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THE TERMINOLOGY OF BATAK INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN NORTHERN SUMATRA

by Artur Simon

1. Introduction

In the north of Sumatra lies Lake Toba, 906 meters above sea level and situated on a mountainous plateau which has an area of 1790 square kilometers. The surrounding countryside is the home of the Batak, who number approximately two million people, generally divided into five subgroups: Toba (the largest group), Karo, Simalungun, Pakpak/Dairi and Angkola/Mandailing.¹ All speak different dialects and distinguish themselves culturally. Although their music shows common basic elements, there are many differences in detail. Ethnically, the Batak are generally called Proto-Malays, whatever that may be.² They are Austro-nesian speakers and belong to the old peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago. About the origin of the Batak (and Nias people as well), a number of speculations and theories of migration have been published and repeated by many authors.³ We agree with the following statement by Parkin:

Despite uncertainties and confusion about the precise original location, manner and dating of their arrival in Sumatra, all of which are completely undocumented, there is general agreement that the Batak originate from some region of Farther India. The significance of this is that when the Batak arrived in Sumatra, and were subsequently pushed up into the mountains of Tapanuli, they brought a developed culture with them which had certain affinities with that of Greater India. Consequently, when Indians began to arrive in the archipelago at the beginning of our era, they met people with whom cultural contact was not too difficult (1978: 12).

The Batak must have been influenced by Hindu or/and Hindu-Javanese culture in former days.⁴ They resisted Islamic influence, pressure or domination for a long time (with the exception of the Mandailing/Angkola), but were receptive to Christianity in the 1860's, when German Protestant missionaries from the Rhenish Missionary Society started evangelization in this area. Although the missionaries were successful in the field of Christian religion,⁵ their attempts to abolish traditional ritual music and social ceremonies failed. Today, social ceremonies devoted to ancestor worship, as well as old religious ceremonies with spirit-calling and spirit-possession⁶ still play an important part in Batak life. The reason for this lies in the strong and uncompromising obligation that the so-called *adat*⁷ imposed upon the behaviour of each member of the Batak society, which is ruled by the strictly observed relationships between three kinship groups, the *dongan*

sabutuha/ senina (ego's patrilineage), *hula-hula/kalimbubu* (wife givers' group) and *boru/anak beru* (wife takers' group).⁸

1.1 *Aims and Problems*

This is an initial attempt at compiling the terminology of musical instruments and elements of organization and structure of instrumental music, as used by the Batak. The next step will be to evaluate the meaning of these names and terms in order to see how this terminology is related to musical practice. This seems to be applicable especially to ensemble-playing with drums and gongs as found in the official ceremonial *gondang* music, as well as to other ensembles which imitate this socio-religious music. Aside from the important question of using an ethnoconceptualisation as a tool for musical analysis, there is another aspect which is no less relevant: the ethnopsychology of the sounds of musical instruments—what Batak musicians think about them, how they hear and feel them, and their verbalization—which provides us with a basic knowledge of fundamentals of perception and cognition as a kind of matrix of musical performance.

The results given here are based on a field research project carried out in 1976, 1978 and 1981, when a representative part of the repertory of Batak instrumental music was recorded. Analytical recordings of complicated combinations of drum patterns within the larger ensembles proved to be helpful for an internal analysis, and Batak terminology paved the way towards gaining an insight into musical organization. The next step was taken in 1981 by filming these performances.

Folk taxonomy rarely proves to be a self-contained system. It is a multifaceted corpus underlying permanent changes brought about especially in times of cross-cultural influence and change. Further, it is strictly related to folk history, and shows many regional and even individual deviations which could not be subsumed into *one* logical system in the Western sense except by applying arbitrary scholarly categorisations.

Another problem concerns the way people name instruments, i.e. the terminology of musical instruments. The migration of instruments and/or names from one culture to another in particular raises many questions. Sometimes an instrument is taken over together with its original name, but the instrument type undergoes considerable changes, or the same name is applied to different types. The diffusion of the *rebāb* (both name and instrument) and the relationship between the Persian *setār* and the Indian *sitār* may serve as good examples. An instrument may disappear in the course of history, but its name may remain as the designation of a new instrument that has come into favour amongst the people, as in the case of the Greek *lyra*.⁹ In Southeast Asia we have the *kecapi*, now the name of the so-called boat-shaped lute played in the Indonesian Archipelago, a name derived from the Indian *kaččhapi-vīnā*, a long-necked lute and a relative of the *sitār*. The name has been slightly modified to *hasapi*, *kucapi* and *kulcapi* among the Batak, and to *sapeh* among the Dayak of Borneo. In West Java, however, *kecapi* is the name

of the box zither of the Sianjuran music. Curt Sachs mentions some important features of *kecap*i terminology and organology:

Kaččhapa ist das Sanskrit- und Bengāliwort für 'Schildkröte'. Man meint daher, daß die Schale einst von der Schildkröte genommen worden sei, ebenso wie die häufig aus einem Schildkrötenpanzer gebaute Lyra von den Römern als *testudo* bezeichnet wurde. Dann wäre es aber sehr auffallend, daß das zähe Indien im Gegensatz etwa zu Nordafrika und Südamerika nicht eine einzige Schildkrötenlaute bewahrt haben sollte. Der Name ist—offenbar zur Zeit der Hindüeroberungen am Ende des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausends—auf eine große Anzahl malaiischer Saiteninstrumente übertragen worden, die übrigens auch nichts mit einer Schildkröte zu tun haben. *Katjápi*, *Ketjápi* oder *Kutjápi* ist im Malaiischen bald die Halslaute, bald die javanische Brettzither; die gleiche Laute heißt bei den Batak auf Sumātra *husápi* oder *hapètan*; auf Ostcelebes nennt man die bootsförmige Halslaute *kasápi* und auf Südcelebes *katjapin* usw. Des Rätsels Lösung ist die bisher übersehene Tatsache, daß *kaččhapa* oder *kaččha* auch der Sanskritname für den Baum *Cedrela Toona* (pālī *kaččhako*) ist, aus dessen Holz ja der Sitār vorwiegend hergestellt wird (1923: 125f).

Kaudern provides some ideas about the possible history of the *kacapi*-lutes:

The names of all these instruments being derived from the same Sanskrit word point to an origin in common. The presumed Hindoo prototype very likely appeared in the Malayan region during the Hindoo period, thus before 1400. Noteworthy is the fact, that the geographical distribution of the *ketjapi* instrument almost is the same as that of the Matjapahit dominion, a fact that confirms the presumed Hindoo origin of these instruments (1927: 192).

Derivates of the name also appear in the Philippines where *kudyapi* is the name of a necklute (Takács 1975: 179), and in Thailand (*krajappi* or *kra-chapey* and *kā:čabpi*) as well as in Kampuchea (*čapey* or *chapey*), where it designates a long-necked lute. The latter, according to Sachs (1923: 133), refers back to a Chinese prototype. Chinese influence is also to be considered with respect to the shape of some boat-lutes in Sulawesi (Kaudern 1927: 192) and Borneo (Sachs 1923: 134)—organological relationships between the Dayak *sapeh* or *sapei* and the Chinese *p'ip'a* might also be possible—which adds another interesting aspect to this complex.

Reed instruments offer another example: Folk classification generally does not distinguish between single-reed and double-reed or percussion and concussion lamellae. The Batak call both single-reed and double-reed types *sarunei*. The single-reed instruments are distinguished only by such attributes as 'small' (*sarunei na met-met*) or 'bamboo' (*sarunei buluh*). Both name and instrument of the double-reed type show obvious

relations to the West Asian *zurna* (Turk.) and *surmay* (Pers.). The fact that each of the five subgroups of the Batak has its own special type of *sarunei* which differs considerably from the others, makes the ethno-historical analysis more complicated. Among these the conical shape of the Toba Batak *sarunei* resembles the West Asian type the most, with Persia and perhaps India acting as linking cultural mediators. The history of the double-reed instruments, and the oboe-and-drum-ensembles, has yet to be written.

1.2 Batak Instrumental Music

Batak music has only recently attracted the interest of musicologists. On the whole, only some results have been published.¹⁰ As is already known about the traditional musics of other regions of Southeast Asia, Batak music is extremely rich in its variety of musical instruments. This variety has decreased in a certain way due to recent cultural changes. Several instruments are no longer played because of functional changes in the daily life of Batak society. Batak instrumental music is divided into two categories: sacred ceremonial or official music, and secular entertainment music. Musical changes have occurred mainly in the latter because entertainment customs have changed considerably.

