeply here upon this remarkable figure of the Batak world of the past. The Sumba half of Batak society (Lontung did not recognize him) attributed to Si Singa Mangaradja supernatural gifts--he could cause the rains to fall and to stop as desired; elaborate myths were in circulation concerning the birth of the first Si Singa Mangaradja--his mother was said to have been pregnant seven years and when finally he came to the world, the earth shook, terrible storms arose with incessant flashes of lightening, and the rains poured and poured in heavy streams; his tongue was hairy and to sight it meant death to the ordinary mortal.

The various writers who have studied the significance of Si Singa Mangaradja concentrated mainly on the religious significance of this figure, but paid practically no attention to his role in political life. It was said that on some occasions he was able to secure a truce--by sending his staff--between two feuding regions whose protracted hostilities lasted too long and seemed hopeless, but further his influence was not judged to have been of any great consequence.

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This is by no means a complete account of Ompu Pulo Batu who succeeds his father in 1875 /as Si Singa Mangaradja XII./

In the year 1876, the Rheinische Mission extends its field of activities to the Highlands of Toba. A missionary settles at Bahal Batu and one at Lobu Siregar. A wave of unrest spreads through the region with S. S. M. as leader. Then rumour spreads that he is recruiting auxiliary troops from Atjeh, and now the Netherlands Government deems it necessary to send a military expedition. A column of a couple of hundred men makes the long trek across the Highlands, descends into Bakkara--Si Singa Mangaradja's residence at the south-western shore of Lake Toba--and continues along the lake to Balige. Sometimes the population shows resistance and eventually the people abandon their villages; in some villages they are discouraged at the approach of the military forces and report to them. In this case a short-term fine is imposed; but if the chiefs do not arrive to offer submission, the villages are burned.

Nommensen, who participates in this expedition as interpreter, gives a graphic description of the events. Everywhere villages go up in flames; in some regions not a single huta /village/ is spared. By means of this very forceful action, the task is accomplished and peace is restored--in appearance at least. Si Singa Mangaradja hides in a less accessible region.

A controleur (Dutch civil administrator) of the Internal Administration is then installed at Tarutung, in charge of the whole Silindung region. The Government refrains for the time being from any intervention in the areas further to the North.

Meanwhile, the appearance of the military, their effective armament and the show of force have made an impression in Toba. When, thereafter, a few of the leading chiefs--who sense which way the tide is turning--request that a missionary be sent to Balige, they must also accept the condition of the Dutch that simultaneously an administrative officer and a military garrison must be admitted and their orders and directions obeyed.

This opportunistic attitude, which, however, under the circumstances showed a sober appreciation of the future, was not shared by many a chief and his adherents. No sooner does a missionary arrive to stay at Balige in 1883 and a controleur establish himself with a small number of troops at Laguboti (a few miles to the north), than Si Singa Mangaradja unleashes a counteraction. The house of the missionary is set on fire and, somewhat later, the controleur with his soldiers is shut within a huta near Balige by thousands of Batak led by Si Singa Mangaradja himself. The prospects of the besieged ones are gloomy, but during a sally in the early morning Si Singa Mangaradja is wounded, his troops scatter hither and yon, and a small contingent coming from Samosir in boats makes a hasty turnabout and flees home. Again punitive action follows. Fines are imposed as compensation for damages inflicted upon the govern-

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ment and upon the mission whose stations at Lintong ni Huta and at Muara have also been destroyed by fire.

In the ensuing years unrest continues. Cases of arson occur and even a nocturnal attack upon Tarutung, which must be repulsed. Then in 1889 Si Singa Mangaradja invades the government's territory once more, and renewed military action is necessary which brings the same result. The village where Si Singa Mangaradja has established his headquarters is captured too. He himself flees to a remote region west of Lake Toba. This is the end of S.S.M.'s organized resistance. He never appears again in the subjugated area and, finally, in 1907, he is tracked down and killed by a military patrol.

After the last government expedition, Samosir and the northern parts of Toba and Habinsaran, still remain independent, but these regions too are incorporated between 1904 and 1908.

Thus there had been fairly general resistance in the 70's and 80's of the past century, quelled several times by fairly quick and forceful action; and there have always been people, chiefs and others, who from the beginning joined the side of the new rulers. In this respect, history still repeats itself in many periods and in many places.

