## CONTENTS

Preface and acknowledgements .................................................. i
Contents .................................................................................... iii
Maps, graphics, tables, and illustrations ....................................... vii

### Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1.2. The Toba Batak ..................................................................... 4
1.3. Discourse, agency, and modernities ........................................ 8
1.4. Kinship: structure, process, and issues ................................. 10
1.5. Composition .......................................................................... 12
1.6. Sources ................................................................................ 15

### Part I. A HISTORICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

### Chapter 2. THE CONSTRUCTION OF TOBA BATAK GENDER

2.1. Batak adat and its divine origin ............................................. 24
2.2. The origin of mankind and the creation of the earth ................. 26
2.3. Gendered hierarchies ............................................................ 31
2.4. The woman as the intermediary between clans ...................... 33
2.5. Prohibited marriages ............................................................. 36
2.6. The most coveted union ........................................................ 39
2.7. Reciprocal marriage payments ............................................. 39
2.8. The right marriage is a fertile marriage ................................. 44
2.9. Myth and reality: recurrent themes ....................................... 49
2.10. Toba Batak mythology as a reflection of gendered interests ...... 50

### Chapter 3. CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE

3.1. Hypogamy: the ideal and the practice .................................. 52
3.2. Reasons for forging marital alliances in the nineteenth century .. 53
3.3. Fathers, daughters, and arranged marriages ......................... 62
3.4. Courtship and premarital sexual relations .............................. 65
3.5. Bypassing the fathers ........................................................... 71
3.6. Never relinquished by her family of origin ............................ 75
3.7. The crucial factor: the daughter’s agency .............................. 77

### Chapter 4. FERTILITY, MORTALITY, AND THE PINNACLE OF LIFE

4.1. Fertility, morbidity, and mortality in the nineteenth and early twentieth century .................................................. 83
4.2. The concept of a blessed life ................................................ 87
4.3. Male progeny and the journey of the soul .............................. 91
Chapter 5. RUPTURES: DIVORCE AND WIDOWHOOD

5.1. Conflict, war, mediation, and administration of justice
5.2. Batak legal terminology
5.3. Unreasonable dislike of the spouse and the material settlement of divorce
5.4. Women’s acquiescence
5.5. Adultery and abduction of a married woman
5.6. Children born out of wedlock
5.7. Levirate and sororate: a mixed blessing and men’s convenience
5.8. Gendered rights and legal competence

Chapter 7. NEGOTIATING THE FUTURE SOCIAL ORDER (1881-1885)

7.1. The Batak Mission’s dual strategy for transformation
7.2. Rajas and missionaries as partners
7.3. The Batak Mission’s aversion of the brideprice
7.4. The abolition of the brideprice rejected (1884-1886)
7.5. Reluctant resignation (1886-1911)
7.6. Women’s views on the brideprice
7.7. The significance of the debate

Chapter 8. ENGINEERING TOBA BATAK CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE (1866-1913)

8.1. Customary and Christian marriage
8.2. Rite de passage at puberty: suppression and replacement
8.3. Enforcing virginity
8.4. Free will as a condition for marriage
8.5. Crusade against polygamy
8.6. Divorce: pragmatism overruling dogmatic constraints
8.7. ‘Alleviation’ of the plight of widows

PART II. NEGOTIATIONS ON MARRIAGE CUSTOMS (1830 – 1942)

Chapter 6. THE ENCROACHMENT ON THE BATAK WORLD (1830-1883)

6.1. The Batak world around 1800
6.2. The invasions of the Padri and their impact (1825-1860)
6.3. Conversion to Christianity, ostracism, and ‘Dutch brides’
6.4. Resistance and conquest (1876-1883)
6.5. Changes in the balance of power
6.6. Modes of encroachment and their impact

Chapter 8. ENGINEERING TOBA BATAK CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE (1866-1913)
8.8. Inheritance rights for daughters 207
8.9. The process of negotiation: give and take 208
8.10. The Toba Batak rajas’ reasons for cooperation 211
8.11. Christian modernity and Toba Batak Christian marriage 212

Chapter 9. SHIFTING ALLIANCES AND NEW ELITES (1892–1913) 217
9.1. The lax implementation of the Christian By-laws (1892–1913) 217
9.2. Unified and codified law for all Indonesian Christians (1891–1913)? 221
9.3. The annexation and regional policy on the Christian By-laws (1906–1913) 226
9.4. Resignation and a new Church Ordinance 230
9.5. The emergence of the Christian elite 232
9.6. A new strategy: women’s work for women 243
9.7. Conclusions 251