The ceremonial music played for the accompaniment of dances at all official festivities consists of specific instrumental groups with an obligatory set of musical instruments. These groups and their music are called *gondang* (Toba), *gendang* (Karo), *gonrang* and *gonrang sidua-dua* (Simalungun), *genderang* and *gendang* (Pakpak), *gordang* and *gondang boru* (Angkola/Mandailing).¹¹ The Toba *gondang* consists of a double-reed *sarunei*, four gongs *ogung*, a drum set with five drums *taganing* (played by one man), and a bass drum *gordang*. The Karo have two ceremonial music groups, the *gendang sarunei* (two *gendang* drums, a double-reed *sarunei* and two gongs), and the less expensive (if hired) *gendang keteng-keteng* with two tube zithers *keteng-keteng*, one *mangkuk* (percussion idiophone), and the flute *beluwat* or lute *kulcapi* serving as the melody instrument. The Simalungun *gonrang*, also called *gonrang bolon* ('big *gonrang*') or *gonrang sipitu-pitu* (the 'seven drums *gonrang*'), consists of a double-reed *sarunei*, four gongs, and a set of six or seven drums played by three men. They have also a smaller (and of course less expensive and less acknowledged ensemble) called *gonrang dagang* or *sidua-dua*, because it has only two drums instead of six or seven. The Pakpak *genderang* is played on a set of five to nine drums, three gongs (*poi*, *takudep*, and *panggora* or *jurjur*), and a percussion plaque or split gong *pongpong*. Small cymbals *cilat-cilat*, a set of gongs *gerantung*, and a double-reed *sarunei* may be added.¹² The Pakpak *gendang* with two drums is the equivalent of the Simalungun *gonrang dagang*. The Mandailing *gordang* distinguishes drum-sets of five (*gordang lima*), nine (*gordang sembilan*), and perhaps also seven drums, played together with several gongs (two *ogung*, three *mongmong* or *talempong*), cymbals (*tali sasayap*), and a single-reed¹³ *sarunei* or *serunei* (*salehot*). There is also a small group with two drums for less important

festivities called *gondang boru* or *gondang dua-dua*, with *suling* (side-blown flute) or *serunei* and a singer. Not in use for several years now is another small group in Simalungun similar to the Karo *keteng-keteng* group, consisting of a bowed spiked fiddle *arbap*, a *mangkuk*, two *hurpak-hurpak* or *topap-topap* (concussion troughs), and a tube zither *jatja'ulul*, which was played at old religious ceremonies with spirit-calling and possession dances.¹⁴ The ceremonial *gondang* music has a strong social function according to the *adat*, which shapes the relationships between the three kinship groups.¹⁵

While the music of the *pesta adat* can be characterized as group entertainment, that of the secular category might be designated, with few exceptions, as individuals or self-entertainment music. Secular music was traditionally played in houses or *sopos* (rice storehouses where the unmarried young men slept), and when working in ricefields or when herding water buffalos. Playing in the ricefields or gardens served the dual purpose of shooing away birds and monkeys and entertaining oneself while killing time. Instruments used included the bamboo slit drum (*ketuk*), the tube zither, the xylophone, and the paddy shawm *ole-ole*. Playing a bamboo clarinet (*sarunei buluh*) or a flute (e.g., the Simalungun *sulim* or *sordam*) in order to attract a lover was a common practice. Sitting in the house at night, a young man would play the nose flute (Simalungun: *saligung*) to signal a girl, who in turn, would answer on the mouth-harp or jew's harp, one of the few instruments played by girls and young women. These intimate sounds, of course, have vanished completely today as a result of the influx of Western guitars, cassette recorders, radios, and other noisier producers of sound such as motorcycles and machines which are now found in every Batak village. Today, the nose flute *saligung* can be found only in the Simalungun Museum at Pematang Siantar.

There is also a certain kind of established entertainment music such as the Toba *uning-uningan* (i.e., 'instrumental music'), which imitates in its musical structure the *gondang* music, as do the tube zither groups of the Karo and Mandailing. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that Batak musicians consider these chordophonal groups the older and autochthonous ones. The Toba *uning-uningan* music is played by *sarunei na met-met* and *sulim* (transverse flute), two *hasapi*, *garantung* (xylophone), and *hesek-hesek* (percussion plaque). This music is mainly performed today on the stage of the Batak travelling folk theatres, called 'opera Batak'.¹⁶

The Mandailing *gondang buluh*-group consists of one *sarunei buluh* (bamboo clarinet), two *gondang buluh* (tube zithers), and small cymbals *tali sasayap*. Amongst the Karo and Mandailing these tube zither-groups also perform the music for the old religious ceremonies such as the *raleng tendi* (calling back one's *tendi* or *tondi*, a kind of curing ceremony), and the ritual hair-washing ceremony which still exists amongst the Karo as 'erpangir kulau'.

The music of the entertainment instrumental groups may well decline in the future as this aspect of musical life becomes more and more

westernized. It is interesting to note that the bowed stringed instruments are almost completely obsolete nowadays.

2. *The Terminology of Batak Musical Instruments*

In our survey as listed in Table 1, all names of instruments are considered regardless of whether the instruments are still in use or not. Most of the names were collected in the field, others were taken from written sources.¹⁷ The functional terms for ensemble playing and instrumental groups are not incorporated in this list but dealt with in the following chapter. Indeed, the purpose of this list goes beyond that of mere classification.¹⁸ It tries to give some etymologic suggestions and facts about the origin and meaning of these names.¹⁹ This, however, may provide us with some basic materials for further comparative studies on the musics of the Indonesian Archipelago.

The Batak classification of instruments differs to some respect from that of the European Hornbostel/Sachs system, and coincides also with other classifications, both Oriental and European.

Bataks distinguish between

- alat pukul* or *alat palu* = percussion instruments, to which belong idiophones, membranophones and beaten tube zithers,
- alat gesek* = bowed stringed instruments,
- alat petik* = plucked stringed instruments, and
- alat tiup* = wind instruments or aerophones.

A further distinction within this classification is not made. The first group, the *alat pukul*, seems to be the most important. The Toba Batak term for 'to play an instrument' is *mamalu*, which is derived from the Malayan word *palu*, meaning 'to beat', but it is used in connection with any type of instrument, as e.g., *mamalu gordang* (to beat the *gordang* drum) or *mamalu sarunei* (to play *sarunei*).

Bearing in mind the cultural history of Southeast Asia, the origin of names is not always clear, and an analysis can be problematical because of cross-cultural influences from India, Mainland Southeast India or China as well as from other Malayan cultures. As the Batak languages themselves belong to the Malayan language group, deciding whether a name is autochthonic Batak or adopted from other Malayan/Indonesian cultures (as is the case with the terms *gendang/gondang*, *gung/ogung*) is not an easy matter. Therefore, a name is designated as original Batak if it is not found outside the Batak culture.²⁰ The designation of a name as onomatopoeic or not, is based on statements made by Batak musicians and other informants. It is not the intention here to describe the instruments in detail; therefore a brief characterization shall be deemed sufficient (see also Table 1).

TABLE 1: Terminology of Batak Musical Instruments

name of instrument	type	origin of name			onomatopoeitic	specification of	played by ethnic group/ other notes/ meaning of name
		Batak	Mal./Indon.	other foreign			
	<u>alat pukul</u> <u>idiophones</u>						
1 hurpak-hurpak	concussion troughs of palm leaves	x			x		Sim.
2 topap-topap	-- " --	x			x		Sim.
3 cilat-cilat	pair of small hand cymbals	x			x		Pak'
4 talasayak	-- " --		Hind.-Jav.	Sanskr.			Sim. (also: <u>sitalasayak</u>) (T. Saragih 1974/Halusu 1938:227/Kunst 1973:11)
5 tali sasayap	-- " --		Hind.-Jav.	Sanskr.			Mand.
6 pes-pes	split bamboo stick	x			x		Mand./beaten with drum stick
7 garantung	xylophone	x					Sim., Toba., (Karo)/from: <u>gantung-hanging</u> /also: <u>arentung</u>
8 kalondang	-- " --	x			(x)		Pak'
9 gambang	-- " --	x			(x)		Mand./trough xylophone (Kartomi n.d./Angkola)
10 tagading	-- " --	x					Toba (Kartomi 1983)
11 gendang anak	"percussion plaque"	x					Karo / "mat drum"
12 hesek-hesek	percussion plaque	x			x		Toba/other name names: <u>heser</u> , <u>hasar</u> , <u>hasar</u> (also Sim.)
13 pongong	-- " --	x			x		Pak' /metal plate or cracked gong
14 talempong	-- " --	x		Tamil	x		Mand./from: <u>talam-pung/cracked gong</u> /see <u>gongs/Sim. taleppong</u> (T. Saragih 1974: 251, 254)
15 tingting	-- " --				x		Pak'/also bottles and all high sounding objects
16 hotuk buluh	slit drum	x			x		Mand., (Toba)/="bamboo hotuk"/from: <u>katuk</u> (Halusa 1938:226)
17 ketuk	-- " --	x			x		Pak'/paper: <u>kotok</u>
18 kertak-kertak	percussion tube	x			x		Pak'/material: bamboo
19 bjung buluh	slit drum	x			x		Toba/= "bamboo ogung"/also: <u>ogung</u> /played by children (Halusa 1938)
20 taktak buluh	percussion tube or slit drum	(x)			x		Toba/= "bamboo taktak"
21 tongting	percussion tube				x		Sim./also: <u>tungtung</u>

54	gondang	membranophones	x	x	x	Toba/part of the <u>gondang</u> group
55	tatigating	single-skin long barrel-shaped drum	x		(x)	Toba/usually called <u>tatigating</u> , also: <u>tagading</u> /type as <u>gondang</u>
56	gonrang (bolon)	set of 5 single-skin drums	x		x	Sim./also: <u>gonrang si pitu-pitu</u> ="the 7-gonrang", <u>bolon</u> =large
57	gondang	set of 6-7 single-skin drums	x		x	Mand./ <u>gondang li:na</u> (5) and <u>gondang sembilin</u> (9)
58	genderang	set of 5/7-9 single-skin drums	x		x	Pak'
59	odap	double-skin barrel-drum	x		x	Toba/an additional (today rarely used) drum of <u>gondang</u> music
60	gondang	-- " --	x		x	Mand./drum of the <u>gondang boru</u> -group
61	gonrang	-- " --	x		x	Sim./ drum of the <u>gonrang si dua-dua</u> group
62	gondang	-- " --	x		x	Pak'// drum of the <u>gondang si dua-dua</u> group
63	gondang	2-skin double-conical drum	x		x	Karo
64	gendang indingna	-- " --	x		x	Karo/specification of <u>gendang</u>
65	gendang anakna	pair of 2-Skin double conical drums	x		x	Karo/specification of <u>gendang</u> , consisting of a main drum <u>baluh</u> and a small side drum <u>gerantang</u> (at the <u>karojane</u> both of the same size)
66	rapano	single-skin frame drum	x		x	Mand./foreign import, Arab.-Islamic influence/from: Indon. <u>rebana</u>
67	gendang buluh	chordophones			(x)	Pak'//bamboo <u>gendang</u>
68	gendang buluh	tube zithers			(x)	Mand.
69	jakjak-ulul	idlochord t.z.	x		x	Sim./also: <u>jakjak-julul</u> , <u>jakjak-jaulul</u> = highlands - <u>jakjak</u> '
70	jatja'ulul	-- " --	x		x	Sim./same as 69
71	keteng-keteng	-- " --	x		x	Karo
72	nengnong	-- " --	x		x	Toba
73	nengnung	-- " --	x		x	Sim.
74	tanggetang	-- " --	x		x	Toba/other name for 72
75	tengtung	-- " --	x		x	Sim./other name for 73