The Rheinische Mission now moves towards a flourishing period; the power and resistance of the old Batak world is crushed everywhere. Rapidly a readjustment takes place--new churches arise everywhere, converts stream in by the thousands. The mission actually cannot cope with them all, and this causes anxiety among the missionaries concerning the quality of the new Christians. A great demand for education arises as the people feel that new opportunities are opening up, opportunities in the material and spiritual fields which should not be missed.

Inevitably mutual disappointments are not slow in coming.

The Batak expect more than only conversion to Christianity. They expect improvement in their material existance, they want to spread their wings, not to remain within the limitations of their old living conditions. "Hamadjuon"--progress--is the slogan that many adopt as their guiding principle. And here the Batak mission falls short in Batak eyes--it cannot but fall short. The concern of the missionaries is the spiritual salvation, as they conceive it; they demand of all the new Christians a mode of life that is beyond the latter's wishes and powers. The radja expect the missionaries to assist them to secure governmental positions to which they strongly aspire and many are disappointed. "Manche zogen sich beleidigt von den Missionaren und Gottesdiensten zurück. Von den neuernannten Häuptlingen aber trugen einige die Köpfe gefährlich hoch," (1) writes Warneck in

(1) "Some withdrew, offended, from the missionaries and the religious services. But among the newly appointed chiefs, some carried their heads dangerously high."

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his "Sechzig Jahre Batakmission in Sumatra," (2) when he deals with the first re-organization of Batak autonomous communities and the appointment of chiefs by the Netherlands-Indian administration.

One of the expressions of this discord is the establishment in 1917 of the H.C.B., the Hatopan Christen Batak, which sets up branches everywhere and wishes to make use of the small and larger churches spread over the whole central Batak land. The Rheinische Mission resists, the missionary wants to retain full control. Then the H.C.B. goes its own way and provides above all a strong stimulus to economic development--something that the mission always regarded as of secondary importance. This organization still exists today under the name "Huria Kristen Indonesia" but it seems to have lost the élan of its first period. Actually there is less reason for its existence now that the Batak church is completely under Batak leadership.

The first move in this direction was made as far back as 1929 when a new church order was established at a high Synod, introducing church councils that took over the financial administration from the missionaries and were made co-responsible for the welfare of the congregations. Nevertheless, Batak self-confidence was so strongly developed by that time, that alienation persisted between the German missionaries--who still wanted to interfere too much in everything--and the Batak church leaders, of greater or lesser stature. They suspected the missionaries of harboring a sense of superiority--which indeed was there though combined with the best of intentions--and they could hardly bear it any longer.

When, on May 10th, 1940, the German missionaries--among whom there were many convinced adherents of Hitler--were interned, this caused little commotion. One may almost say that it provided a sense of relief among the Batak. The few Dutch Missionaries who came from other regions of Indonesia to take over and to continue the work of the Rheinische Mission, experienced little satisfaction. There was a strong desire to pursue the work independently and apparently this was done with success after the Japanese occupation.

All above is somewhat generalized; open enmity was relatively rare, but there was rather considerable coolness in mutual understanding, which in former times, took the shape of the missionary acting as a father to his multitude of under-age children, a number of whom could be charged with all sorts of tasks, who could be entrusted with a certain degree of responsibility but who had to continue to accept the missionary's leadership, even when they themselves felt that they had come of age.

After the war signs of rapprochement appeared--in a strongly

(2) /"Sixty Years of Batak Mission in Sumatra,"/, Berlin, 1925, p. 126.

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changed situation. The Rhenish missionary Müller-Krüger, teacher at the Higher Theological School of Djakarta, journeyed through the Batak Lands in the summer of 1950, enjoying warm contact with the Batak church leaders. The Batak church requested the Rheinische Mission to send out three physicians and a few European nurses. The present head of the Batak church recently received an honorary doctorate in theology at the University of Bonn.

Since 1935 the Catholic mission, too, has been active among the Toba Batak. In the beginning especially, the following of this new direction came from those who for one reason or another were dissatisfied with their place in the Batak church. Furthermore one was glad to take advantage of the education offered. Discords within extended family circles were occasioned by this double set of missions, too. The Catholic mission managed to take root in a few places though sometimes not without much dissent and local opposition. After the war the majority of its missionaries returned to their former stations to continue their work but under much more difficult conditions. It would appear that they have won for themselves a permanent, though still modest position.

Having reviewed missionary activities as one facet of Toba Batak contact with the West, we no face the question what kind of influence the Netherlands-Indian administration had, what was the significance for Batak society of its incorporation into the Netherlands-Indian entity and of the possibilities stemming therefrom.