Chapter 10. THE SECULAR TAKE OVER (1914–1934) 253
10.1. Kielstra’s description of customary law for Toba Batak Christians (1914) 254
10.2. Deadlock (1916–1923) 259
10.3. The indigenous or the government system of justice for North Tapanuli? 261
10.4. Vergouwen: causes of legal insecurity 266
10.5. Vergouwen: preservation and revision of matrimonial laws 268
10.6. Kielstra, Vergouwen, and evolving ‘Ethical’ modernities 275

Chapter 11. ADMINISTRATIVE ZEAL ERODING CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE (1912–1942) 281
11.1. The government’s introduction of the marriage registration 281
11.2. The Batak Mission: open support and tacit defiance 284
11.3. Optional becomes obligatory 288
11.4. Effectiveness and legitimacy 290
11.5. The state versus the people 293

Chapter 12. DYNAMITE DISPUTES: MIRROR OF CHANGE (1923–1939) 299
12.1. The irregular marriage of the widow Na Leoes (1923) 300
12.2. The irregular marriage of deserted Nantalia (1936) 304
12.3. Social dynamics behind irregular marriages 306
12.4. First wife Marianna refuses repudiation (1928) 309
12.5. Christian first wife Kamaria requests a divorce (1928) 311
12.6. The widow Mariam defends her right to manage the estate 314
12.7. Becoming a legal subject in her own right 316
12.8. Naked power, veiled contestation 321
12.9. Toba Batak women central stage 323
## Chapter 13. MATCHING PARTNERS (1920-1942)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>Modern times</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2</td>
<td><em>Hamajuon</em>, education for girls and marriage</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>Policies and anxieties</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>Partner choice: traditional and new preferences and objections</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>Were daughters educated to fetch a high brideprice?</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>Fathers and daughters' converging interests</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 14. CONCLUSION: TOBA BATAK AFTER ALL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Evolving multiple modernities</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>Altered gendered options and entitlements</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>The long shadow of the colonial past</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bibliography
Archival sources
Papers presented at Batak Mission's conferences
List of interviewed women
English summary
Nederlandse samenvatting
MAPS, GRAPHICS, TABLES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS

Map 1. The regions populated by Toba Batak and other Batak ethnic groups (North Sumatra, Indonesia) 6
Map 2. Northern Minangkabau and the Batak Lands, 1807-1847 138
Map 3. Administrative division of the district Bataklanden of the the Residency North Tapanuli (1908) 229

TABLES

Table 1. Epidemics in the Batak region (1868-1909) 84
Table 2. Expansion of the Batak Mission, 1875-1914 (Christians, missionary stations, personnel, schools) 231
Table 3. Sex ratio of the school population of elementary schools run by the Batak Mission (1900, 1910) 249
Table 4. Lawsuits adjudicated by the High and Low Courts per subdistrict and backlog in 1926 264
Table 5. Number of lawsuits filed at the courts in the district Bataklanden (1914-1916) 284
Table 6. Literacy rates of the native population in the district Bataklanden according to sex and age group (1930) 347

