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Treasures of Indonesia's Cultural Heritage: Van der Tuuk's Collection of Batak Manuscripts in Leiden University Library

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ABSTRAK

Banyak manuskrip dalam pelbagai bahasa Batak yang dikumpul Herman Nurbronner van der Tuuk semasa berada di Sumatera Utara (1851 hingga pertengahan 1857) disimpan di Perpustakaan Universiti Leiden. Isi kandungan koleksi itu mencerminkan bukan sahaja minat Van der Tuuk, tetapi juga Dutch Bible Society yang menggajinya. Tugas utama beliau adalah membekalkan bahan pengajaran bahasa Batak kepada mubaligh Kristian protestan. Sehubungan itu, banyak manuskrip dalam koleksinya adalah yang berkaitan amalan keagamaan Batak dan mitos serta cerita yang mempunyai hubungan keagamaan. Memandangkan minat peribadinya lebih luas daripada hal agama, beliau juga mengumpul maklumat yang lebih umum tentang kebudayaan Batak dan penerangan tentang adat resam tempatan yang bermanfaat kepada sarjana di bidang kesusasteraan dan undang-undang adat serta pentadbir. Setelah kematian beberapa orang sarjana bahasa Batak, koleksi manuskrip Van der Tuuk mengenai Batak sudah sekian lama diabaikan. Rencana ini memperkatakan kesesuaian koleksi manuskrip yang unik ini kepada penyelidik di Indonesia dan negara yang lain. Perhatian khas telah diberi kepada manuskrip dalam bahasa Diari yang sudah terancam.

Kata kunci: Van der Tuuk, manuskrip Batak, pustaha, agama Batak, cerita rakyat

ABSTRACT

A large number of manuscripts in various Batak languages, collected by Herman Neubronner Van der Tuuk during his stay in North Sumatra (1851 until mid-1857) is kept in Leiden University Library. The contents of the collection reflect not only Van der Tuuk's own interests, but also the interest of Dutch Bible Society who employed him. His main task was to provide materials for the instruction of Batak languages to protestant Christian missionaries. Therefore, many manuscripts in the collection are connected with Batak religious practices and contain myths and stories with a religious meaning. As Van der Tuuk's personal interest went far beyond religious matters, he also collected more general information on Batak culture and explanations of

local customs that were useful to scholars of literature and of "adat-law" as well as to administrators. Following the death of the few scholars of Batak languages, Van der Tuuk's collection of Batak manuscript has long been left unattended. This paper discusses the relevance of this unique manuscript collection for researchers in Indonesia and in the world at large. Special attention is paid to manuscripts in the presently endangered Dairi language.

Key words: Van der Tuuk, Batak manuscripts, pustaha, Batak religion, folklore

INTRODUCTION

The well-known linguist Herman Neubronner Van der Tuuk collected a large number of manuscripts in various Batak languages during his stay on the west coast of Sumatra, first in Sibolga, then in Barus, from 1851 until mid-1857. Since 1894 this collection has been kept as his legacy in Leiden University Library.

The contents of the collection reflect, besides Van der Tuuk's own interests, the interest of the Dutch Bible Society who employed him. As his main task was to prepare a translation of 'the Bible' and to make a description of 'the Batak language' for the instruction of Protestant missionaries (Groeneboer 2002:5-10), many manuscripts in the collection deal with Batak religious beliefs and practices: they contain instructions for divination, magical devices, medical treatment as well as myths and stories with a religious meaning, such as creation myths. There are two main groups of Batak languages: the Northern group contains the related Karo and Pakpak-Dairi and the Alas dialect, the Southern group includes Simalungun, Toba, and Angkola-Mandailing (Voorhoeve 1955:9; Kozok 1999:14).

However, Van der Tuuk was not a missionary, but a scholar with a passion for languages and linguistic problems, thus his interest went far beyond religious matters. So, he collected much general information on various aspects of Batak languages and cultures that proved useful for scholars of literature and of 'adat-law' as well as for administrators.

Van der Tuuk's linguistic studies resulted in a Toba grammar and Toba-based Batak – Dutch (Nederduitsch) dictionary (1861) and a Batak reader (Bataksch Leesboek; 1860-1862) with pieces in Toba, Dairi and Mandailing. The manuscripts he collected served as a basis for these publications. He also translated parts of the *Old Testament* and of the *New Testament* into Toba and other Batak languages: the books *Genesis* and *Exodus,* the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

During the last decades, the collection of Batak manuscripts in Leiden University Library has been left almost untouched, as the number of scholars of Batak languages is dwindling. It is possible that the contents of these manuscripts will soon be inaccessible and forgotten, because there is nobody left who can

read them. This paper discusses the relevance of this unique collection for researchers in Indonesia and the world at large. Special emphasis will be on manuscripts in the Dairi language that have received little scholarly attention until now.