The first administrative officers--often briefed by the missionaries--tried to create some order in the multiplicity of organizational forms that resulted from the Toba Batak kinship system. They recognized at once the great significance of the huta as the smallest political unit, but were confronted with the difficulty that it was unfeasible in practice to deal with these thousands of, often minute, communities. Above them they saw the territories, inhabited by one lineage and its relations. In some cases a fairly large territory could be regarded as an entity under one head with some degree of central authority; in others, a region would be split into smaller village-complexes without a central figure recognized as leader of the whole; or unity was disrupted by disputes over sawahs, gambling debts, complaints of one chief against subjects of another, complications that resulted from some prior wedding promises, etc.

It was essential to introduce some order. Huta were joined into kampongs with primary attention to their mutual location and much less to the question whether or not they actually belonged together. Kampong heads were appointed as bearers of an entirely new office. They were especially charged with the execution of

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governmental regulations, supervision of the labor dues /corvée/ and later the collection of taxes. They were not intended to be adat chiefs, but in the course of years they managed to nibble away quite a bit from the modest prerogatives of the radja huta /village head/.

Kampongs were joined into hundulan headed by a djaihutan--an abbreviation of radja ihutan, literally "head who has to be followed," i.e. obeyed. Sometimes it was convenient to make a certain area directly into a hundulan and then only one person was recognized there as the leader. Often, however, a middle way had to be sought when one complex was too small to form an administrative unit and several such complexes were joined to constitute one hundulan, of suitable size. All this caused strife between the representatives of lineages that were to be joined together, and the administrative officer was stormed by people who competed with each other as candidates for headship. Then solution was often found in the invention of still another new function, the radja padua, subordinated to the djaihutan as head of a subdivision of a hundulan.

In short, while the administration tried as much as possible to take into consideration the social structure, there were many practical difficulties that prevented a satisfactory solution.

After the Administration had worked for several decades with these hundulans and the djaihutans and the radja padua, it came to the conclusion that these units were too small for the progressively comprehensive functions of government--the controleur had to deal with too many heads. The administrative units had to be enlarged and an intermediate link created between controleur and folk-chief.

This led to the formation in 1917 of the still existing negeri, mostly composed of a few hundulan. In the Central Batak Land there are about 170 such negeri averaging some 3,000 in population; some are smaller but a few, considerably larger. While marga relationships were given consideration, this nevertheless was an entirely new creation. It became particularly apparent at the appointments of negeri heads, officials whose function had no basis in the old adat system. The appointment of heads of negeri was a continuous source of woe. When the inhabitants were permitted to vote, bribery and other means to subvert the voters were common phenomena, and, moreover, in the allocation of voting rights little or no consideration was given to the adat differentiations between kinship by blood and affiliation through inter-marriage. In a later attempt to establish adat consultation, the first problem was the composition of members of such a rapat adat, an adat council that had of course never before existed for a negeri; the second difficulty was the great number of candidates, as there was no hereditary principle in the adat. Thus the principle of consultation through an adat-council did not yield a satisfactory solution either. In the period when a final decision by the Resident was being awaited,

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a flood of petitions poured in, and when ultimately the knot was cut, a stream of complaints followed--to the Governor-General, to the Volksraad /People's Council/, and to other authorities. The result was agitation and unrest before as well as after the decision. Another consequence was that the newly appointed Kepala Negeri /head of negeri/ had little authority by virtue of his status per se, and had to prove his worth in practice by showing what sort of authority he could gain over the people of his negeri and especially over his disappointed rival-candidates.

This whole configuration also explains to a large extent why the district administration came to play such a predominant role. Simultaneously with the formation of the negeri, districts and sub-districts had been established, headed by a demang and assistant-demang respectively. Initially these were recruited from amongst the most capable Batak officials found at the offices of the Controleurs or in other bureaus of special services; later they were trained at the OSVIA, the training school for indigenous officials. A sub-district comprised ten to fifteen negeri; a district usually had two or three sub-districts. Later the district was abolished and the demang became an ambtenaar ter beschikking /aide/, to the Controleur.

This system further undermined the position of the heads of negeri; the assistant-demang was the person to whom the people applied directly; the controleur, for his part, also turned for all sorts of questions to the assistant-demang and not to the head of negeri. The latter became almost a sort of fifth wheel, who had to carry out whatever either the European or the Batak officials requested but from whom little initiative was expected. In the sphere of justice heads of negeri could deal together with the kampong heads--only with the simplest of cases; further, they were in turn members of the lower and higher rapat (court of justice), chaired by the assistant-demang or a European government official. Next, together with their kampong heads, they also had to collect the taxes, enforce the corvée and cooperate in different plans for increasing welfare in their negeri.