76 arbab	spiked bowl lute		Arab.		Sim., Toba/played with bow /also arbab Karo/also <u>murdap</u> / <u>murdap</u> / <u>merdap</u> /played with bow Toba/the bowed version of the <u>hasapi</u>
77 murbab	-- " --		Arab.		
78 hapetan	necked bowl lute	x			
<u>alat petik</u>					
79 hasapi	necked bowl lute		Sanskr.		Toba/plucked
80 husapi	-- " --		Sanskr.		Sim./plucked
81 kucapi	-- " --		Sanskr.		Pak'/plucked
82 kuicapi	-- " --		Sanskr.		Karo/plucked
<u>alat tiup</u>					
83 alai	aerophones				Toba
84 ole-ole	concussion reeds/ 'paddy shawm'	(x)		x	Mand., Sim./ 8 lamellae/also: <u>puu'</u> batang <u>nyemei</u> (Kartomi n.d. Angkola)
85 oli-oli	-- " --			x	Karo
86 pit	-- " --	(x)		x	Pak'
87 sordam	open end-blown flute			x	Pak', Sim., Toba, Mand./from: <u>Mal</u> . <u>serdam</u>
88 sordam bolon	-- " --			x	Sim./ 'large sordam'
89 sordam puntung	-- " --			x	Sim./ short or 'cut sordam'
90 sordam	-- " --			x	Karo/also: <u>sordam</u> . <u>serdam</u>
91 sordam biasa	-- " --			x	Karo/ 'common sordam'
92 sordam cingkes	-- " --			x	Karo/named after the village Cingkes
93 sordam puntung	-- " --			x	Karo/same as 89
94 sordam permakan	-- " --			x	Karo/other name for 93/shepherds' sordam
95 sordam urang Julu	-- " --			x	Karo/other name for 93/highlanders' sordam
96 saligung	end-blown nose flute	x		x	Sim./not played anymore
97 sulim	side-blown flute			x	Toba, Sim.
98 sulim	-- " --			x	Mand./also: <u>salung</u> ? (Kartomi n.d. Mandailing)
99 salobat	side-blown flute or whistle	(x)		(x)	Toba/also: <u>salobat</u> . <u>halbat</u> /also a name for flutes with internal duct (see 111)

100 taratao	flute with external duct	x				Pak ¹ /also: taranunu/formerly as tarataot also played by Toba
101 belawat	flute with internal duct	x				Karo/also: baluat, belibat/mostly partly stopped
102 belibat gendek	-- " --	x			size	Karo/short belibat
103 belibat gedang	-- " --	x			size	Karo/long belibat
104 belibat pingko ²	-- " --	x			function	Karo/other name for 103, pingkoato call with high voice
105 lobat	-- " --	x				Pak ¹
106 singkadut	-- " --	x				Mand./also: singkadu, sinkadu(?)(Kartomi 1983)
107 suling	-- " --		x			Mand./also general name for flute
108 suling boru	-- " --		x		size	Mand./=mother suling, the larger instrument of two
109 suling jantan	-- " --		x		size	Mand./=male suling, the smaller instrument of two
110 salung	-- " --		x			Mand. (Kartomi n.d.)
111 tullila	-- " --		x			Toba/also a side-blown whistle?/also called salobat?/Sim.
112 sarunei	double-reed instr.				size	Toba, Sim., Karo, Pak ¹ , Mand./also: serunei, sarune, serune/from surmay (Pers.)
113 sarunei bolon	-- " --	x				Toba/bolon=large(to be distinguished from sarunei na met-met)
114 empi-empi	idioglot single-reed instrument	x				Karo/material bamboo, sometimes paddy
115 salehot	single-reed instr.	(x)				Mand./also: serunei ajang, saleot
116 serunei ajang	-- " --	x				Mand./other rarer name for salehot
117 sarunei na met-met	-- " --	x			size	Toba/=small sarunei/also: sarunei, getek
118 sarunei buluh	-- " --		x		material	Toba, Sim., Pak ¹ , Mand./=bamboo sarunei
119 sordan	aerophone with free reed		x			Mand./4 fingerholes/ similar type in Northern Thailand
120 tanduk	end-blown horn				material	Sim., Karo, Toba, (Pak ¹), (Mand./=horn of (water buffalo)
121 sangka	-- " --					as 120/ older name for tanduk

2.1 *Alat Pukul/ Percussion Instruments*

2.1.1 *Idiophones*

Concussion idiophones: Only pairs of small cymbals (*cilat*², *talasayak*, *tali sasayap*) are still played in certain *gondang*-groups (Pak², Sim., Mand.). Sanskrit/Indian and Melayu terms seem to be combined in *talasayak/tali sasayap*, *tala* being the Indian name for cymbals and *sayak* the Indonesian term for a small bowl.

The concussion idiophones *hurpak*² or *topap*² (Sim.) seem to be obsolete now. *Topap* also means 'palm of hand' or 'to clap with the hands'; Halusa (1938: 227) gives only 'Gegenschläger' as explanation. According to one of my informants, it consists of two dry palm leaves (*pandan*) clapping together when pulled at the ends, which are folded together. This was played within the *arbap*-group at old religious ceremonies such as the calling back of the *tondi* (*marolong tondi*). *Hurpak* may be related with *hurpas* (Toba) which means 'to beat at something'.

Percussion idiophones: Different kinds of xylophones (*garantung*, *kalondang*, *gambang*, *tagading*) are played. The name *garantung* (Sim., Toba, Karo) is derived from *gantung* (Mal.) which means 'hanging'. Indeed, the original type has horizontally suspended keys. The number of keys, as observed by us, was five or six (Toba) and seven (Toba, Sim.). The keys of several recently constructed instruments were placed upon a wooden frame (Sim.). Modern versions of Toba xylophones with two rows of keys are called *tagading* (Kartomi 1983) which is a local variation of *taganing*, the name for the Toba drum set. The *garantung* was also played at the Karo (Joustra 1907: 107) but seems to be obsolete today. Another type played at the Pakpak is called *kalondang*. Seven or nine keys²¹ are suspended on a rope in a vertical position. According to the way the drum set *genderang* is played, two or three players beat the keys. Modern versions of the *kalondang* with twelve horizontally suspended keys in a wooden box are mentioned by Moore (1979: 33). A trough xylophone *gambang* with five keys played by two women was recorded in a village near Portibi (Angkola) by Kartomi (n.d., BM 2568). Name and type of the instrument show the influence of the Javanese *gambang*.

There are several simple percussion instruments such as sticks, tubes, plaques or vessels. A split bamboo stick *pes-pes* is attached to the *jangat*-drum of the Mandailing ceremonial *gordang lima* group, and it is beaten occasionally with the drum stick. A primitive instrument called *gendang amak* (Karo) is mentioned by Heintze, but I could not verify this:

Ist der wandernde Batak in Gesellschaft eines anderen, so wird gleich aus dem Stegreif ein kleines Duo aufgeführt. Einer spielt die kleine Flöte und der andere schlägt mit einem kleinen Zweiglein taktmäßig auf sein entleertes und zusammengefaltetes Kampil. Ähnlich ist die musikalische Darbietung, die der Batak mit dem Namen "prang" bezeichnet; auch hier wird die Flöte von dem Geräusch einer geklopften Matte (*amak*) begleitet (*gendang amak* = Mattentrommel), doch kommt hier noch das taktmäßige Indiehändeklatschen anderer Musikliebhaber hinzu (1909: 373).

Percussion plaques like *hesek-hesek* (Toba), *pongpong* (Pak²), *talempong* (Mand.) are played with a steady beat as a rhythmic 'time-keeper' within the *gondang*-music. Sometimes cracked or split gongs are used for this purpose.²² The word *talempong* is a combination of the Tamil word *talam* and the onomatopoeic Malayan *pung*. *Tingting* (Pak²) is the name for any high-sounding percussion instrument (mostly an empty bottle) with the same musical function. Slit drums and percussion tubes made from bamboo (*hotuk*, *ketuk*, *kertak*², *taktak*, *tangting* etc.) are played in the ricefields mainly by children in order to produce noise or to entertain themselves. In Toba *hotuk* means 'to make noise', and *kertak* is the Indonesian word for 'cracking'.