VAN DER TUUK'S BATAK MANUSCRIPTS IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

In the introduction to his guide for the collection of Batak manuscripts in Leiden University Library, Codices Batacici, Voorhoeve writes that Van der Tuuk's collection of Batak manuscripts is outstanding because it is "the only large collection that has been assembled with full knowledge of the facts" (Voorhoeve 1977:4). Van der Tuuk's collection contains different types of manuscripts:

A. 152 *pustaha* (a Toba term) made from strips of tree bark folded like an accordion with writing in Batak characters.[1]
B. bamboo tubes or pieces with Batak characters and drawings
C. European paper manuscripts in Batak or Latin characters.

PUSTAHA

Since approximately the 18th century, *pustaha* have been bought and brought to Western countries by collectors. These tree-bark books, presently kept in European libraries and museums (Voorhoeve 1972; Perret 1994), were appreciated not so much for their contents, which were not usually understood by the buyers, but they were considered as a curiosity or work of art.

As a preparation for his fieldwork in North Sumatra, Van der Tuuk could study some Batak tree-bark manuscripts kept in Amsterdam and in London. During his stay in North Sumatra, he collected *pustaha* and learned to interpret them with the help of religious experts (*datu*), who must have been quite numerous at the time. He also employed them to write or copy many of the *pustaha* in his collection while he was living in Barus. As he was not a religious person, *pustaha* must have primarily served him as a means to learn the language. *Pustaha* contain prestigious secret and sacred knowledge that is not only difficult to learn, but also, as Winkler (1925:75) has pointed out, quite expensive to obtain, so that only the sons of wealthy people, clan leaders, or close relatives of a *datu* had access to it. The fact that Van der Tuuk was interested in *pustaha* put him in contact with influential people and must have increased his prestige in Batak communities.

The process of manufacturing tree-bark books requires much skill as has been described by scholars like Winkler (1925:76ff) and Kozok (1999:30-3). While the art of manufacturing the books is still practised by a few artisans, mainly for the tourist industry, the knowledge to write the texts that such books used to

contain seems to have already been lost (Kozok 1999:30-1). Voorhoeve wrote in the *Introduction to the Codices Batacici* that a critical text edition with translation of a *pustaha* text had not yet been published and to my knowledge, it has not been published since then (Voorhoeve 1977:4).

The tree-bark books collected by Van der Tuuk all use the Toba language. The only two *pustaha* that derive from the Dairi region have texts with a mixture of Dairi and Toba elements. *Pustaha* texts typically deal with ritual, prayers, magic and divination and are often illustrated by magic drawings. They are made and used by *datu* who perform such rituals and can only be fully understood by these ritual experts. Information on the chain of teachers, the author and his student or commissioner is often given at the beginning of the text.

*Pustaha Or 3429, 27 leaves. 27 × 24 cm. (Photo 1)
This Toba text deals with divination in the context of the important buffalo sacrifice (*porbuhitan*) and has been used for Voorhoeve's article on this topic (Voorhoeve 1958). The two Dairi *pustaha* in Van der Tuuk's collection are small and simple, both deal with topics connected with ritual and protective magic.

PHOTO 1. Pustaha Or 3429
(*Courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*)

*Pustaha Or 3554, 51 leaves. 6 × 4.05 cm. (Photo 2)
The author and his chain of teachers mentioned in this book originate from the Dairi region, therefore Voorhoeve considers the text as Dairi-Batak, although 'the language is mainly the Toba *poda*-language' (1977:85-86). This Toba 'language of instruction' (*hata poda*) used in *pustaha* contains many uncommon words and each type of divination uses specific terminology (Van der Tuuk 1971:XLIII). The text deals with '*saetan*', that is according to Van der Tuuk "the parts of an animal slaughtered for a ritual feast that must be put aside for the spirits" and with various kinds of magic means to get rid of enemies.

