

## “Sing, Choirs of New Jerusalem”

### *Hymnody and Sincerity in the Christian Tobalands*

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#### INTRODUCTION

The public ritual ensemble of the Toba Batak—the drums, gongs, and shawm of the *gondang sabangunan*, whose sounds can carry through the highland valleys of North Sumatra for miles—is the most documented musical target of the Sumatra mission of the Rheinische Missiongesellschaft (RMG). The RMG missionaries prohibited the ensemble among converts from the 1870s and were soon assisted by the Dutch with a civil ban that was lifted only in the year 1938.<sup>1</sup> Gradually, the *gondang* resumed its formal place at the locus of kinship practices and religious beliefs; its repertoire is surprisingly unaltered by the now overwhelming Christian beliefs of its practitioners.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the place of *gondang* within scholarship on Toba music is largely owing to the tradition’s resilience after independence in 1949 and in its eventual use within Catholic and Protestant congregations.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast, consider the musical category of unaccompanied sung poetry, in the recollection of M. Joustra, a Dutch missionary who was working in the Karo Batak region to the north of the Tobalands in 1899. Joustra recounts the words of a non-converted villager who walked into a hymn-singing lesson the missionary was leading to “protest the racket”:

“You must not make these noises like crying people, like crazy people. You’ll go crazy yourself if you do!” . . . Then I said, “Listen Father! I am teaching the people here, not so they will have misfortune, but for their welfare! You do not fully understand the use of this singing! Don’t the Batak sing also? During the day, and in the evenings, in the men’s house, on the path, in the villages—I have heard them singing at the top of their lungs. But the singing that I am teaching is prettier and more useful.”<sup>4</sup>

The RMG was a Pietist Lutheran group with roots in the Prussian (German) province of Rhineland, and Joustra a representative of the Nederlandsch Zendeling

Genootschap (Dutch Missionary Society, or NZG), but both societies, from nations sharing borders, prized the accessibility of congregational singing and its cultivation of the individual believer's scriptural knowledge and piety. So, too, in precolonial times, the tradition of sung poetry—called *ende* in Toba, *ende-enden* in Karo—enlivened the daily life of people, crossing the territories of the inland Batak communities in a wide-ranging web of culturally rich music and poetry.

As the account suggests, in 1899 the *ende-enden* tradition was sung everywhere and encoded aesthetic preferences for vocal sounds, to which the unfamiliar range, intervals, or motion of the mission songs clearly did not conform. These transgressions were in turn interpreted within the precolonial Batak religious and psychological discourse of the soul (*tendi* in Karo, *tondi* in Toba), in which mental illness (“crazy”) and ungovernable emotions (“crying”) were understood as “soul loss.”<sup>5</sup> But by the time of writing, in 2024, the most predominant use of the word *ende* in Sumatra is in the title of the Toba Batak Christian songbook, *Buku Ende*. And the most common use of the word *tondi* is within the rhymed stanzas of the hymns found within, where the term now references the “soul” of 1 Corinthians 15 and Psalm 103 and is carried by the diatonic melodies of the mission.

Unlike *gondang*, *ende* did not threaten the fragile souls of new converts with its ancestral associations and was unrestricted by the mission, at least by law. However, recall Joustra's assessment of Christian hymnody as not just “more useful” but “prettier.” Hegemony works not only through legal prohibitions but through subtle, arbitrary, and sometimes unexamined means—for example, in the aesthetic judgment that governs a choice of repertoire for a songbook and the constant repetition of these values through the regular and pleasurable acts of communal singing. This power of aesthetics was all the clearer in the Toba Batak areas under the German RMG. Here, the aesthetic preference for, and pride in, the German sacred choral tradition simultaneously spurred investments in the musical education of Bataks while making it virtually impossible for the missionaries to value Toba Batak song at all. Today, the original *ende* tradition is difficult to find; when Toba Bataks are touted as Indonesia's best singers, it is usually because of open vocal tone, wide range, and facility with multipart harmony.<sup>6</sup>

In this essay, I discuss the transformative role of the hymnody of the RMG and, later, of the independent Huria Kristen Protestan Batak (HKBP), in altering the musical assumptions of Toba Christians. I begin with *ende* because its history reveals three elements: the fine-grained significance of precolonial Toba concepts, sometimes held intact; the process by which older traditions were forcibly excised, changes normalized, and all traces of this substitution erased; and the expanded world of knowledge offered by missionaries that spurred musical innovation among Toba Christians. Through research into the mission period, I arrive at the conclusion that the precolonial Batak division of text-based unaccompanied song (*ende*) from ritual instrumental music (*gondang*) was fundamentally, if unintentionally, transformed by the German habits of singing accompanied by

harmony, keyboard, or instrumental ensembles, and that this intervention in turn caused musical arrangement to become a sphere for Toba Batak creativity in the twentieth century.