As is the case all over the Indonesian Archipelago, gongs in various combinations with each other play an important role in the musical structure. This has led to a special functional terminology (see next chapter). If no gong is available, as in the Karo *keteng*²-group, the sound of gongs is imitated on a tube zither and a blow or plate (*mangkuk*). Although there is said to be one gong maker today at Kabanjahe (see also Kunst 1973: 137), gongs have always been imported into Batak land from Java or Farther India. There is, however, a Batak saying, which (quite clearly) refers to the importation of gongs which goes: "Dao sitompa ogung, daoan ma ho": "Far away is the creator of the *ogung*, (as) far (as) you (should) be (from us)."

With the exception of the *gerantung* (Pak²), a set of four flat iron gongs, all Batak gongs belong to the bossed or knobbed gong type which is generally played in Southeast Asia.

A nowadays rarely played set of gongs called *botul* (Pak²) with five to nine knobbed gongs (Moore 1979: 24 ff.) which are placed in a wooden trough resembles the *bonang*, and seems to be imported from Java.

There would seem to be only one rattle, the Karo *ngkicik*, a basket rattle, which is played at old religious ceremonies (*erpangir kulau*, *raleng tendi*) by a woman dancer or a *guru sibaso* (ceremonial leader and spirit medium).

The playing of the jew's harp (or jaw's harp) is very rare nowadays. Two kinds exist side by side: the idioglot Indonesian type (*saga-saga*, *hodong-hodong*) made from a palm branch, and the metallic bow type of European origin (*genggong*). The former type has a Batak name, while the other was imported together with its Malayan name *genggong*.

2.1.2 Membranophones

With few exceptions (*tataganing*, *odap*, *rapano*) the drum names are derivatives of the Malayan/Indonesian *kendang*. They are all played in the official ceremonial music. *Tataganing* or *taganing*, the Toba set of five drums, is the only set where an approximate tuning of the drums is intended in order to play together with the *sarunei*. Perhaps the name is an onomatopoeic one, expressing the different pitches of the drums. Other drum sets (Pak², Sim., Mand.) also distinguish different pitches in a certain way. However, the musical structure on the whole and that of the drumming especially, is not melody inspired (as with the Toba

gondang), but is a combination of rhythmic patterns. Only some pieces of the repertory come close to the Toba style, although the *sarunei* never follows the drums. These single-headed drums may be described as slightly barrel-shaped, or approximately cylindrical, or slightly conical, depending on the region. Obviously all belong to the same type. The *gondang si dua-dua drums*, on the other hand, show a clear barrel shape, while the Karo drums belong to the double-conical type, with two skins of which only one is played.

Frame drums are of recent origin and due to Islamic influences. They are played mainly in the Mandailing region. The first instruments and the playing technique appear to have been imported directly from the Near East at the beginning of this century (see Kartomi n.d.). Today these instruments are made in the Batak villages. The names, however, are of Mayalan/Indonesian origin. *Rapano* is the name of a single-head frame drum played by the Mandailing. The name comes from the Indonesian word for frame drum *rebana*. Kartomi (n.d.) mentions also frame drums (tambourines?) named *sampring*, *bemercing* and *mambo*.

2.1.3 Tube zithers

According to Batak classification, tube zithers belong to the family of percussion instruments *alat pukul* because they are beaten with small wooden sticks and not plucked. They are all made from bamboo. The strings (of varying number) are peeled out of the epidermis without severing the ends from the corpus.

Most of the names are onomatopoeic. As the tube zithers are mostly played in ensembles substituting for the official *gondang*, a differentiated functional terminology refers to the *gondang* music (see section 3.3). Tube zithers are nearly obsolete nowadays in Simalungun, Toba and Pakpak but still played in Karo and Mandailing ensembles.

2.2 *Alat Gesek and Alat Petik / Bowed and Plucked Stringed Instruments*

The instruments in this class all belong to the lute family and are divided into two types: the bowed spiked fiddle (*arbap*, *murbab*, *murdap*), name and shape being of foreign origin, and the plucked necked bowl lute, also described as a boat-shaped Batak lute (*hasapi*, *husapi*, *kucapi*, *kulcapi*).²³

In former times, i.e., at least up to the 1940's, the Toba *hasapi*-type may also have been bowed. The instrument was then called *hapetan* (see the picture in Halusa 1938: 168).

De hapetan is een tweesnarige viool, welke verspreiding tot de landstreken Hoerlang en Boven-Barus is beperkt. In het Karosche en in het Simaloengoensche zijn ook tweesnarige violen bekend (Karosch: *moerdap*, Simaloengoensch: *arbap*), die zich echter van de *hapetan* daardoor onderscheiden, dat haar klanklichaam van klapperdop is—de instrumenten dus op de *rebab* gelijken—terwijl het Tobasche instrument het klanklichaam van de Bataksche luit, de

hasapi, heeft (afb 1). Slechts de wijze van bespelen is dezelfde: ook de *hapetan* wordt bij het bespelen tegen de bodem of tegen de knie van dem speler gesteund (Halusa 1938: 178).

2.3 *Alat Tiup / Wind Instruments / Aerophones*

The 'paddy shawm,' rice-stalk shawm, or concussion reeds, (*alal*, *ole-ole*, *oli-oli*, *pit*),²⁴ consists of a certain portion of a rice haulm in which—in the case of the *ole-ole* (Sim.)—eight longitudinal incisions are made. A leaf of a sugar palm or sugar cane, wrapped around the end, serves as a bell. The end with the slits is taken into the mouth where the eight lamellae can swing. According to T. Saragih (1974: 220), the instrument was played in ricefields when a young man wanted to signal to his girl that he was already waiting for her at the place of their assignation. Today it is still played by children in order to shoo away birds.

The Batak play a great variety of flutes; only panpipes and vessel-flutes are missing. We find the open end-blown flute (*sordam*) also existing as a nose flute (*saligung*); side-blown flutes (*sulim*, *suling*) or whistles (*salobat*); a flute with external duct (*taratoa*), similar to the *suling* of Java but with a bamboo ring instead of a rattan band ('Rohrbandflöte'), and different flutes with internal duct (*beluwat*, *belobat*, *lobat*, *singkadut*, *tulila*,²⁴ and also *suling*). The *sordam* is played mainly by men for self-entertainment, or entertainment in a small group. Like the nose flute, it has also been played by unmarried men in courtship music. The Simalungun transverse flute *sulim* has the same function, while the Toba *sulim* is played in the *uning-uningan* group. This flute has an additional hole in the middle between the mouth hole and the first finger hole, which is covered with a thin piece of cigarette-paper or similar material. Another side-blown flute is a short whistle, the Toba *salobat* (*haloat*, *salohat*),²⁶ of which different types exist: a) without finger holes, both ends open; pitch variations are produced by covering the ends; b) one end open; the other a node with a finger hole; c) the mouth hole is in the middle, with two finger holes to the left and right of it. Players are rare nowadays. It seems to have been a kind of signalling instrument, for courtship or to drive away bad spirits from the fields. According to the information given by Van der Tuuk (1861: 152), which could not be verified today, it was played mainly by women and also served as a container for the jaw's harp *sagasaga*, which was also played by women during the time of courtship. The distinction between this *salobat/salohat* and the recorder *tulila*, is not always clear. The terms might have been used interchangeably by Toba villagers. An important group among the flutes are the short flutes with internal duct because they are also played in ensemble music (Karo: *keteng*²-group; Mand.: *gondang*; Pak²: *kalondang* group), besides being considered the ideal flute for courtship, and calling for a girl (as, for example, *belobat pingko*²: to call with a high voice).

The main melody instrument in ceremonial music is the double-reed *sarunei* or *sarunei bolon*. It is interesting to note that while each Batak group has its own distinct type of *sarunei*,²⁷ from the large Toba *sarunei*

to the extremely small Karo instrument, the Mandailing seem to prefer the single-reed *salehot* or *sarunei ajang*. Only hypothetical statements can be made about the origin of the *sarunei* among the Batak. The instrument could have been brought to Sumatra by Arab or Gujarati Muslim traders, probably around 1400 or a little earlier. The oboe-drum music was then established as a kind of official representation music among the local rulers of the coastal Melayu, from whom it was taken over by the Batak.²⁸

The Toba single-reed instrument is called *sarunei na met-met* ('small sarunei') because its shape is similar to the big *sarunei*, although much smaller in size. It is played in the *uning-uningan* ensemble and differs from the other Batak bamboo clarinets called *sarunei buluh*, which are played for the same purpose as the flutes.

A rather exceptional instrument, a free-reed aerophone (Durchschlagzungeninstrument), was played by a Mandailing musician.²⁹ It was called *sordam* and was held like a transverse flute. The bamboo instrument was 31.3 cm long and had four finger holes; the reed was made from the fibre of a palm leaf shoot. I was told that this very low and soft sounding instrument is played at night for courting.

The last instrument to be mentioned here is an end-blown water-buffalo horn, called *tanduk* or *sangka*, formerly played as a signalling device during warfare, but since Christian times also for announcing the beginning of the divine service when played in front of the church (church bells today are still expensive and rare).

2.4 Statistics of Distribution and Origin

The statistical survey given in Table 2 suggests some trends. Nearly two-thirds of the names belong to the *alat pukul* group; the rest belongs to the *tiup* group. Stringed instruments have nearly no importance. Most of the Batak names are found among the idiophones, tube zithers and wind instruments. Malayan-Indonesian names predominate within the membranophone group. That they are not found among the stringed instruments does not mean there is no Malayan influence. For instance, the boat-lute *hasapi/kucapi* has a name which is originally derived from Sanskrit but might have reached the Batak via the Hindu-Javanese and later Malayan-Indonesian junction where the name is *kecapi*. The strong linkage between Batak terminology and Malayan-Indonesian cultures is clearly shown by the predominance of Malayan-Indonesian terms which total 50% compared with 32% Batak and 17% foreign names, the most remarkable among the latter being the *arbap* and the *sarunei*.