Yet headship of a negeri was keenly sought: it provided, after all, status and prestige and regular contact with the European officials who, for that matter, supported the heads of negeri when these had to cope with internal troubles in their territory; for peace and order had to be maintained.

It is not surprising that the function of kepala negeri, which was never quite assimilated in the growing social organism, ceased to exist in its original form after the war. Every negeri now has an elected council: the Dewan Negeri, under rotating chairmanship. The district administration is being maintained though the titles--demang and assistant-demang--have been abolished and supplanted by Javanese titles, wedana and assistant-wedana. Besides, there are now 33 territorial-subdivisions--ketjamatan--formed under one tjamat, something quite new.* The

* /as of 1951, when this lecture was given in Leiden/.

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position of these tjamat is not quite clear to me.* My sources were a number of Batak weeklies whose readers are naturally familiar with this function in daily life. It appears that 31 of these ketjamatan have a pasar /market/, so that the care of the market system, so important in the Batak-lands, may well be one of the significant functions of the tjamat.

Thus the missions as well as the Netherlands-Indian government have wrought great changes in Batak society. From these two sources also stems education for which a great demand existed and still exists, ever since the Rheinische Mission started its activities. There were three-year folk-schools throughout the land for the ultimate education of village youth. This elementary education was given by a mission-teacher who on Sundays, was also leader in the small village church. Above these folk schools were the continuation schools among which some were exclusively for girls. Further, there were a few Hollands-Inlandse schools /schools on the Dutch model for indigenous students/, and at Tarutung a MULO. All education was virtually in the hands of the mission which--by its own admission--received for this a substantial subsidy from the Government. During the Japanese occupation all these schools were transformed into public schools, but apparently there is talk again of transferring them to the Batak church.

However extensive--by comparison with other parts of the Netherlands Indies--the opportunities for education may have been, they did not nearly meet the needs. This accounts for the prewar existence of various so-called "wild schools," schools where sometimes English was taught too, schools often led by unqualified teachers and where the standard of education was low.

Striving for social advancement underlay this desire for education. The young people sought some job with the mission and at government offices and later flocked to the East Coast to seek employment in offices of the estates /plantations/. Due to their intelligence and zeal they met relatively high standards. A number of them have gone far: there are Toba-Batak physicians, lawyers and other academically trained professional men. One repeatedly meets Toba-Batak names among officials of the present Republican Government and among the higher military. Complaints that the Toba-Batak intelligentsia are abandoning their own land for better opportunities elsewhere is far from unjustified.

* /The author says that since writing this article he has learned that the tjamat has replaced the assistant-wedana and probably has functions similar to those of the prewar assistant-demang. Dr. Keuning adds that there seem to be now some 8-12 ketjamatan more than there were sub-districts before the war./

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At present one finds Toba-Batak colonies throughout Indonesia and in Malacca, where, continuing to adhere to their own church and the Batak adat, they form a group somewhat apart. Thousands of Batak have permanently settled on the East Coast of Sumatra. Trade, which could begin to develop with the opening of the Batak-land, is another stimulus for Batak energy and talent. There are a few centers of trade and communication, already mentioned earlier--Balige and Tarutung especially--where practically all enterprises are in Batak hands. The Chinese could not play their usual role of wholesale merchants and middlemen among the Batak. The toko /shops/ are Batak-owned; Batak own the motor vehicles for the transportation of people and goods; the trade in and transportation of rice and benzoin--the principal export articles--is in Batak hands. Batak merchants and traders import and distribute articles that are now in demand from abroad and elsewhere. The importation of goods is facilitated by the favorable location of Batak centers along the main Medan--Sibolga--Bukit Tinggi highway, and their distribution by the extensive network of side-roads along which trucks can reach remote settlements. For this the past tense ought to be used--since these side-roads, some 1,000 miles surely, are at present apparently in very poor condition and many crumbled bridges and culverts are said to make some stretches impassable.

We may state that in the course of the past century the Toba Batak have managed to make an excellent adjustment, to seize upon the new opportunities and still remain true to themselves. There is no question of disintegration. The kinship system remains intact; tradition and customary law remain strong and equally binding for persons who have risen to social prominence. The great mass of villagers still cultivate their sawah in the same way as they did a hundred years ago; next to this, trade and communication have become new sources of income. The community bonds have remained strong in the villages, and religion, while changed in form, seems to satisfy the people's needs judging by the flourishing Batak church.