The lamentable loss of the traditional worlds of *ende* and *gondang* is directly connected to colonial interventions and erasures, but such a conclusion should not foreclose the agency of Tobas who reveled in the new musical worlds revealed by these ruptures.<sup>7</sup> As a telling corollary, consider the RMG's recruitment of rich local language practices and rhetorical techniques, a strategy responsible for the Sumatra mission's reputation in missiology as an exemplar of a humane and effective mission practice.<sup>8</sup> And yet the missionaries were not the only ones who exercised persuasion; key was the conversion of important individuals within the Toba *marga* system (a term related to both geographical networks of villages and family lineages). As the decades passed—from early mission work in the 1860s, to the consolidation of a church as an institution in the 1880s, to greater engagement with the parallel process of Dutch colonization around the turn of the twentieth century, to the development of an autonomous Batak church from 1940 and into the period of Indonesian nationalism—these individuals would become the pastors, choir directors, Sunday school teachers, and even the bishops of the church; their persuasive tools were the theology, the liturgy, the Toba Batak Bible, and the hymnbooks transmitted through the Lutheran tradition.<sup>9</sup> For of course, the embeddedness of language cut both ways. When animated by a well-translated Toba phrase, these new Christian texts could also participate in a pervasive Toba expressive culture, speaking to new converts in a way they were conditioned to understand. And when set to song—written down for easy reference, practiced regularly, reinforced through social worship—the result reframed both the Toba interface with the spirit world and the musical language that supported it.

A primary source for this essay is the Toba hymnbook, *Buku Ende di Huria Kristen Batak Protestan*, the direct beneficiary of musical practice from Wuppertal–Barmen. Since 1923, it has been published in interior Sumatra, first at the mission publication house in Laguboti and then by the HKBP seminary in Pematang Siantar.<sup>10</sup> It can count at least twenty-two editions and is available at almost any urban market, often flanked by supplements and arrangements for choir and keyboardists. The book I am flipping through right now, published in 2009 and emblazoned with the words “Jubileum 150 Tahun HKBP” (150th anniversary of the HKBP), runs to 954 pages with 864 discrete entries, a topical guide, an alphabetical index of titles, and a list of twenty-six hymnals that have served as sources, many titles in German and Dutch.<sup>11</sup> Each item provides a monophonic melody rendered in both cipher (number) notation and Western notation, with legible and variable time and key signatures; most list between four and nine printed verses in Toba. Beside me are two more sources—the *Buku Logu HKBP*, a book providing four-part harmony for each hymn tune, and a well-thumbed miniature hymnbook that I bought at the market in 1999. Between the three sources,

it is often possible to learn the name, author, and date of the hymn text (“Tochter Zion, freue dich,” Friedrich Heinrich Ranke, 1820), the person who translated it into Toba (“Drs T Manurung”), the composer and date of the hymn tune (George Friedrich Handel, 1747), and the Bible verse most relevant to its content (Zacharias 9:9, Matthew 21:9).

This is a source for an entire dissertation, one that I hope someone will take on in the future. But for this essay, although I do pay some attention to the denominational genesis of this varied hymn repertoire and its permutations over more than 150 years, I have chosen to adopt a more stripped-down sense of the hymns: I am simply interested in how these religious songs serve as a musical manifestation of the Toba language and voice, and through it, the transformation or continuity, through music, of Toba Batak social experience and religious thought. Sometimes, these hymns are imbued with vocabularies drawn from older Toba spiritual worlds, including specific religious and cultural terms with a clearly non-Christian genesis. At other times, they participate within a remade world of Judeo-Christian texts and narratives, and police the gap between the acceptable and the unacceptable Toba Christian beliefs. Over the course of this essay, I offer windows into Toba musical life over the first period of conversion in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, trace a history of the musical repertoire and the implications of Toba hymnbooks, and discuss the role of the *Buku Ende* in instilling the musical skills and sensibilities of Toba Batak musicians and innovators who have secured their place in Indonesian music history. But to better understand the positions of the missionaries vis-à-vis the linguistic and musical systems they found in the Tobalands in the 1860s, I turn first to a curious coincidence that I found in the archives of the RMG in Barmen, Germany, in 2022.

#### A STRANGE PAIRING IN THE ARCHIVE

In 1861, Ludwig Ingwer Nommensen did something that probably would have startled and concerned the board of the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft: he asked the *datu* (Toba: magic practitioner) Guru Sinangga ni Adji to write down his knowledge of a broad variety of traditional practices and foundational narratives.<sup>12</sup> These writings, filling seven European notebooks in miniscule Toba Batak script, were donated to the Leiden University Library in 1896 after the death of Hermanus Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824–94), the pioneering scholar of Indonesian languages.<sup>13</sup> This collection was later catalogued in Leiden by the Dutch philologist Petrus Voorhoeve (1899–1996), who suggested that Nommensen himself send them to van der Tuuk, a worthy custodian of Toba knowledge.<sup>14</sup> After all, Nommensen had prepared for his mission for two years by studying the Toba Batak language with van der Tuuk himself.

Van der Tuuk, born in Malacca of European and Eurasian ancestry, had undertaken a study of the Toba Batak language a decade earlier, with the support of

the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society, or NBG).<sup>15</sup> The scholar was not a missionary but a linguist who viewed Bible translation as an adequate means for reaching his true goal: showing how Toba Batak grammar, literature, and vocabulary could expand universal linguistic knowledge.<sup>16</sup> Practically, it was this linguistic and cultural knowledge, gathered over seven years, that would allow Nommensen to translate hymns, frame theology lessons, and prepare sermons in the Toba language. Nommensen replicated van der Tuuk's methodologies as well, living in interior Toba settlements and inviting free access and social discourse without restrictions.