Onomatopoeic terms predominate strongly within the percussion instruments. Specifications regarding material, size, function and region are less important. As the Batak terminology does not distinguish between double- and single-reed instruments (*sarunei*) there is a specification according to size (*sarunei na met-met*) or material (*sarunei buluh*).

The only group in which we find a majority of Batak names are the tube zithers, and these, together with several bamboo-idiophones, seem to belong to the oldest stratum of musical instruments within this

TABLE 2

	alat pukul					tube zithers	alat gesek	alat petik	alat tiup	total
	total pukul	idiophones	membranophones	total	total					
total	75/ 62%	53/ 44%	13/ 11%	9/ 7%	3/ 2.5%	4/ 3.5%	39/ 32%	121/ 100%		
Batak names	28/ 37%	23/ 43%	2/ 15%	3/ 33%	1/ 33%	--	18/ 46%	47/ 32%		
Mal./Indon.	39/ 52%	26/ 49%	11/ 85%	2/ 22%	--	--	22/ 56%	61/ 50%		
other foreign	8/ 11%	8/ 15%	--	--	2/ 67%	4/ 100%	6/ 15%	20/ 17%		
onomatopoetic	50/ 67%	29/ 55%	12/ 92%	9/100%	--	--	2/ 5%	52/ 43%		
material	7/ 9%	5/ 9%	--	2/ 22%	--	--	2/ 5%	9/ 7%		
size	2/ 3%	2/ 4%	--	--	--	--	9/ 23%	11/ 9%		
function	9/ 12%	7/ 13%	2/ 15%	--	--	--	3/ 8%	12/ 10%		
region	2/ 3%	--	--	2/ 22%	--	--	2/ 5%	4/ 3%		

culture, while drums, stringed instruments and the *sarunei* are of a more recent origin.

3. *Functional Terms in Ensemble Playing*

Batak ensemble playing within the ceremonial *gondang* music and its substitutes or imitations in entertainment music is highly structured. Every instrument has its distinctive musical function within the musical process. It is therefore not surprising that the musicians utilise a special functional terminology, or at least a certain verbal characterization of the different parts to be played in a group. Of course, information given by Batak musicians sometimes appears to be either contradictory, correct for only a certain portion of the repertory, or known only locally. It is possible that further studies may give rise to more findings.

3.1 *Gong Groups*

The sounds and rhythmic patterns of the gongs are the backbone of *gondang* music. Gongs of sometimes extremely different sizes and pitches are used. Another way to vary sound is by using different playing techniques; some gongs are suspended in a stand so that their sound is undamped, others are held near the body of the player and damped with an arm or hand. Damaged or split gongs are used in the manner of metal percussion plaques, and beaten with a steady pulse, thus serving as a 'time-keeper.'

The musical function of the gong group is to produce a steady background of rhythmic sounds which are played without variation throughout the whole piece. The gong patterns are the rhythmical and metrical basis of *gondang* music.

3.1.1 *Gongs of the Karo Gendang*

The Karo *gendang sarunei* is generally played by a *sarunei*, two *gendang*, and two gongs, a very large one called *gung* and a very small one called *penganak*, the latter being derived from 'anak', meaning 'child'. To name the smallest instrument within a set of instruments as *anak*/child is very common, not only within the Batak terminology but also in other Indonesian cultures. To give some examples of size, some *gung* measured 100, 68 and 60 cm in diameter, while the *penganak* measured 18, 16 and 15 cm.

Two examples of rhythmic patterns, generally used for slow and fast tempi respectively, are given here:

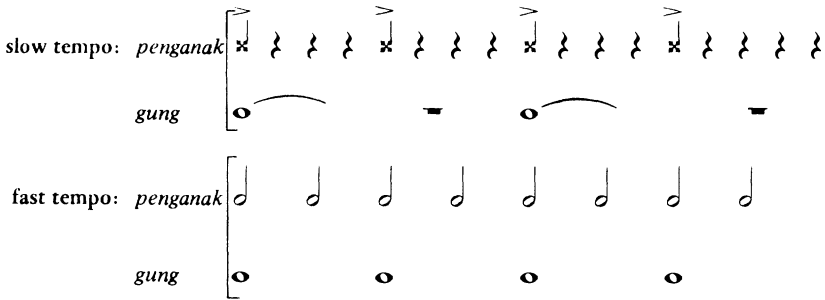


Figure 1

3.1.2 Gongs of the Toba Gondang

This gong group and its terminology respectively seem to be the most elaborate as compared with those of other ensembles. It consists of four gongs, two undamped and two damped, and an additional iron percussion plaque *hesek-hesek* which is mostly played by a boy. The gong group usually stands behind the drums and the *sarunei* player, the lowest sounding and generally largest gong *oloan* being on the left side (as seen by the spectator) and the corresponding undamped gong *ihutan* being on the other side, while the two damped gongs *panggora* and *doal* are placed in between these.

The gongs differ slightly in size, which does not always correspond to the hierarchy of pitches (from low to high: *oloan-ihutan-doal-panggora*) because the instruments can be tuned by smearing a resinous, tar-like paste called *puli* into the concave underside of the knob. This means that the *ihutan* might be a little larger than the lower-sounding *oloan*. For example, the diameters of one set are (in cm): *oloan*, 38; *ihutan*, 41; *doal*, 36; *panggora*, 35.

The names have the following meanings:³⁰

Oloan is derived from 'olo'=to obey, or 'porhata oloan'= somebody whom you have to obey. This is the basic and leading gong with the lowest sound. Its beats serve as orientation for all other gongs, i.e. these have to follow the *oloan*.

Ihutan is derived from 'ihut' ('mangihut tu')= to follow, to join. This slightly higher pitched gong is "following" the *oloan*. *Oloan* and *ihutan* are often tuned to an interval between a minor and a major third; but intervals of a major second also occur. Another possible meaning for *ihutan* can be "leader", which would indicate a contradiction between the meaning of the term and its present function. This could only be explained by postulating a historical break between meaning and function. Toba musicians tend to favor the first meaning, that is, "following" or "joining". This tendency is confirmed by a second name for this gong, *pangalusi*, meaning "answerer" (*ngalu*, "to ruminate").

Doal is another general term for gong. In this ensemble it is also called *doal na godang*, "parents" *doal*, indicating that it is larger than the *panggora*, the corresponding damped gong.

Panggora is derived from *manggora*, "to call" (the people, ancestor spirits, *tondi*, etc.). Indeed, as this music is played in the open air, the high pitched gong and the resultant rhythmic pattern created between the *doal* and *panggora* can be heard far away from the dancing place, announcing to everyone that there is a *pesta adat* in the village.

These damped gongs especially create the psycho-acoustic background of the ceremonial dances, or as Manik (1977: 70) states for the *panggora*: "Yang berseru atau yang membuat orang terkejut" ("The one who calls or the one who shocks the people"). Shocking (or startling) may also refer to the first stage of putting someone into a trance or spirit possession, because the resultant *ogung* pattern might induce a mechanism of psychomotoric and psychagogic reactions. This constantly repeated rhythmic pattern, as transcribed in Figure 2, consists of the steady beat of the *hesek-hesek* (metrical unit and time-keeper function); one basic beat on the *oloan*, metrically equivalent to four *hesek*² beats; whilst the *ihutan* corresponds to the *oloan* displaced by two beats; the *doal* provides steady syncopating beats, and the damped *panggora* is heard on every *oloan* and *ihutan* beat as a kind of additional punctuating sound:

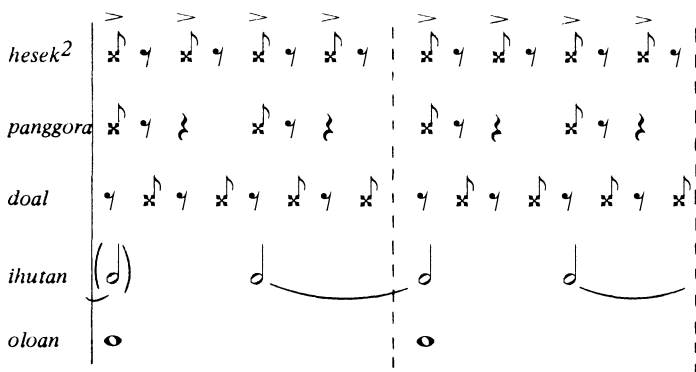


Figure 2

The resultant and characteristic auditory pattern set up between the two damped gongs is:

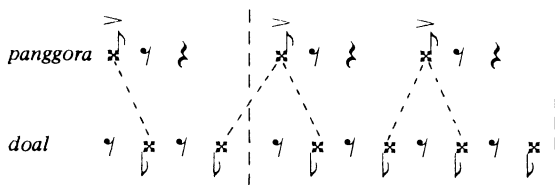


Figure 3

3.1.3 Mandailing Gongs and Others

This gong group consists of two large gongs, *ogung*, which are suspended in a stand, and a set of gongs called *mongmong*. The latter consists of one pair of small gongs, held by one player, *pamalusi* ("undamped") and *panduai-duai* ("damped by hand"), both also called *talempong*. Another player beats a third small gong within the *mongmong* set called *panolongi* or *paniga* (undamped and damped sound, sometimes, a split gong). *Pamalusi* is derived from *mamalu*, "to beat"; *panduai-duai* is the "second one", and *paniga* the "third one". An additional gong which may be employed is the undamped suspended gong *doal*.³¹ The big gongs *ogung* are distinguished as *ogung boru-boru* ("female" gong) or *induk* ("mother") for the larger gong, and *ogung jantan* ("male" gong) or *ogung pangiring* ("accompanying" gong) for the smaller one.