PHOTO 2. Pustaha Or 3554 (*Courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*)

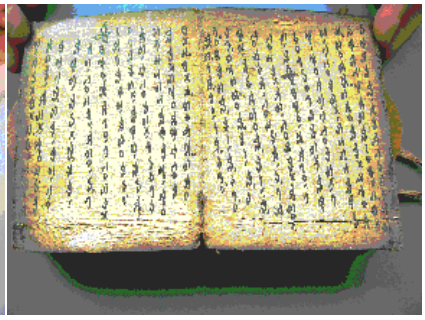

PHOTO 3: Pustaha Or 3521 (*Courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*)

*Pustaha Or 3521, 41 leaves. 13 × 10.3 cm. (Photo 3)
This text states that the author is a Dairi, named (M)Pu Landa, his teacher Datu Morparang came from Toba. While the language is largely Toba Batak, Voorhoeve considers this as a Dairi text because the spelling is Dairi and it contains many Dairi words. It deals with various topics such as prayers (*tabas*) for chicken-divination, ritual cleansing, amulets and the interpretation of dreams (1977:71-72).

TEXTS ON BAMBOO TUBES

Being an easily available material bamboo is closely connected with daily life and is often inscribed with texts that require less specialist knowledge. In fact, bamboo chips served as scribbling boards for students beginning to study the art of writing Van der Tuuk (1971:L). points at a connection between material and content of the manuscript "the stories, laments, ditties, narrative riddles and poems are mostly written on bamboo" and "the prescriptions on divination are usually written on bark" (Van der Tuuk 197:L). In another publication, he also points at a difference in spelling: *pustaha* use an 'etymological' spelling, aiming to be understood by all speakers of Batak languages, the texts on bamboo represent the pronunciation of a word in one particular dialect (Van der Tuuk 1856:53).

Letters inscribed on pieces of bamboo prove that the art of reading and writing was not entirely the privilege of the religious experts and was not restricted to ritual practices. In fact, Karo love poems (*bilang-bilang*) inscribed on bamboo may have functioned as a magic device (Kozok 2000:50-51). It is still possible to find recently made Batak calendars as well as bamboo utensils and musical instruments inscribed with Batak characters and drawings.

*Or 3576, 154 e – a note kept with the piece says that this is a pressing letter from Si-djoda to the *pengulu* of *lau djuur* ("Brandbrief van Si-djoda aan den *pengulu* van *lau djuur*"). (Photo 4).

PHOTO 4. Pustaha Or 3576
(*Courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*)

MANUSCRIPTS ON EUROPEAN PAPER IN BATAK AND LATIN CHARACTERS

The manuscripts on European paper in Van der Tuuk's collection are more personal than the manuscripts on tree-bark or bamboo, as they were produced at his request. The contents of these paper manuscripts cover a great variety of topics that reflect his wide interest. Most of these were written in Batak characters by people he employed to teach him the language, to copy manuscripts, to write down stories and to help in checking his Bible translations. Van der Tuuk also wrote some of the texts, such as transcriptions from *pustaha* or from bamboo originals, in Latin characters. In Barus, Van der Tuuk collected the loose leaves into 25 volumes with numbered pages and a table of contents; these volumes were bound in The Netherlands. Often, different types of texts in different Batak languages and on different topics occur in the same volume.

Or 33 qq.p.17 First page or Van der Tuuk's transciplia of the Dairistory 'Patu Rangga Jodi'. (Photo 5)

The different types of Batak texts in Leiden University library have been classified in Voorhoeve's *Codices Batacici* into the following genres:

A. Stories; B. Riddle-stories; C. Riddles; D. Poetry; E. *Andung* (laments); F. Descriptions of peoples (*volksbeschrijving*); G. *Uhum* (law); H. Instruction on the knowledge of the

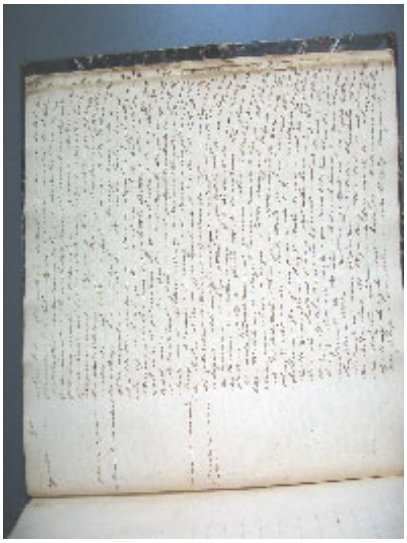

PHOTO 5. Pustaha Or 3399
(*Courtesy Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*)

datu; I. *Hadatuon* (knowledge of the *datu*); J. Letters; K. Lexicografic data; L. Van der Tuuk's Bible translation; M. Van der Tuuk's notes; N. Later pieces.