Years later, the RMG's Sumatra mission would jettison van der Tuuk's Biblical translations because the scholar was deemed "a humanist, not a Christian."<sup>17</sup> But the thin line between knowledge as a mission tool and knowledge as scientific inquiry is clear throughout the history of Batak studies; prominent among the early scholarly works on indigenous Toba Batak cosmology, state craft, law, and ritual work are the names of many RMG missionaries, Johannes Winkler, Johannes Meerwaldt, and Johannes Warneck among them. Warneck claims a doubly scholarly lineage, as he himself was the son of the pioneering missiologist, Gustav Warneck—apparently, inhabiting non-Christian religious worlds, though perhaps unadvisable for a theologian, was permissible within this lineage. This dynamic explains why Nommensen commissioned these notebooks; understanding indigenous religious and mythological systems was necessary for a well-crafted strategy of conversion.

In May 2022, I visited the RMG archives in Wuppertal–Barmen, where a copy and transliteration of the original 1871 manuscript was housed (A/W 8b27). I had been alerted by anthropologist Sandra Niessen—who, at Voorhoeve's urging, had used Guru Sinangga ni Adji's writing in her own work on traditional weaving—that two of the forty-five sections referred to music, one on "The Origins of Ende" (Toba: poetic song) and the other on "The Origins of Tataganing" (the tuned drum that plays ritual *gondang* music).<sup>18</sup> Such specificity is rare in the Toba corpus, so I had high hopes. But reading Toba Batak manuscripts can be difficult; the *datu* filled them with specialized knowledge that could be dangerous if read by the wrong person, so easy access was never an aim.<sup>19</sup> Certainly the notebooks were no *pustaka*, the most prestigious of Toba Batak bark books of magic diagrams and divination. Despite working in ink on European paper, Guru Sinangga ni Adji nevertheless marked the beginning of each section with a *bindu*, an efficacious device of Sanskrit origin that also serves as a practical bookmark.<sup>20</sup> I found each *bindu* and rapidly photographed as many pages as was practical to decipher further at home, moving through the repeated, obscure words in the *ende* piece, through to the prose of the creation narratives, to lists of the parts of the *gondang*, until I was brought up short by a small bundle of paper, with narrower lines and in a different hand, tucked in the very end of the last notebook (figure 6-1).

But the religious change these words heralded was clear at the top, in transliterated Toba Batak: "In the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy

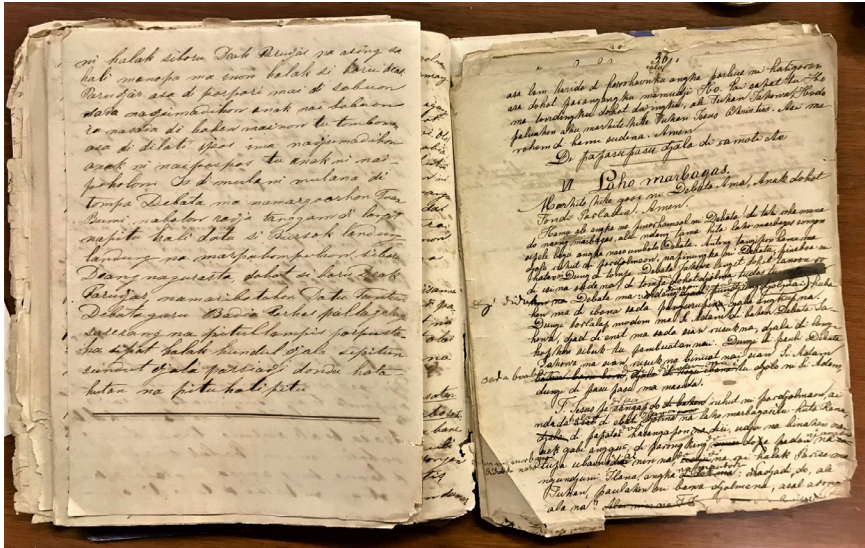


FIGURE 6-1. Guru Sinangga ni Adji's notebook with church notes. Archive and Museum Foundation of the UEM, RMG 1.340, Nachlass Nommensen, Ingwer Ludwig, Mappe 9.

Spirit. Amen.” This invocation began a piece of writing with the calligraphic words “Lao Marbagas,” “On Marriage,” followed by “On Burial,” “Protocol for Emergency Burials,” “On the Burial of a Child,” and, most tantalizing, “Protocol for Readmitting a Member into the Church.” More than anything, these sections resembled the backmatter of a hymnbook, the part after the creeds and before the index that contains marriage vows and responses for the congregation to read during a baptism. Indeed, if you look at the topical list of songs in the back of a Toba Batak hymnbook now, you’ll see the subheading “*Harajaon ni Debata: Lao Marbagas*” (The kingdom of God: On marriage), pointing out three hymns fit to sing during such a covenant.

Yet the writings also read by turns as sermon notes (with requisite quotations from the Bible), as liturgy (with congregational answers spelled out, often “Olo,” “Yes!”), as reminders for an officiating preacher, and a rhetorical device for conversion. For instance, the portion “On Marriage” begins,

Hamu ale angka na pinahamaol ni Debata! Di tahe hamuna na naeng marbagas, alaiandang tama hita marbagas songon sipele begu angka na so imboto Debata. Antong tangihon ma hamuna jolo suhut ni parjolmaon, na pinaboa ni Debata i, pinaboa na hatana i. Dung di tompa ma Debata langit dohot tano on.<sup>21</sup>

Oh you, who are protected by God! You have been called to marry, but let us not be like the ghost worshippers, those who do not know God. Therefore, hear you the core of humanity, as told by God, told by these words. After God created heaven and earth.