The music of the Pakpak gong group, which uses *poi*, *takudep*, *panggora/jurjur*, and *pongpong*, shows certain similarities with Toba music, with regard to function, terminology, and rhythmical structure. Simalungun gong playing, with two large gongs called *gung* and two small ones called *mongmong*, is musically similar to Karo gong playing. However, the sound structure of the two large gongs which differ in pitch, also resembles the Toba *oloan-ihutan* pattern.

3.2 Drum Groups

The way drums are played together varies considerably between the Batak groups. Three styles can be observed: 1. Karo *gendang*, 2. Toba *gondang*, and 3. Simalungun, Pakpak and Mandailing drum set style, the last characterized by the playing in ensembles of five to nine drums. Although the Toba *gondang* is also played by a set of five drums with an additional bass drum, it differs most from the other styles. Nevertheless, some relations may be noted between Toba and Pakpak styles, certain pieces of the Pakpak repertory show similarities to the Toba *gondang*, especially when the approximately tuned drums are played in a melodic style.

3.2.1 Karo Gendang

The music is played by two drummers on two *gendang* called *gendang anakna* ("child" *gendang*) and *gendang indungna* ("mother" *gendang*). The *gendang anakna* is actually a pair of drums, consisting of a main drum, *baluh*, and a small drum, *gerantung* ("hanging"), which is attached to the side of the larger drum. The Karojahe or 'lowlands Karo', whose drums are considerably larger, use as *gendang anakna* two main drums, merely turning the second one upside down as the lower head has a much smaller diameter. The musical function of the *gendang anakna* is to provide an accompanying or steady rhythmic pattern, with little or no variation. The second drummer plays the *indungna*, whose shape is the same as the main drum of the *anakna* pair. The function of this 'mother' drum is to improvise rhythmic sequences with great virtuosity. The playing of the *gendang* is called *singanaki* and *singindungi* respectively.

3.2.2 Toba Gondang

The *gondang* group consists of six drums: a large bass drum called *gordang*, played by one musician, and a set of five drums called *tataganing* or *taganing*. These five drums differ from one another in size and pitch and are tuned approximately in order to be played together heterophonically with the *sarunei*. The *tataganing* player is called *pargonsi* (from *gonsi*, "music", derived from *gondang*). He is generally accepted as the leader and master of the group, being one of the most honoured members of Batak society. As the single drums of the *tataganing* have no special rhythmic function, they are not especially distinguished by name but are simply called: 1. *anak ni taganing* ("child of" *taganing*), the smallest drum, 2. *paidua*, "the second one", 3. *paitolu*, "the third one", 4. *paiopat*, "the fourth one" and 5. *pailima*, "the fifth one", this last being the largest. From the players' point of view, the smallest drum is on the lefthand side and the largest on the right. All five drums are hung on a wooden stand.

3.2.3 Mandailing Gondang

Three different ensembles are played today, the *gordang sembilan* with nine drums, the *gordang lima* with five drums and the *gondang boru* ("mother *gondang*") or *gondang sidua-dua*, with two drums.³²

The *gordang* drums are the largest to be found in the Batak area. They are beaten with two sticks. Both the nine and five drum sets are played by five drummers. In the *gordang sembilan*, four drummers play pairs of drums which differ slightly in size and are distinguished as *induk* ("mother", "female") for the larger one and *jantan* ("male") for the smaller one. The fifth drummer plays the smallest drum, *enek-enek* ("the child"). Each of the four pairs has a special functional term, listed below in order from the largest to the smallest drum:

Number of Drum	Name	Meaning	Player Number
1 / 2	<i>jangat</i>	"cow skin"/leading drum	1 (leader)
3 / 4	<i>kudong-kudong</i> ³³	"beginner"	2
5 / 6	<i>pandua-duai/panulis</i> or <i>padua</i> ³⁴	"the second one" to start	3
7 / 8	<i>patolu/pangayak</i>	"the third one" to start or the "one who follows"	4
9	<i>enek-enek</i>	"child", the smallest and last drum to start	5

The drumming can be characterized as the combination of distinct rhythmic patterns that produces resultant rhythmic patterns similar to those known from East Africa. The *kudong-kudong* player begins with a rather simple rhythmic pattern. *Kudong-kudong* seems to be an onomatopoeic expression for this kind of rhythm. The *pandua-duai* comes next, followed by the *patolu* or *pangayak*. Each player thereafter maintains his rhythmic pattern, the resultant inherent rhythm being established by these three drummers. The *jangat* then falls in with improvised rhythmic variations and is followed by the *enek-enek*, which also provides more or less freely varied rhythmic sequences.

The *gordang lima*, with five drums, is a set of *gordang* reduced by

taking out one of the *jangat*, *kudong*², *pandua* and *patolu* drums. The number of drummers remains the same, but each beats only one drum. The names of the drums are: 1. *jangat*, 2. *kudong-kudong*, 3. *pandua-duai*, 4. *patolu* and 5. *enek-enek*. The same rhythmic patterns can be played as in the larger group.

The *gondang boru* ("mother" or "female" *gondang*), also called *gondang (si) dua-dua*, consists of two barrel-shaped drums. Similar groups are used in Simalungun and Pakpak music. The drums are beaten on the right side with a stick and on the left with the hand. The musical part played by the first drum is called *si ayakkon*, meaning "the one to be followed"; it has the function of providing a steady basic rhythmic pattern. The second part is called *mangayak* and the player *pengayak*, "the one who follows". He plays a counter-rhythm to the first part. For the listener both parts merge into a resultant rhythmic pattern.

3.2.4 Pakpak Genderang

The *genderang* tradition is declining from year to year. Perhaps this was the reason why the information given by musicians and informants often seemed to be contradictory and unclear. Musicians, when asked about terms used for *pakpak genderang* playing, sometimes quarreled with each other about the right meaning. Local variation also must be considered. It may also happen today that a drum set is incomplete, skewing the old terminology. Other variations arise from different possibilities of combining the drums, that is, which drum is played by whom and how many players will take part. The terms and their explanations given here are based on information from *genderang* players of Salak (1978) and Sukaramai (Kecamatan Kerajaan) near Sidikalang (1976, 1978 and 1981). Further studies might add clarity to this terminology.

A complete *genderang* consists of nine drums generally played by five drummers. For certain occasions such as funerals, a set of five drums (*genderang lima*) is also used. Actually, when recording the *genderang* repertory at Sukaramai (1976-1981) and Salak (1978), sets of four to nine drums were played. Sometimes this was determined by the piece; sometimes the set was incomplete because a drum was damaged or missing. The combinations of players and drums recorded were as follows:

drum	Sukaramai '76			Sukaramai '78					Salak '78				
				player					x) x)				
1	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	—
2	A	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	A	B	A	B
3	—	—	—	B	B	B	C	B	B	B	B	C	B
4	B	C	B	C	C	C	C	B	B	B	B	C	B
5	B	C	C	C	C	C	D	C	B	B	B	—	C
6	B	D	C	D	D	D	D	C	B	C	—	—	—
7	B	C	D	D	D	D	E	D	C	C	B	C	D
8	C	—	D	E	E	—	E	D	D	—	—	—	—
9	D	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	D	C	—	—	—

x) *genderang lima*

In Pakpak *genderang* each drum has its special name. Among the variety of names mentioned by the musicians, I would give preference to the list recorded at Sukaramai 1978, because it was the only time the drum set was complete.

Names of drums (from large to small):

Number	Sukaramai '76	Sukaramai '78	Salak '78
1	<i>inangna</i>	<i>inangna</i> /Raja Gumaruguh	<i>inangna</i>
2	<i>jurjur</i>	<i>jurjuri</i> / Raja Dumarendeng	<i>serbobna</i>
3	—	<i>menduai</i> / Raja Kumarincing	<i>tigana</i>
4	<i>menduai</i>	— " — / — " —	<i>menduai</i>
5	<i>menabil</i>	<i>menabil</i> / Raja Menak- enak	<i>menabil</i>
6	<i>menondati</i>	— " — — " —	<i>menondati</i>
7	<i>mendonggili</i>	<i>menondati</i> / Raja Penondati	<i>tiltilana</i>
8	<i>tabil sondat</i>	<i>tabil sondat</i> / — " —	<i>onggil- onggil</i>
9	<i>menehtehi</i>	<i>menehtehi</i> / Raja Mangampu	<i>menehtehi</i>

The meaning and explanation of these names given by our informants was:

Inangna: mother, as designation for the largest drum.

Jurjur: to combine (drums 1 and 3) and to serve as a link.

Menduai: two drums played together; the term *tigana* (Salak '78) means "the third one."

Menabil: derived from 'tabil'; that is to stabilize the ensemble playing (with faster beats than the neighbour on the *menduai* does); fixed rhythmic pattern.

Menondati: derived from *sondat*, "to fuse", in the sense that this drum ends the playing or gives the sign for ending; *tabil sondat* also belongs in this category; *tabil*= stable (maintaining the right tempo to be followed by the others); fixed rhythmic pattern.

Menehtehi: 'the smallest drum', that which must follow the larger ones, 'like the tail of an animal, which must always follow its body'; with an additional drum pattern combined with the others to form a resultant rhythmic pattern, also, "a crying child, that always follows its mother."

Raja Gumaruguh: an onomatopoeic paraphrase of the 'sound of rolling stones like that heard during a landslide'; 'the heavy rumbling beats' coming from the largest drum.