GRAPHICS

Figure 1. Kinship relations of the characters in the myth of origin 27

PHOTOGRAPHS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Julia Sarumpaet Hutabarat, husband, and six daughters (1954) 1
2. The village of Hutaraja, Toba Plateau (ca. 1910) 5
3. The grand center of the Batak Mission in Pearaja, Silindung (1910) 7
4. Negotiation on the marriage payments (marunjuk) 40
5. The bridegiver (parboru) gives an ulos to the bridetaker (paranak) 41
6. Richly ornamented house of a Toba Batak raja(1890) 46
7. A poor Toba Batak hovel (1890) 46
8. Detail 1. Phallic symbol 47
10. Detail 3. Fertility symbols combined 47
11. Raja Hutsa of Pulo Sibandang (1890) 56
12. Female Batak slave (ca. 1875) 57
13. Young woman, Si Suralaga (1890) 66
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Young man, Si Managin (1890)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Young Batak woman of a rich family (1870)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>A Karo Batak girl whose teeth are being filed (ca.1914-918)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>A rich Toba Batak man with filed and blackened teeth</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Young woman weaving (1890)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Married couple of a wealthy family (1890)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nai Muara, a Toba Batak woman (1890)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The large family of Si Taha Dugachi (1890)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Storage of a corpse next to the house in the village Nagasaribu (1870)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Wooden coffin with <em>singa</em> head (1930)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dancer wearing a mask and on a ritual hobby horse (<em>hodahoda</em>) at a funeral (1890)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Exhumed remains of ancestors ready for re-internment in a sarcophagus or tomb (1935)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>A simple sarcophagus in Si Temorong (1904)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Two funerary urns</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Grand stone sarcophagus near Huta Naibobo, Samosir (ca. 1840)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Portrait of a raja from Tongging (1870)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Display of different types of (Karo Batak) weapons</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Raja and other Toba Batak men (1870)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td><em>Parbaringin</em> convened at the open market at Limbong, Samosir (ca. 1915)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Adjudication of an inheritance dispute in the presence of the Dutch administration in the village Urat on Samosir (1938)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Women mourning the deceased (ca. 1930)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Portrait of the Padri leader Imam Bonjol, drawing (n.d.)</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Portrait of Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Portrait of Ida Pfeiffer</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Portrait of H. Neubronner von der Tuuk</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Portrait of missionary G. van Asselt and his wife (1905)</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>The school in Sigompulon, Pahae (drawing, 1865)</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Silindung: view of rice fields (1915)</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>The southern shore of Lake Toba (1870)</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Portraits of missionary Ludwig Ingmar Nommensen (1835-1918)</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Portrait of Raja Pontas Obaja Lumbantobing (d. 1900)</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Drawing of Patuan Bosar Ompu Pulo Batu, Singamangaraja XII (ca.1858-1907)</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>The Singamangaraja's seal</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
47. Two portraits of Guru Somalaing Pardede (1890) 153
48. War canoe on shore (1870) 154
49. Manned canoes on Lake Toba (1920) 154
50. Portrait of L.Ch. Welsink 154
51. Bivouac of a patrol in the Batak lands (before 1894) 154
52. Parbaringin deliberating in a circle 168
53. Priestess (paniaran) from Samosir (ca. 1920) 168
54. A Batak datu with his book of divination and magical staffs 168
55. Ritual with buffalo slaughter (1890) 169
56. Toba Batak traditional welcome dance (ca. 1900?) 169
57. Pagan and Christian Toba Batak: emphasis on difference 190
58. Female members of a Christian congregation in Sipirok (1890) 191
59. The marching band in Sipirok (1890) 191
60. Cornelia, wife of Raja Pontas, and their children (1890) 192
61. Members of a Christian congregation (1890), probably Silindung 192
62. Female members of the Christian congregation in Balige (1890) 193
63. Church elders of the Balige congregation (1890) 193
64. A Batak raja from Silindung (1890) 194
65. Portrait of Raja Israel from Balige (1890) 194
66. Portrait of A.L van Hasselt, Resident Tapanuli, 1888-1893 (1877) 222
67. Singamangaraja XII hunted down in Dairi (1907) 227
68. Lieutenant Hans (Heinz) Christoffel 227
69. The Singamangaraja's mother, wives, and children, Siborongborong, Toba Plateau (1907) 227
70. Feast at the occasion of the baptism of the remaining members of the Si Singamangaraja's family in Pearaja (1911) 228
71. Family portrait at the same occasion (1911) 228
72. The seminary at Pansur Na Pitu, Silindung: breeding ground of the Christian elite (ca.1897) 235
73. The seminary students (ca. 1897) 235
74. Drawing of three Batak reverends (pandita) 236
75. Pastors-in-training with missionary P. Johannsen, head of the seminary (ca. 1897) 236
76. The family of Johannes Hutapea, one of the first evangelists (ca. 1880) 237
77. The church elder Simatupang and his family 237
78. The very simple first church in Balige (1890) 240
79. House of a missionary in Sipirok (ca. 1890) 240
80. New church in Huta Salem (1910) 240
81. School for printers, Laguboti (ca. 1910) 240