The story of Adam and Eve follows, then John 2:1–11, where Jesus turns water into wine at the marriage feast, followed by congregational singing, the Lord's Prayer ("Ale amanami na di banua ginjang," etc.: "Our father who art in the upper world," etc.), and the celebration of "ulaon na badia" (the exalted ceremony): Communion. The text offers constant invitations to sing—at times, the general command "Ende" and other times specific instructions, such as a song performed by the school children's choir or a time of silence for reflection following a hymn. Sometimes, the Bible texts themselves suggest song, as in the protocol for the death of a child, where Luke 18:15–17 ("Suffer the little children to come unto me") is followed by a large, capitalized "Halleluya!" At other times, a specific hymn text is stipulated, the abbreviation suggesting that the song was likely known at the time: "*Ma hehe ma sogot dagingkon*" ("Tomorrow my flesh will be raised," likely Job 19:25–17.)

These twelve pages of writing, then, offer a window into the early stages of the new mission just as surely as the notebook it was slipped into reveals the comprehensive knowledge system that preceded it. It may be difficult to pinpoint the document the pages belong to, but I suspect that it came from the mission's first twenty years, that is, when liturgies and protocol were still in development but institutions like the children's choir were already self-standing. Hymns and singing were clearly a part of weekly if not daily life at this stage but not yet codified to become a number in a hymnal; and indeed, I have not yet been able to match the text above to one of the hundreds of hymns in the *Buku Ende*.

The presence of non-Christian belief systems in the vicinity of the congregation is also key. Consider the discussion of the Christian interpretation for marriage—one of the most important ceremonies in the traditional Toba ritual world—as well as the necessity of reintroducing a sinner (lapsed convert?) into the congregation. In fact, you can find both religions coexisting in our single archival image (figure 6-1); on the first line of the last page of Guru Sinangga ni Adji's notebook, you can see the name of Boru Deak Parujar and the story of her creation by Debata Guru Badia (God the Exalted Teacher) and how she subsequently lowered the world on a string she used for weaving—followed on the facing page by Genesis 1, and the creation of the heavens and the earth by Debata Jahowa (God Jahova).

In some ways, the connection between these epistemologies is logical; both van der Tuuk and Nommensen translated Genesis 1:1–31, using the cultural and language knowledge gained from indigenous scholars like Guru Sinangga ni Adji. Many of the words within the Christian service come from the vocabularies of magical literature and *adat* work. *Debata* is related to the Sanskrit *dewa* (god) and describes aspects of Shiva (called Debata Barata Guru in Toba).<sup>22</sup> The word for the Biblical heaven is *banua ginjang*, or upper world, referencing the tripartite Batak cosmology on which were transposed heaven, earth, and hell. And a quotation from Revelations 14:13—"After that, I heard a voice from heaven saying, 'Write: blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on'"—made me question whether I was reading scripture or a Toba genealogical narrative, many of which begin "*Dung ni*," or "After that."<sup>23</sup>

Naturally, a Protestant missionary would endeavor to translate God's word into the vernacular, but there seems to be something more going on here. The creation of affective links with elements of the religious Toba language and the exploitation of similarities to frame new theological concepts are hallmarks of the work of the Rheinische Missiongesellschaft in Sumatra and the reason that you will find Nommensen's name at the back of the *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, commemorated on November 7 in the Calendar of Saints (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 2006). And yet for the individuals in the RMG congregations, who were taught Biblical knowledge and doctrine through the hymnbook, the proximity of these worlds was progressively hidden within the lexical meaning of the words, partitioned by force from the rituals that would have given them meaning: *tondi* was meant to refer only to Paul's concept of soul; the only acceptable *debata* was Jahowa. It is equally clear that for the RMG of the nineteenth century, a musical ecumenism, too, was seen as aesthetically misguided and detrimental to the spiritual welfare of the new Sumatran converts.

#### TRANSLATING WORDS, REPLACING MUSIC

In his description of the history of Christian conversion in East Java during the nineteenth century, anthropologist Robert Hefner describes the reticence of the Dutch to allow missionary activity in the East Indies, instead "devoting its political resources to economic programs."<sup>24</sup> Even the Dutch Mission Society, founded to proselytize in the colony, was stymied until the mid-nineteenth century, by which time, in Java, a mestizo community had sprung up with a Euroasian leader who "peppered his sermons with mystical terms, employed Sufi-style *dzikir* chanting for the Christian confession of faith, and sponsored such esteemed Javanese arts as gamelan music and *wayang* shadow theater, usually just after sabbath worship."<sup>25</sup> At this point, the Dutch, facing opposition to the expansion of military and political control in the interiors of islands, dropped their resistance to missions and accepted Western-aligned help in any form rather than countenance such a hybridization. It was in the context of this decision that the Prussian Lutheran RMG was allowed to open missions in Borneo (1838), Sumatra (1861), and Nias, off Sumatra's west coast (1865).