Raja Dumarendeng: *duma*, "rich"; *rendeng*, "perfect". 'The beats have to be perfect and exact in tempo and precision.'

Raja Kumarincing: an onomatopoeic paraphrase of the 'noise of coins falling into a tin', characterized by the playing of differentiated sequences of beats, being the most variable one.

Raja Menak- enak: (information very contradictory).

Raja Penondati: same as *menondati*.

Raja Mangampu: "the last one"; "the tail of the group".

The designation of the players is terminologically similar. At Salak (1978) some new terms were added. They can not be analyzed as yet:

Player of drum 1, or 1 and 2: *menjerbebpi*

Player of drums 2 - 6 (5): *bennakayu*

Player of drum 6, or 6 and 7: *menehtehi*

(only seven drums were played)

According to Kartomi (1983) "the players were called *mencerbepi*, *benakayu* (leader), *mendonggi-donggili* and *metektek* (playing the fastest or densest line)."

3.2.5 *Simalungun Gonrang*

Two different kinds of *gonrang* are played, the *gonrang bolon* (the large *gonrang*), also called *gonrang si pitu-pitu* (seven drums *gonrang*), and the *gonrang sidua-dua*, which means 'the *gonrang* with two' (drums). The *gonrang bolon* consists of six or seven drums; six drums are generally played at a *pesta umum* or common feast, while the set of seven drums is reserved for funerals. The musicians use a distinctive terminology with regard to arranging the different rhythmic patterns.³⁵ This terminology can change according to the basic category of rhythmic organisation.

As in other Batak styles, *Simalungun gonrang* music creates a resultant rhythmic structure based on fixed and varied patterns played on different drums by different players. The *gonrang bolon* set is usually beaten by three drummers. Which drum is played by which drummer may change, depending on the piece, but there is a general scheme: one drummer plays the first or largest drum, the second plays drums two to five, and the third plays numbers 6, or 6 and 7. In this combination only the drummer in the middle plays rhythmic variations, while the other two perform fixed rhythmic patterns. Usually, the name of the largest drum is *indung* ("mother"), drums 2 to 5 *jangat* or *tingkah* (pronounced as *tikkah*) and drums 6 and 7 *anak* ("child") or *tingting* (onomatopoeic expression). *Jangat* is explained as *gual* ("melody"), but literally means "cowskin". In Toba, *manggual* also means "to beat a drum". The corresponding term is *tingkah* ("varying, changing"). Other names of drums were:³⁶

1. *indung* = "mother"
2. *oloh-olahan* = "correct" in tempo³⁷
3. *pankhasomani* = "partner"
4. "
5. "
6. *tingting* = onomatopoeic for high-sounding
7. "

The functional terms of the players correspond with the drum names:³⁸

Player of drum 1: *pangindung*

Player of drums 2-5: *panjangati*/ *paningkah*/ *panongahi*/
pangerap/ *panirang*

Player of drums 6/7: *panganak*/ *panirini*/ *tingting*

Meaning of Names:

Pangindungi: player of the "mother" drum,

panjangati: player of the "melody", as well as

paningkah: player of the varied beats, as well as

panongahi: player being in the middle, as well as

pangerap: distributor (of beats), as well as

panirang: divider (of differently pitched drums);

panganak: player of the *anak* drum, as well as

panirini: meaning not clear, perhaps related to the function of a time-keeper, and

tingting: onomatopoeic imitation of high sound.

The *gonrang si dua-dua* is played on two barrel-shaped drums, the first one slightly larger than the second, called (in relation to the *gonrang bolon*) respectively: *indung* and *jangat* or *tingkah*,³⁹ the names having already been explained above. The roles of the players are designated respectively: 1. *pangindungi*, playing an unvaried accompanying rhythmic pattern, and 2. *panjangati* or *paningkah*, being the leading drummer who beats varied patterns.

Another name for this group is *gonrang dagang*, which means "incomplete *gonrang*".

3.3 *The Terminology of the Tube Zithers*

Ensembles with tube zithers serve as a substitute for the official ceremonial *gondang* groups with *sarunei*, drums and gongs. If the statements of several Batak musicians are right, this must not have been so in former times because these groups are said to be older than *gondang sarunei*. At any rate, nowadays the sound and rhythm of drums and gongs are imitated by small groups in which tube zithers play a leading role.

3.3.1 *The Karo keteng-keteng*

This group consists of one *kulcapi* and/or *belobat* as melody instrument, two tube zithers *keteng-keteng* and one *mangkuk*.

The parts for *gendang* drums and gongs are played on zithers and *mangkuk*. The *keteng-keteng* has two strings. The one tuned to the lower pitch is provided with a special sound mechanism: a certain piece of bamboo is attached to the string and vibrates over a sound hole when the string is beaten with a stick. The resulting low and slightly longer sounding tone is the substitute for the big gong of the *gendang sarunei*-ensemble. The *mangkuk* (usually a bowl made of porcelain), beaten with a stick, provides the sound of the small gong *penganak*. On the second string of the *keteng-keteng* which passes over a bridge, the parts of the *gendang* drums are beaten, differentiated according to the two *gendang* parts:

1. *keteng-keteng anakna*, the accompanying instrument, and

2. *keteng-keteng indungna*, varying "solo" instrument.

Each of the two *keteng-keteng* players beats his special rhythm and the regular metrical beats of the *gung*.

3.3.2 *Mandailing gondang buluh*

These groups generally consist of two tube zithers *gondang buluh*, one single reed *sarunei buluh* and a pair of cymbals *tali sasayap*. The zithers have three idiochord strings, beaten with a small stick wrapped with rubber.

1. The low string is called *boru-boru* (female/mother) and serves as a substitute for the big gong *ogung boru* of the *gondang* music.
2. The middle string with a bridge is called *mongmongan*; it being the substitutes for small gongs of the same name.
3. The third string, pitched slightly higher than the first one, is called *jantan* ("male") and is the substitute for the gong *ogung jantan*.

3.3.3 *Toba tanggetong*

In the Toba area tube zithers appeared not to be played in an instrumental group anymore, but are still played by children here and there. One instrument was made at the author's request and played by a musician of an *uning-uningan* group.

The substitute role of the instrument was still evident in the terms given to the five strings. They are, with one exception, an imitation of the four *gondang* gongs:

1. string: *oloan*
2. string: *doal*
3. string: *pangalusi/ihutan*
4. string: *panggora*
5. string: *anak ni nengnong* ("the child of *nengnong*", another name for the tube zither, designating the highest-pitched string).

The instrument also served as a tool for learning the *gondang* music.

3.4 *Toba uning-uningan*

This still very popular ensemble offers entertainment music in the traditional sense. It consists of one xylophone *garantung* with 5 to 7 keys, two boat lutes *hasapi*, one *sarunei na met-met*, one transverse flute *sulim* (which may sometimes be omitted), and a percussion plate *hesek*² (today often a beer bottle).⁴⁰

The same pieces of the official *gondang* repertory can be played by this group, although many other popular songs and compositions are found likewise. The different parts of ensemble playing correspond to those known in the *gondang*. The drum set *taganing* is imitated by the xylophone, which is capable of producing real pitches. One of the two *hasapi* has the same function. It is called *hasapi taganing*. The wind instruments, *garantung* and *hasapi taganing*, play together heterophonically the *sarunei/taganing* part. The second *hasapi*, called *hasapi doal*, plays the syncopating beats of the *doal* gong, while the *hesek-hesek* has the same "time keeper" function as in the ceremonial music. Thus the basic structure of the music remains the same while the character of sound has changed.

4. *Conclusions*

The cultural history of South East Asia and Indonesia in particular has seen many foreign influences. The great Asian religions—Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam—have affected the Indonesian cultures in a considerable way. It is also evident that the older cultural strata never vanished completely but intermingled with the new ones. Due to their geographic position the Batak have never been in the center of these processes but rather on the periphery, and it seems that Hindu-Javanese and later Islamic influences affected the Batak more or less sporadically. Nevertheless the list of names of musical instruments shows that Batak music belongs to the family of Indonesian musical cultures. The preference for onomatopoeic namings can also be found in other cultures of the archipelago. The predominance of Malayan names points to the main direction of outside influences. This is particularly the case for drum names. Here the term *kendang* was taken over not only for the majority of membranophones but also for other instruments of the Batak *alat pukul* group, that is the “percussion instruments” (idiophones, membranophones and beaten tube zithers) as is evident in names like *gendang amak* (“mat drum”) and *gendang buluh* (tube zither). In this case the second name specifies the material from which the instrument is made. Other foreign names originate from India (several Sanskrit and Tamil names), West Asia (*arbap*, *sarunei*) and perhaps also Mainland Southeast Asia (*mongmong*).

Out of a total number of 121 names of musical instruments 75 belong to the *pukul*/percussion group, 39 to the *tiup*/wind-instruments, 3 to the *gesek*/bowed stringed instruments and 4 to *petik*/plucked stringed instruments.

Names which indicate a further specification of material, size, function or region are generally not basic terms but rather subdivisions or elaborations of those (e.g. *ogung buluh*, *doal na godang*, *gendang indungna*, *sordam bolon*, *surdam biasa*, *sarunei na met met*). The Toba gong names (*oloan*, *ihutan*, *pangalusi*, *panggora*) also belong to this category, because sometimes the general word *ogung* is placed before the specifying functional term. There are only a few exceptions, like *hodong-hodong* (50), *jakjak-ulul* (69) and *tanduk* (120).