82. House of the controller of Balige (1910) 240
83. Residence of the governor of East Sumatra (1900) 241
84. Residence of the superintendent of the tobacco plantation Helvetia (1885-1895) 241
85. Railway station at the harbor of Belawan (1905) 241
86. Newly planted rubber plantation 241
87. Chinese coolies sorting tobacco 241
88. Portrait of Hester Needham (1843-1897) 244
89. The primary school in Balige, boys only (1890) 246
90. Portrait of Lisette Niemann 246
91. Sister Lisette Niemann with her evening school pupils (1895) 246
92. Balige girls's school (1914) 246
93. Pupils of the weaving school in Laguboti (before 1921) 247
94. Girls' school in Pearaja (1923) 247
95. Wives of teachers with missionary sister (1919) 248
96. Wife of a missionary? (ca. 1900) 248
97. Missionary sisters with the chairman of the sisters' conference, missionary Link (1913) 248
98. Assistant Resident Ypes and members of the tennis club Tarutung (1917) 263
99. Portrait of Prof. C. van Vollenhoven 266
100. Portrait of Prof. B. Ter Haar 266
101. Women working in the paddy fields, Silindung (1915) 272
102. Arduous labor taking its toll 272
103. Raising pigs while weaving, Tiga Ras (ca. 1915) 272
104. Spinning cotton, Samosir 273
105. Dying the yarn with indigo 273
106. A Batak weaver from Tarutung instructing women in the village techniques learned in Silungkang, West Sumatra (1914) 273
107. Two young women in festive in dress (ca. 1920) 273
108. Women producing pottery, Pangururan, Samosir (1900-1925) 274
109. Women on their way to the market (1890) 274
110. Women selling agricultural produce at a minor market (probably Toba, ca. 1900) 274
111. Women selling palm toddy (tuak), (1935) 274
112. Form for registration of marriage and marriage payments (ca. 1915) 292
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>Ompoe Pasang Batoe, <em>jaihutan</em> of Simorangkir, Silindung, and his wife (1910)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114.</td>
<td><em>Jaihutan</em> on the Toba Plain and his family (1910)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.</td>
<td>Raja Hoenda of the island Pardapoer (Lake Toba) and his family (1908)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116.</td>
<td><em>Kepala negeri</em> of Hagari, West Samosir (ca. 1915-1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117.</td>
<td><em>Kepala negeri</em> Ompoe Radja Maoeleoe, marga Sirait, Samosir (1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td><em>Raja paidua</em> of Hutabarat, Silindung (probably 1917)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119.</td>
<td>Wife of Raja Nasia, Tarutung, Silindung (ca. 1917)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>Toba Batak chief with his family in front of their house (ca. 1930)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121.</td>
<td><em>Kepala negeri</em> Urat, Samosir (ca. 1937-1941)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122.</td>
<td>Portrait of J. Warneck, Ephorus (superintendent) of the Batak Mission (1920–1932)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123.</td>
<td>Main road and modern market complex in Tarutung (ca. 1925)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>Road alongside Lake Toba (n.d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>Iron bridge under construction (n.d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126.</td>
<td>Dam serving the irrigation, Samosir (n.d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127.</td>
<td>Forest fire detection tower near Lake Toba (n.d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128.</td>
<td>Government operated bus covering the trajectory Balige-Sibolga (1919)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129.</td>
<td>Group of Europeans with car, Balige (1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130.</td>
<td>Car transporting people from the market in Prapat (n.d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131.</td>
<td>Ferries crossing Lake Toba (n.d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132.</td>
<td>Residence of the Controller of Pangururan, Samosir (ca. 1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133.</td>
<td>Guesthouse (<em>pasanggrahan</em>) at Aek na Oeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134.</td>
<td>Church with German <em>fachwerk</em> (ca. 1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135.</td>
<td>The modern stone church in Balige (1935)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136.</td>
<td>Celebration of the queen’s birthday, missionary station Parmonangan, Samosir (1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137.</td>
<td>The new status beverage for men: Koentji beer (n.d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138.</td>
<td>The church dominates the village square, Pangaribuan (1917)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139.</td>
<td>Modern wooden house and barn (ca. 1930)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140.</td>
<td>Government office (left) and traditional house with roof of new material, corrugated iron (ca. 1930)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141.</td>
<td>A traditional dwelling for young men with Christian grave in the background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142.</td>
<td>Dancing Toba Batak women at a <em>bius</em> ritual in Sihotang, Samosir (1921)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
143. A datu and his assistant (1915) 331
144. Portrait of H. Manullang 332
145. Portrait of a dandy: Albinus Lumbantobing 336
146. The boarding house for girls at Sigompulon with sister Frieda Lau (1924) 339
147. Physical exercise at the girls’ school in Balige (1931) 339
148. The conference of the missionary sisters (1929) 340
149. The teachers at the girls’ continuation school in Balige (1931) 340
150. Nurses in training with sister Alwine Hamacher (ca. 1935) 341
151. Batak midwives 341
152. The Bible woman Porman (ca. 1935) 343
153. Knee high skirt and high heels: Herlina Sinaga (1938) 345
154. Students at the Christian teacher-training college in Solo (1925-1937) 357
155. Skulls of Ancestors bones exhumed and cleaned before reburial (2012) 375