I begin with this description from Java because although such musical syncretism is quite familiar within the early history of Islamic proselytism in Indonesia, the situation in North Sumatra and, indeed, in the majority of Dutch and German mission stations was different.<sup>26</sup> Instead, Nommensen, Johannsen, and others made the decision to outlaw all use of the *gondang sabanungan*, the ritual ensemble of drums, gongs, and double reed that had long served to officiate public ceremony.<sup>27</sup> Brass bands from Germany were substituted in the *adat* ceremonies of church members.<sup>28</sup> This approach was decided upon at the earliest stages of the mission; even the gong, which had been used in the early 1860s to call the faithful to church, was soon replaced by a bell brought from Europe.<sup>29</sup>



Why was *gondang sabangunan* singled out by the church leaders as virtually the only indigenous component of worship to require a full-scale replacement by Western imports? After all, Nommensen was able to work with Guru Sinangga ni Adj, and “only mutual respect between the indigenous guru and the Christian missionary” could explain the connection.<sup>30</sup> One answer can be drawn from the third year of the ministry in the Silindung valley, to the south of Lake Toba. Church historian Paul Pedersen narrates a story in which Nommensen was threatened during a ceremony aimed at elevating the status of an ancestor, with the threat escalating as the spirit medium entered a possessed state brought on by the beating of the *gondang* drums.<sup>31</sup> Nommensen left unharmed, but such a sensory experience would have left an impression, especially considering the earlier murder of American missionaries Henry Lyman and Samuel Munson in 1834, in the same vicinity where Nommensen worked.<sup>32</sup>

Certainly, once the missionaries became aware that *gondang* was associated with ancestor worship and trance, they were eager to sever ties that might cause new converts to return to their previous ways; *gondang* was seen as too powerful to be converted. Mauly Purba points to the importance of this musical tradition in not just accompanying but substantially forming precolonial religious and political practices: “Gondang music is definitely not a subordinate constituent of *adat* and religious practices; it is essential for—indeed, inseparable from—the ritual practices involved and may not be performed unless it accompanies a ritual ceremony.”<sup>33</sup> If the ensemble’s ritual language makes a ceremony efficacious, then silencing it would weaken both religious work and the polity that sponsored it. This outcome suited both the Dutch colonial government and the German missionaries, who worked in tandem, and a ban in 1872 on the *gondang sabangunan* for Toba Christian converts, on pain of exclusion from the sacrament of Communion, became in 1879 a full-scale civil ban for Christians and non-Christians alike, enforced by colonial might.<sup>34</sup>

It is within this silencing that we must understand the introduction of hymn melodies and the innovations that accompanied it: the harmonium, the box organ, and the introduction of polyphonic voices itself. We know something about how this music was brought to Sumatra from Georg Zimmer, an RMG missionary who worked in the first Sumatran mission field of Borneo.<sup>35</sup> In 1866, upon visiting Nommensen’s settlement Huta Dame (“peace village”) in Silindung, he made a report to the society’s newsletter, *Berichte der Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, on what he found: “I’ve been teaching seven children to read and write in Dutch, over eight days. Organist duties are also linked with the teaching post, and Brother Nommensen has translated some songs into Batak: ‘Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt,’ ‘Ich bin’s voll Zuversicht,’ ‘Herz und Herz vereint zusammen.’”<sup>36</sup> In his retrospective on the music of the RMG, Ernst Quentmeier adds more detail: “Of course things went slowly. At first, [Nommensen and second missionary P. H. Johannsen] did not dare to compose songs themselves, but translated German chorales.”<sup>37</sup> Nine hymns were completed first and results given to “native helpers”



Nikolaus Zinzendorf (1700–60). In comparison to the Reformed tradition, in which all 150 Psalms would be obligatory, the Lutheran hymnal included only ten, unspecified, but rounded out thirty English hymns with sixty “rather spirited” German folk tunes, to which poetry was set.<sup>41</sup> To those in his readership who might have objected to the use of a secular musical source, Quentmeier reminds them of two old secular tunes, “Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen” and “Flora meine Freude,” set as melodies for hymns they themselves likely sang in their own German churches (respectively, Gerhard’s “Nun ruhen alle Wälder” and “Jesu, meine Freude,” by Johann Franck and J. S. Bach).<sup>42</sup>

Quentmeier is careful to say that “very few are new creations,” but on balance, the hymnbook is a vital blend of words and melodies meant to minister to a sensitive, moral Christian.<sup>43</sup> This can be seen in one of the first songs that Nommensen himself decided to translate (example 6-1): “Jerusalem, hochgebaute Stadt,” or BE (*Buku Ende*) 343: “Jerusalem, Huta na Timbo” (Jerusalem, city on high), whose lyrics were penned by Johann Matthäus Meyfart, a preacher who had worked with Melchior Franck, both denizens of the seventeenth century.<sup>44</sup> This dating is important, because it means that the song predates the First Great Awakening (German: *Erweckungsbewegungen*), the period of religious revival that swept from England and Scotland through to Germany and the Americas in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>45</sup> When we say that the RMG was a Pietist Lutheran society, the piety referenced not a theological movement from the older Protestant foundations but a renewal of moral urgency on a swell of personal sensibility. Indeed, the conversion narrative was as important a trope in eighteenth-century Germany as it was in nineteenth-century Sumatra.<sup>46</sup> The emotional expanse found in both the lyrics of the German and translated Batak hymn, then, is more important than its actual textual source in Revelations: the hymn doesn’t shore up a sermon but narrates a change of heart. Although Meyfart’s dates (1590–1642) predated by a hundred years those of the major Lutheran Pietist leader—Nikolaus Zinzendorf, the author of another of Nommensen’s chosen three hymns—his position as an educator who strove to move the hearts of his students through sermons and hymns aligns him with the sort of persuasive work Nommensen himself was doing in the Bataklands. And the hymn’s melody matches the energy of the text, with the bold octave of its opening phrase, linked by an arpeggiated chord (example 6-1).