The old Batak crafts--weaving excepted--have disappeared. Copper-, gold-, and silver smiths have vanished, and the typical sturdy, and beautifully decorated but unhygienic houses, are no longer being built. The manner of dressing has changed drastically, especially for men, who prefer trousers, shirt and jacket to hip-skirt and shoulder cloth.

Next to the desire for new knowledge and experience, interest in their own adat and history is maintained in Batak society. A modest postwar weekly publication devotes much space to these subjects.

The last ten years have been difficult ones for the Toba Batak. With the arrival of the Japanese they adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Of enmity against the Dutch, which could have easily exploded then,there were no signs. The Japanese appear to have earned the people's hatred, quite understandably, as they

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took no trouble to comprehend these people and their customs, and military dictate goes against Batak grain. After the truce, the Batak-lands were left to their own devices. An administration was organized, first over the whole of Tapanuli, under a Toba-Batak Resident aided by a representative council. Later the central Batak-land became more independent as Tapanuli Utara /North-Tapanuli/. It is headed by a bupati /regent/ and there is a representative council: Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Kebupaten Tapanuli Utara. A small working committee--Badan Pekerdja--is chosen therefrom. Under the bupati's authority are the wedana and the tjamat. In Sibolga there is further a so-called coordinator, often still referred to as Resident, for the whole of Tapanuli which, in turn, is part of the province of North-Sumatra with a Governor in Medan.

There was violent resistance in the Batak-lands against the Dutch during the second police-action; guerrilla warfare blazed; only the main highway seems to have been accessible to Dutch troops and then only with convoys and at great risk of attacks. Particularly dangerous was the notorious section of the road between Tarutung and Sibolga with its 1,300 curves over a distance of some 40 miles. I cannot judge to what extent this was a spontaneous general uprising or an action led by a well-organized minority. Apparently there were a number of former Batak civil officials, heads, and private individuals who rejoined the returning Netherlanders which later led to their exile to the East Coast and the destruction or confiscation of their property.

As regards the present situation as of 1952, the following can be said on the basis of available information:

Compared with the years up to and including 1941, the material circumstances have regressed; the roads, bridges and markets are in poor condition for lack of maintenance over a period of years; the export and import of goods does not always proceed successfully--in 1950 tons of cabbage and other vegetables had to be permitted to rot; life is more expensive. There are complaints about an excess of government officials, especially of incompetent ones who owe their position to their former participation in guerrilla action. Bribery and corruption are apparently not rare; the educational system suffers from a lack of well-trained personnel.

On the positive side there is security in the whole Toba-Batak region; a prospering and well-organized Batak church despite understandable financial obstacles; a frank press which dares to criticize all sorts of deficiencies and even does not hesitate from time to time to make some comparisons with more favorable prewar conditions--a press which does not yield to threats of personal persecution, as have actually occurred. There is an administrative organization together with representative

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councils which seem to have successfully overcome initial growing pains. There is conscious realization of existing imperfections and efforts are made to overcome them. Instances of such efforts are the establishment of cooperatives; of an association of the marga-complex Guru Mangaloksa--counting tens of thousands of members--aiming at economic and cultural betterment; or a delegation sent by the representative council of North Tapanuli to the Central Government in Djakarta with a well-formulated program of fair demands which showed a good understanding of the present difficulties. I believe that Toba-Batak leaders have shown considerable discernment and integrity; their insight is already confirmed by the way in which they uphold the esteem of their own adat and language at a time when their own cultural values could so easily disintegrate and pass on to a colorless cultural uniformity.

* /In further elucidating the perhaps ambiguous use of the word marga, the author explained (in a letter) that the term "head marga" was introduced as hoofdmarga by Vergouwen to indicate that such a "head marga" consists of several patrilineally related marga that descended from this "head marga." For example: the head marga in the Silindung valley near Tarutung is Guru Mangaloksa. It has four branch-marga:

Guru Mangaloksa - (Huta Barat
(Panggabean
(Huta Galung
(Huta Toruan

The last, Huta Toruan, is further split into Huta Pea and Lumban Tobing.

The great difference between the head marga and the marga is that the head marga is no longer exogamous.

The "head marga" is not to be confused with the marga radja (marga of chiefs) mentioned on p. 8, which is that lineage (a part of the marga) in a given autonomous region which traditionally exercises chieftanship and possesses special rights on the land.

The Batak themselves use the word marga for all major patrilineal groups, for the exogamous marga, and also for what we term "head marga," which consists of several exogamous marga./7

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