Voorhoeve considered the Leiden collection of Batak manuscripts unique because, besides the written literature that is found in most manuscript collections, these manuscripts contain "a wealth of originally orally transmitted folktales that have been put into writing at the initiative of Dr. H. N. Van der Tuuk and Ch A. Van Ophuijsen" (Voorhoeve 1977:3). Although Batak peoples had a script before Van der Tuuk's arrival, Batak 'literature' was not usually written down, it was Van der Tuuk who started this process. In his Toba grammar, Van der Tuuk (1971:L) characterized Batak literature as follows:

> The literature consists of prescriptions (*poda*) dealing with divination, stories, invocations to spirits, laments (*andung*), ditties (*ende*), long-winded poems, such as, for example, the *si-marganggang gaol*, and narrative riddles (*torhan-torhanan*). He remarks that the larger part is in prose into which, however, a great number of short verses are introduced.

Following Van der Tuuk, writers on Batak literature tend to generalize the situation in Toba for all Batak speech communities, but in fact there are many variations in the use of terminology between different Batak dialects.[2] Siahaan's *Sedjarah Kebudajaan Batak* (1964:69-71) mentions five literary genres, using mostly Toba terminology:

1. *umpama*, proverbs, maxims and similes consisting usually of 4-line verses, like the Malay *pantun*.

2. *andung-andung*, sung lamentations using special words and stylised expressions, performed mainly by women.
3. *tonggo-tonggo*, poetically arranged prayers for festive occasions. A sub-category are *tabas*, chanted spells that often contain borrowings from other languages.
4. *huling-hulingan*, short riddles, and *torhan-torhan*, narrative riddles.
5. *turi-turian*, stories including myths, legends and (fairy)tales.

Of these genres, the stories are best represented in Van der Tuuk's collection, they also received most attention from scholars, starting with Van der Tuuk himself who used them for his Batak Reader.[3] As an example, I present the beginning of a Dairi creation myth that is particularly interesting for the study of religion and folklore.

PERMUNGKAHEN PERTENGAHEN ENA, THE ORIGIN OF THIS MIDDLE

This Dairi story found in manuscript Or 3420 and Or 3421 tells about the creation of the earth and its inhabitants. This is the first Dairi story printed in Batak characters in the third part of Van der Tuuk's Batak reader (p. 1-44); in the fourth part it is followed by a Dutch translation with comments (p. 48-73). Van der Tuuk explains the title in a footnote as follows: "Batak people divide the world in 3 sections: 1. heaven as the dwelling place of the actual gods (the Upper Gods); 2. this middle as the dwelling place of the middle-gods (people, lesser spirits, spooks etc) and 3. the nether world as the dwelling place of *Naga padoha*, *Rangga puri* etc."[4] The story begins as follows:

THE ORIGIN OF THIS MIDDLE

Once upon a time long ago, it is told, the upper-god came down here. The reason, they say, that he went down, was that his wife who was pregnant felt a craving for a pregnant male mouse-deer. His wife, it is told, said: "If you wish, oh son of my Aunt, that this fruit of my body will come into being, you must get me a pregnant male mouse-deer to eat, so that this fruit of my body will come into being." These were the words of the God's spouse.

Then, it is told, the God spoke: "If you say that you must eat a pregnant male mouse-deer, so that what is inside your body will see the light of day, oh Uncle's daughter, then I will order my young men to hunt it. Hopefully the mouse-deer that you desire will soon be found, so that I can soon give it as food to you, and our mind will be calm, and your unborn child will no longer be disturbed by ghosts, oh uncle's daughter." These were, it is said, the words of the God. Then the God ordered his helper Haji Guru to go hunting, and He ordered a crow to go with him.

When it was like that Haji Guru really went hunting with the crow. He ordered his seven dogs to come along, and he went hunting. When he had gone, then, it is told, he incited them to hunt. His dogs destroyed energetically all sorts of animals [but] they did not come across a pregnant male mouse-deer.

OR 3420 P. 392: PERMUNGKAHEN PERTENGAHEN ENA

Asa lot mo kunuken Debata i datas langit susur arnia mi teruh ena. Ia karnana asa susur ia mi teruh ena, bakin berat daging mo jelmana mengidamken pelanduk tonggal balemen. Asa mongkam mo kunuken jelmana idi: "Muda naing mo katemu urun ale anak mamberu, mi kenggeluhen berat dagingku ena, tulusken bangku pelanduk tonggal balemen panganenku, asa mun kembali dukak berat dagingku ena. Bagi mo kata tinokor Debata idi.