EXAMPLE 6-1. “Jerusalem, Huta na Timbo,” adapted from *Buku Ende* no. 343.

343. Logu No. 198: Jerusalem, ho huta na timbo

i . 5 3 | 1 . ' 0 3 | 4 5 6 6 | 5 . 0 6 | 5 2 3 4 \* | 5 . . . . | 5 . . . . 6 | 6 . 7 i 6 |  
 Je - ru - sa - lem, ho - hu - ta na tim - bo, ang - gi - at au di ho! Dao si - an laut nang  
 Ma - si - hol au, hu - hut ma - lu - ngun do sai naeng ma - no - pot ho.

9 5 . 3 ' 5 | 6 5 4 3 | 2 . ' 1 | 6 5 4 3 | 2 3 4 5 ' 3 | 4 3 2 2 | 1 . . . . |  
 ta - no, dao si - an om - bun i, tu gin - jang ni su — de - na do bor - hat ro - hang - ki.

EXAMPLE 6-2. “Sai torop dope parbegu,” adapted from *Buku Ende* no. 134, *Buku Logu* 176.



The harmonic modulations to the dominant, the repetition, and the return to tonic all mark the hymn's German compositional lineage, especially when played in four-part harmony on the keyboard. But even when sung in unison, the musical setting matches the aspiration of the text and its authors.

In contrast, consider one of the older pieces in the hymnal, with a surprising rhetorical twist. *Buku Ende* 134 begins (Example 6-2):

<i>Sai torop dope parbegu</i>	There are so many of the heathen ( <i>parbegu</i> )
<i>na di haholomon i</i>	Living in darkness
<i>Jesus, ro ma Ho patibu</i>	Jesus, come quickly
<i>mandasdasi angka i</i>	To summon them to you

The hymn text, I thought, set as it was in a section on “Missions,” was of relatively recent vintage, or at the least seemed to narrate precisely the perceived challenges of the young church. I was surprised, then, when I recognized the melody as Psalm 42 from the Calvinist Genevan Psalter, “Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire” (As the hart about to falter; example 6-2). Louis Bourgeois's name is at the bottom of the piece, but strangely, a flip to Psalm 42 itself (one of the ten psalms Quentmeier referenced) showed an entirely different melody, one that was not cited and one that I did not recognize. In addition, printed above the hymn were the words “Ale Tuhana Amahami”—an entirely different hymn text that happened to share the Bourgeois melody.

The initial confusion was resolved when I considered that many hymn texts share hymn tunes—as is certainly the case in the Toba hymnal. From my own Dutch Calvinist upbringing, I could pair Psalm 42 with the psalmist's panting deer, but I also connected it to the advent hymn “Comfort, Comfort ye my People” (in German, “Tröstet, tröstet meine Lieben”). Indeed, the movement of the tune from a psalm to a hymn related to evangelism had roots in the seventeenth, not the nineteenth, century, when Johann Olearius used the tune (a rather jaunty one for a psalm of lamentation) for the festival of St. John the Baptist in mid-June, and J. S. Bach sealed the association in his cantata *Freue dich, erlöste Schar* BWV 30.<sup>47</sup>

Considering that John the Baptist's role was to prepare the way for the gospel, the Toba text's image of Jesus dispelling the Sumatran darkness fits; and calling someone of another religion a "parbegu," or "ghost worshipper," seems about right for John, who once referred to the Pharisees as a "brood of vipers." The version of Geneva 42 in the *Buku Ende*, then, demonstrates how that melody's flexible associations, as it moved across Protestant denominations, allowed it to fit within the key projects of the RMG while modeling some degree of flexibility for the Toba church itself as it moved to pair melody, text, and teaching in optimal ways.

In telling the story of the *Buku Ende*, I nearly missed one such movement—and I am hardly the first one. In the 1930s, about the time that the full hymnal was being printed in Sumatra, more than two-hundred hymns were being sung outside of formal church services, existing in a sort of shadow hymnal that was printed by the RMG but not numbered with the official hymnal.<sup>48</sup> That the songs of an "unofficial" hymnal were compiled and sung by women is not surprising, as the leadership of both the RMG mission and the independent HKBP church was, and remains, resolutely male. Yet the institution of the Frauen-Bibelschule, run by and ministering to women from 1934 to 1940, at the heart of the RMG mission in Laguboti, is crucial to understanding the expansion of the number and character of the hymn songs in the mid-twentieth century.

In 1985, the HKBP decided to formalize these 282 hymns, circulating informally in Christian social gatherings for around fifty years. The new section of the *Buku Ende* made room for *Haluaon na Gok* (Freedom in full), a work edited by Zuster Elfriede Harder sometime in the 1930s, as she served in the RMG mission from 1931 until the ouster of German personnel in 1940, at the commencement of World War II. Harder was not the only woman in the mission; other European women worked in hospitals and schools, as midwives and teachers of young girls.<sup>49</sup> Hester Needham, an English missionary who visited the RMG mission field in the 1890s, is rather famous among ethnomusicologists for her erroneous assertions that Toba Bataks "never sang a note 'til the Europeans came."<sup>50</sup> But as well as supervising the female teachers, Harder compiled a group of songs that were quite different from the character of the official hymnal: they included a large number of songs from Dutch and German hymnals that were inspired by the Second Great Awakening, this time on American soil.