There is only one kind of common systematic features to be found both within the terminology of musical instruments (although in very few cases) and that of the ensemble playing. It is a kind of dualistic principle following the scheme of mother (*indung*) and child (*anak*) or of mother/female (*induk/boru*) and male (*jantan*). Kartomi has already noted this for the Mandailing *gordang sembilan*-ensemble:

In the largest ensemble, the nine drums are grouped into four pairs, each consisting of a larger “female” (*induk*) and a smaller “male” (*jantan*) drum, plus a ninth drum called *enek-enek* (“child”), which is the smallest drum and represents the produce of the sexual dualism (1981b: 2).

In the accompanying gong groups of this ensemble we find a similar distinction. We have already mentioned that there is a group of small gongs (*mongmongan* or *momongan*) and big gongs (*ogung*). The latter is again subdivided into one *ogung induk* or *boru*² being the larger gong, and one *ogung jantan* for the smaller. This distinction is also reflected in the substitutional tube zither music *gondang buluh*. Using the female-male principle to distinguish pairs of instruments which differ in size appears to be a common feature of Mandailing music; pairs of flutes are also named *suling boru* and *suling jantan* (see Table 1: 108, 109).

The mother-child dualism is used by the Karo and Simalungun. It is not always a distinction by size ("mother" for the large and "child" for the small instrument), although this is usually the case. Within the Karo *gendang* the distinction between *gendang indungna* ("mother *gendang*") and *gendang anakna* ("child *gendang*") is meant functionally (see 3.2.1). The same is true in the substitutional *gendang keteng-keteng*, where the two tube zithers do not differ in size and shape (see 3.3.1), but are distinguished as *indungna* and *anakna* because of the different musical parts to be played on these two instruments. The term *anak* stands for "accompanying", "steady" rhythm and *indung* for "elaborated", "varied" rhythms.

Incomplete dualistic pairs of names appear in the gong group of the Karo *gendang*, with *penganak* for the small instrument and simply *gung* for the large one. The Toba *gondang* drum group uses only *anak* for the smallest drum of the *tataganing* drum set. There is no "mother" counterpart, while the Pakpak drum groups seem to have no *anak*-drum but only the name *inangna* ("mother") for the largest drum of the ensemble. The dualistic principle is again found within the Simalungun *gonrang bolon* ensemble where the name for the largest drum is again *indung* ("mother") and, for the smallest drums 6 and 7, *anak* ("child"). In this case both parts played by the *pangindungi* on the *indung* and by the *panganak* on drums 6 and 7, consist of more or less fixed rhythm patterns, while the *paningkah* ('player of varied beats') on drums 2 to 5 plays the most elaborated part. This is the pattern usually played but other pieces within the repertory use different combinations.

NOTES

1. Other subdivisions have been published here and there, but this one seems to be most generally accepted. Angkola and Mandailing especially are counted as separate units, but many Batak see no real cultural distinction between the two groups. The Pardembanan Batak of Asahan, sometimes mentioned as an ethnic unit, belong to the Toba. There is also polarization between the Toba and the others, in the sense that the latter—especially the Mandailing—resist being called Batak. The conformities within the social organisation, traditional customs, and religion are so evident that such resistance seems more or less a matter of profiling or delimitation directed against the Toba majority.
2. See Parkin (1978: 11).

3. c.f. Heine-Geldern (1935/1972), who sees the origin of the Batak-culture in the so-called Dong-son culture; Van Heekeren, *The Bronze Age of Indonesia*, The Hague: 1958; and Batara Sangti (1977: 235 f. and 248 ff.). According to Heine-Geldern, Dong-son culture arrived in Sumatra around 300 B.C. It is useless for the context of our subject to discuss these speculations in detail here.
4. See Parkin (1978), who submits a substantial analysis of the relationship between India and Sumatra based on the facts known today.
5. Today the Batak churches form the largest Christian Protestant community in Asia. The Toba Protestant church H.K.B.P. has about one million members. In spite of these official statistics, the old religious beliefs are still very strong, especially among the Karo, who are estimated at 40% Christians, 40% Perbegu (old religious beliefs) and 20% Muslim. The Indonesian Constitution does not recognize the old Batak religion as an official one.
6. Officially forbidden by the Church, spirit-possession is still practiced secretly by Christians, and more or less publicly by others, especially among the Karo.
7. A term of Arab origin which cannot easily be translated, but concerns traditional social order, customs and institutions. The Batak consider the *adat* a holy order.
8. Toba/Karo terms.
9. c.f. Geiringer (1981).
10. Manik (1974, 1977); Kartomi (1977, 1981a, b, 1983); Simon (1977, 1981, 1982, 1984a, 1984b); Moore (unpublished M.A. thesis 1979); Jansen (1981).
11. Special types such as *gondang sipitu-huta* ('gondang of the seven villages') or *gondang sitolu huta* ('g. of the three villages') influenced by Toba *gondang* but played in the Simalungun border areas are omitted here. For further information see Simon (1984b: 25, 30).
12. This is based on observations made in the villages Sukaramai (1976-1981) and Salak (1978).
13. Kartomi (1977: 23), (1981a: 78), (1981b) designates the *serunei* as a double-reed shawm. It is possible that both types, the single-reed and double-reed instrument are played, but I have seen and recorded only the single-reed type. In Padang Sidempuan (1978) a flute (*singkadut* or *sinkadu*) was also played.
I gratefully acknowledge the personal communication by Margaret Kartomi (letter from 5th October 1983) addressing some terminological and organological questions raised in this article.
14. In 1978 only two *arbap* players were known. Due to several circumstances no recording was possible. In 1981 only one player was living at Sidamanik. He had given up making music and handed over his instrument to the Simalungun Museum at Pematang Siantar.
15. c.f. Simon (1981, 1982, 1984a, b) and Schreiner (1970).
16. c.f. Simon (1984b).
17. Besides the titles mentioned in footnote 10, we have Warneck (1905), Joustra (1907), Heintze (1909), Volz (1909), Hammerich (1911), Halusa (1938), Sejarah Adat Karo (1958), J.E. Saragih (1974), T. Saragih (1974), Laporan Kampung- Lingga (1975), P. Sitepu (1976), Kartomi (n.d., records BM 30 SL 2567/2568).
18. It comes closer to a typology of instruments that considers empirical and historical aspects, as discussed by Elschek and Stockmann (1969).
19. The following abbreviations are used in the text and table: Sim. for Simalungun; Mand. for Angkola/Mandailing; Pak² for Pakpak/Dairi; Hind.-Jav. for Hindu-Javanese; Mal./Indon. for Malayan-Indonesian (together with class. means "from classical literature"); and Sanskr. for Sanskrit.
20. Corrections may be expected in further studies when more data are available.
21. As recorded by us 1978, 1981.
22. When filming a Pakpak ensemble in 1981 near Sukaramai, an iron hoe was used as *pongpong*. At Salak (1978) they used an iron flat gong from the *gerantung* set. Cracked gongs were played 1976, 1978 at Sukaramai.
23. c.f. also Kunst (1973, I:371).
24. Kunst (1973, I:376) mentions a Sundanese paddy shawm called *olè-olèan*. Halusa (1938: 226): *alal*.

25. Kaudern (1927: 219) mentions a flute name 'toelali' from the Toraja of Central Sulawesi. Kartomi (1983) mentions an instrument called 'uyup² salung' (Mand.).
26. Kunst (1973, I:375) mentions a Sundanese vesselflute or whistle named 'taleot'.
27. A description of the Simalungun *sarunei* is provided by Jansen (1981: 59).
28. See also Jansen (1981: 72 ff.), who shares a similar point of view. All the double-reed types of Asia and their extra-musical functions have to be analyzed in detail before coming to any results.
29. Recording Simon, Sumatra 1978, Nr. 157.
30. c.f. also Manik (1977: 70), Simon (1984: 25).
31. Another gong *doal* is added to the *gondang boru* group.
32. For more detail, see Kartomi 1977, 1981a, b.
33. Kartomi mentions 'udong-udong'.
34. Kartomi (1983 et al). According to Moore (1979: 17) the complete *genderang* with nine drums is called 'Siraja Gemuruhguh' and the smaller with seven or five drums 'Siraja Kumarincing'.
35. Simalungun *gonrang* has recently been studied in a thesis by A.D. Jansen (1981). There are several contradictions to our findings, especially in the field of terminology, analysis and observation of musical life and functions, which will not be discussed here.
36. Information provided by Nokah Sinaga and his group from Pematang Siantar, and by J.E. Saragih. T. Saragih (1974: 250) mentions a *gonrang bolon* with one *gonrang bakkis*, three *gonrang pa-nongah²i* (plural of *panongah*) and two *gonrang singerger*.
37. There might be a relation to Toba 'oloan' = to obey; someone you have to follow.
38. This coincides with the findings of Margaret Kartomi (1983): "The player of the first drum (*indung*=mother) was called *pangindungi*, the player of the smallest drum (*tingting*) was called *panintingi*, and the players in between were called *panirang* (meaning 'connect up', 'mixing in'). The other group had 3 players with the same titles: one player played drum 1, another drums 2-6, and the other drum 7. *Gerantungs* I recorded were similarly played by 3 players. These players were also called *pangindungi*, *panirang* and *panintingi*."
39. Also Kartomi (1983): "I was given *gonrang sidua-dua* as consisting of *indung* and *tingkah*." Considering these coincidences of the author's and Kartomi's findings it remains a mystery to the present author why Jansen (1981) came to results which are completely contrary results by reversing the *indung* and *jangat* positions.
40. c.f. the recordings by Simon (1984b). According to Kartomi (1983) an endblown flute *sordam* could be played instead of a *sulim*.

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