Asa mongkam mo Débata idi kunuken: "Muda pelanduk balemen ngo nimu ipangan kono asa mi kelerangen si mi bagasen dagingmu idi alé beru ni puhun, kudokken pè iperburu naposonta. Madatuah jumpa tor pelanduk si nipenggarammu idi, asa entor kuberèken ipangan kono, asa pelcik penarihinta, malot nèngé itokal bégu bertihmu idi alé beru ni puhun." Bagi mo kata Débata idi kunuken. Asa idokken Débata idi mo naposona si Haji Guru kunuken merburu. Asa idokken Débata idi mo deket sada kak.

Kenca bagidi asa lako mo tuhu si Haji Guru memburu idi deket kak idi. Asa iarahken mo biangna perburu pitu, asa lako mo ia merburu idi. Kenca lako ia iendengken mo kunuken ipejaja pengayakna idi. Gahgah mo kunuken irakasken pengayakna idi nasa gumana binatang, malot jumpa sa pelanduk tonggal balemen.

Bataksch Leesboek IV, p. 48-7, Dairische stukken I. Scheppingsverhaal

DE OORSPRONG VAN DIT MIDDEN

De boven-god steeg eens, zegt men, nu lang geleden, hier naar beneden. De reden nu dat hij, zegt men, naar beneden steeg, was omdat zijn mensch zwaar van lijf was, en de lusten hebbende trek had aan een zwanger mannetjes-reebokje. Zijn mens, zegt men, sprak: "Zo ge wilt o zoon van Moei dat deze mijn lijfvrucht 't geluk hebbe in 't leven te komen, zoek dan voor mij een zwanger mannetjes-reebokje tot mijn eten, opdat deze mijn lijfvrucht 't geluk hebbe een kind te worden". Zo waren de woorden van 't koopsel van de God.

Toen sprak, zegt men, de God: "indien gij zegt, een zwanger mannetjes-reebokje te moeten eten, opdat wat in uw lijf is tot 't daglicht kome, o Ooms dochter! dan zal ik mijn jongeren bevel geven er jacht op te maken. Moge het door u begeerde reebokje spoedig gevonden worden, opdat ik't u spoedig te eten geve; opdat ons gemoed gerust zij, dat er geen geest meer uw vrucht verniele, o Ooms dochter!" aldus waren, zegt men, de woorden van de God.

Toen gaf die God, zegt men, aan zijn knecht Haji Guru bevel, op de jacht te gaan; tevens beval hij een raaf mede te gaan. Toen 't aldus reeds was, ging Haji

Guru werkelijk met dien raaf op de jacht; hij beval zijn zeven honden mede te gaan. Hij ging dan op de jacht; toen hij gegaan was, ging hij, zegt men, vervolgens zijn honden aanzetten; met kracht vernielden zijn honden allerlei beesten; hij kwam geen zwanger mannetjes-reebokje te zien.

Van der Tuuk's translation into 19th century Dutch with many explanations in lengthy footnotes closely follows the Dairi idiom, it may even be considered as too literal on some points. For example the word '*tinokor*' is translated as 'koopsel', 'purchase', this is explained in a typical Van der Tuuk style, p. 48: 'The Batak who buys his wife calls her his *person, purchase, what is taken, means to get food* (as the work in the fields is usually performed by women), *food-server* etc. etc. These expressions may not seem very gallant to us, but do nevertheless not prove that the Batak man lacks gallantry, no more than one should conclude from [the French expression] 'je brule' that Frenchmen feel a stronger love for their fiancée than Dutchmen, who do not complain so quickly about a fire.' ("De Batak die zijn vrouw koopt, noemt haar zijn *mensch*, *koopsel, neemsel, middel om aan spijs te komen* (daar de vrouw meestal den veldarbeid doet), *spijs-opschepster*, enz, enz., deze uitdrukkingen klinken ons niet zeer galant toe, maar zijn met dat al geen bewijs, dat het den Batak aan galantheid ontbreekt, evenmin als men uit "je brule" zoude mogen opmaken, dat de Franschman sterker liefde voor zijn beminde gevoelt dan de Hollander, die zoo spoedig over geen brand klaagt.")