This revival movement began in the rural areas of the United States between 1800 and 1830 and was spread through the country by itinerant preachers and word-of-mouth tent services.<sup>51</sup> One of the most famous female song composers was Fanny Crosby, whose energetic hymns, filled with dotted rhythms, invigorated the Chicago-based ministry of Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey. Moody's charismatic preaching would form the theological foundation of the meetings, which drew thousands, while Sankey would lead the singing with the hymns by Crosby and Phillip Bliss that were "Christ-centered, expressing and cultivating a type of

piety.”<sup>52</sup> Although Harder included songs by Crosby and Bliss in her Bibelschule supplement, many of the songs in the supplement were by Sankey himself, who began to compose hymns during the duo’s tours to Europe.

In the sources that Harder lists (now written on the last page of the *Buku Ende* proper), it is clear that her knowledge of the American gospel songs was channeled through a number of Dutch and German evangelical hymnals: *Sankey Lieder*, *Siegeslieder*, *Singet dem Herrn*, as well as the Dutch *Zoeklicht* and the American *Fellowship Hymns*. According to Tobing, the RMG’s head missionary, Johannes Warneck, did not approve of the songs—likely from an aesthetic point of view—and decided to number them differently, partitioning them from the formal worship. This interpretation is strengthened by Anna Maria Busse Berger’s account of Franz Rietzsch a German Lutheran missionary in East Africa, whose loathing of Sankey hymns on an aesthetic level moved him to make graver allegations: that singing these hymns occasioned a “moral lapse” on the part of two African choir conductors.<sup>53</sup>

The *Buku Ende* underwent a final expansion in 2003, when a supplement, called *Sangap di Jahowa* (Hope in Jahowa), added a further 405 songs. This process was overseen by a Batak graduate of the HKBP seminary, Reverend J. A. U. Doloksaribu; in addition to his translations, credited on the majority of the songs, Doloksaribu was also responsible for the curation of the whole. These new songs ranged through the full repertoire initiated by the two earlier iterations: from Handel’s “Tochter Zion,” to Maranatha Music’s “Heavenly Father, I Appreciate You,” from “Be Still My Soul,” set to Sibelius’s *Finlandia*, to Doloksaribu’s own composition, “Oikumene” (Ende UEM), the very last song in the book, which commemorated the United Evangelical Mission (the modern name of the RMG). Perhaps nobody would be as surprised by this last entry into the hymnbook as Quentmeier himself, our writer of the 1941 report on Sumatran hymnody, who stated unequivocally, “It should be noted that not a single song by a Batak is included. They are not that far. For now, the European still has to do all of the work.”<sup>54</sup>

#### EINGEBORENEN GEHILFEN: TOWARD A TOBA BATAK COMPOSITIONAL PRACTICE

The presence of Toba Batak composers and arrangers within the *Buku Ende* is not at all surprising considering that by 1919, the RMG was boasting to the Dutch “that the superiority of the Batakmission/HKBP schools was in their use of the Batak language, especially in singing.”<sup>55</sup> Indeed, it is surprising—and it turns out, untrue—that “native helpers” made no strides toward musical autonomy. From the 1860s, Toba Bataks were described as extraordinarily avid listeners. Zimmer, the visiting missionary from Borneo, describes how “the *poti marende* [box organ] seems to be a magic thing for all of them, and they come from afar to hear its magical tones [*zaubertöne*].” Not just hear, but sing with—for he continues, “so



we sing with them at morning and evening prayers as well as on Sundays accompanied by the harmonium.”<sup>56</sup>

It was a certain strategy to train the elastic minds and voices of young students, instilling musical knowledge that would filter up into the general congregation with each new class (hence Zimmer’s quasi-complaint, cited earlier, that all teachers must be organists). Such seriousness about musical training is clear in Aritonang’s description of the curriculum of the RMG seminary in Sipoholon at the beginning of the twentieth century: the lower classes began with two hours of singing and four hours of instrumental music, including harmonium, violin, and trumpet; the upper classes continued this practice, with the six hours of musical training outweighing the requirements for the study of the New Testament, history, arithmetic, and reading (including Latin), each of which was slated for four hours. The Dutch colonial government, which had begun to subsidize this school, actually stepped in to mandate a full twenty-six hours of general (nonreligious) education; music pointedly did not count toward this quota.<sup>57</sup>

By 1909, then, the mission had been training young singers for almost fifty years. The varied nature of the RMG hymns alone—requiring modulation, part reading, and the learning of new hymns from notation—attests to this training. In addition, SATB choirs sang sacred choral music of Bach and Mozart, prime exemplars of the Austro-German compositional tradition.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, Warneck boasted in a newsletter that “the elementary school pupils of the Batakmission were superior in Biblical knowledge (and in singing) to their German counterparts.”<sup>59</sup> Why, then would Quentmeier, or other RMG missionaries like Meerwaldt or Beilefeld, categorically deny that Batak musicians were able to participate as musical actors in the development of hymnody, with Batak or even European style melodies? This seems especially strange since Aritonang asserts that Batak composers already *were* creating music by this time, writing that “Pastor Johannes Siregar, a Batak church worker, was actively composing hymn melodies using Batak rhythms and reported with pleasure that the school children thoroughly enjoyed singing them.” In fact, according to Siregar, those songs were very effective in attracting the “heathen” to attend school.<sup>60</sup>