Placed appropriately at the beginning of the third volume, this story belongs in the group of origin stories of which Van der Tuuk's collection of paper manuscripts contains five examples in the Dairi language alone. Origin stories, often with religious connotations, must have had a special attraction for Van der Tuuk, whose linguistic research also served to translate into Batak languages the first book of the bible, Genesis, with its version of the origin of this world.

It is noteworthy that this Dairi creation story shows striking parallels with the legend of *Hantu Pemburu* (Spectre Huntsman) as told by the Perak Malays and published in an English version in Skeat's well-known book on *Malay Magic* (1967[1900]:113-120). Skeat writes that the Malays attribute the origin of this "dreaded demon" to Katapang in Sumatra, and that he is declared by the Malays to be "the king of the Land-folk (*Raja orang darat*)". Thus, the *Hantu pemburu* of the Malays may well derive from Batak concepts of the divine creator "Debata i datas langit" and his helper Haji Guru, as described in the Dairi creation story collected by Van der Tuuk.

In most cases, the stories in Van der Tuuk's collection are anonymous and give no information about the context in which they are told. The Dairi creation myth simply closes with the remark: "Thus ends this one story that I have been told, and I told it to you as I heard it" (*Bagidi mo kunuken pate sukuten si sada bage idi isukutken kalak kudengkoh*). Yet, information about the author or context of a story is found in a few cases, such as a poetical Toba prayer (*tonggo-*

tonggo) in Or 3421 with the origin-story of offering-rice, that was transcribed from a *pustaha* belonging to Ompu ni Manungkol Langit, the head of Aek na Uli. According to Voorhoeve, the owner at first did not want to part with it, and only did so on condition that he was paid "one European dog as large as a calf, a dozen flasks of jenever, 10 Spanish mats and 3 *padang rusak* (a kind of Acehnese shawl)" (Voorhoeve 1927:62). Sometimes, contextual information is given at the beginning and/or end of a story: the first and last paragraphs of the text of "Guru Tonggal Begu" (Or 3399) state that it is told during a ritual involving the planting of a banyan and a fig-tree as medicine and protection (*jimat*) for the group who organises it.

Although some stories have apparently been copied from existing written texts, many of the stories in this collection must have been written down for the first time for Van der Tuuk. This holds true particularly for stories belonging to the repertoire of storytellers, told both as a pass-time and in order to give education, which are usually composed in performance.

Van der Tuuk collected at least 30 different stories from the Dairi-speaking area of Kelasen near the town of Barus, some in more than one version. These hold a treasure of information about a language and culture that already in 1977 and 1979, when my husband and I visited the region during our research on North Sumatran oral traditions, was considered as endangered. There were few storytellers left and the number of stories they knew was quite small. Thus, Van der Tuuk's collection of stories has saved an important part of the Dairi cultural heritage from oblivion.

Having said this, I must point out that the text of the stories as preserved in writing in the collection of Van der Tuuk is very different in form and structure from the stories in performance. Sweeney discussed this phenomenon for Malay storytelling in several publications (1972; 1973; 1987). More recently, Uli Kozok and Susan Rodgers have pointed at the differences between oral traditions and written texts in Batak languages (Kozok 2000; Rodgers 2005: 32 ff). The relationship between written and orally composed versions of Dairi stories is a complex matter that will be discussed in a following publication.

CONCLUSION

The Van der Tuuk collection of Batak manuscripts is of great historical value, as it was established before the combined influences of Christianity, Islam, modernization and globalisation drastically changed the world-view and the way of life of the Batak population of North Sumatra. It holds a treasure of information on Batak languages and cultures prior to these changes. At present, much of the knowledge preserved in these manuscripts is considered as forgotten, and some of the languages documented by Van der Tuuk are now endangered.

Thus, it is necessary to study these manuscripts and to publish them, as they form an important part of Indonesia's cultural heritage.

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ENDNOTES

1. Different variants of Batak script exist, roughly corresponding to the main Batak language groups, see Kozok's *Warisan Leluhur* 1999.
2. The use of the terminology is not always consistent, sometimes people refer to the same genre with a different term, and there are some genres that only occur only in one area.
3. The genre of the lament, often inscribed on bamboo or bone objects of practical use, has been discussed recently in several publications by Kozok.
4. De Batak verdeelt de wereld in drie afdelingen: 1. de hemel als woonplaats der eigentlijke goden (de boven-Goden). 2. dit midden als verblijfplaats de midden-Goden (de mensen, mindere geesten, spoken, enz.) en 3. de beneden-wereld als verblijfplaats van Naga padoha, Rangga puri, enz. …).

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