In fact, in the Angkola Batak mission, slightly to the south of the Toba territory, a children’s music book was published in 1928, in a collaboration between a Dutchman, A. Van der Bijl, and a Toba Batak, Arsenius Tobing. Reportedly, the book included songs exhibiting traditional melodic and rhythmic material as well as arrangements of Western songs by Tobing.<sup>61</sup> This book now seems to be lost, so we are unable to verify the quality of the tunes, yet judging from the extraordinary florescence of Toba Batak musical innovation in the twentieth century, I doubt that there was a dearth of talent. Rather, I imagine that Quentmeier’s doubt is partially animated by a fear that Batak Christian beliefs were unverifiable and shallowly held; at the end of his report, he muses, “Does the Christian Batak understand

the songs in their depth, as we German Pietists understand them, or does the Christian Batak still think too superficially?"<sup>62</sup>

For the missionary, a new convert's aesthetic preference for Toba Batak music, despite all strictures and teachings to the contrary, would likely confirm the latter. Yet we should recognize that Quentmeier's ideas are themselves formed by the thought of Johann Gottfried Herder, the eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinker whose work extolled the particular genius of vernacular languages and stories. It is Herder at work when Johann Warneck's father, Gustav, coined the term *Volkskirche*—a "folk church" or "territorial church" and when Quentmeier himself argued for the validity of "Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen" in the hymnal.<sup>63</sup> Even for those who moved to include non-elite musical repertoires, some *völkisch* traditions were seemingly better than others. Listen to the backhanded way in which Herder himself describes the Psalms in *The Spirit of Hebrew Poesy* in 1787: "Could one refer to such a people as barbarian, even if they had just a few such national songs? And how many of the same kind do this people have?"<sup>64</sup> If this is how Psalms 120–34, the "songs of ascent," are described, what hope do Toba Batak violinists or singers have?

#### ENDE, LOGU, AND ARRANGEMENT

The too hasty prohibition of Toba traditional music prevented the missionaries from truly understanding the subtlety of the Batak tradition of sung poetry. This tradition, when transformed by new skills, would allow Toba musicians to further develop a robust and sincere Christian practice while also integrating traditional forms that had been discouraged in the past. Perhaps the missionaries would have been cheered had they concentrated on the native concept of *ende*, distinguishing it from the ritual music of the *gondang*. Indeed, the concept of *ende* was to be irrevocably transformed by the missionary project. Of course, we have used this word for "song" all along (it is in the *Buku Ende*, the word chosen to translate *hymn* in the Toba language), but a brief analysis of the term and its relation to Toba musical fundamentals might allow us to marry the world of the European hymnbook with the sonic universe of Sumatra before 1861—in other words, to bring the book of Guru Sinangga ni Adji and the pages of sermon notes in helpful contact. For despite the statements to the contrary, Toba Bataks most definitely sang before the Europeans came.

At its heart, the word *ende* refers to the voice of one entity, whether the voice of one person, one instrument, or even a whole group of people singing as one (in unison). The root is used in the general-purpose verb "to sing": you can *marendei* or *mangendei* a pop song, the melody of a hymn, or a tune in the shower. Even instruments can *marende* at times; the box organ, the *poti marende* ("box that can *marende*") is a single entity with one voice, even if that voice is split up into multiple sounds; the double-reed *sarune* is said to speak words with its instrumental voice. Similarly, in the *gondang hasapi* music, the two lutes (*hasapi*) are

distinguished by their roles of melody carrying (*hasapi ende*) and gong imitation (*hasapi doal*). And this is the most important aspect: *ende* is always connected with the voicing of text, and most often, poetry. (Quentmeier actually knew this well, as he avers, in the only bit of unalloyed praise in his report, that “the Batak attach particular importance to beautiful rhymes, since many of his old proverbs are euphonious and powerful because of the rhyme.”<sup>65</sup>)

A canvas of precolonial Toba writings bears out this distinction; the manuscripts compiled by van der Tuuk contain many categories of *ende*—songs for collecting firewood or for cutting specific trees, caregiver songs (including lullabies), songs of bad luck, mourning songs, and songs of blessing. One entry describes *ende gas-gas*, a series of verses traded between young men and women as they leveled a field that needed to lay fallow.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, the piece of writing that I sought from Guru Sinangga ni Adji’s notebooks purported to describe the origins of *ende*. Of course, the manuscripts give texts but do not lay down melodies.<sup>67</sup> Yet “euphony” is suggested by rhyme and repetition, and “power” by the complex construction of the stanza, with grammatical infixes and euphemistic descriptions of plants and animal life, designed to emphasize their respective spirits:

Tinimpal ma anduhur, anduhur so la bona / Luhut do hita julma, masieit tu djolona

Throw a rock at the mourning dove, the mourning dove named so la bona /  
All human beings, we have the tendency to take what we can get.<sup>68</sup>

The *ende* above, which sets out general truths from a Batak perspective, is related to a tradition of proverbs and blessings (*umpama* and *umpasa*) from Toba ceremonial oratory, where they are now intoned but not sung. Yet the one tradition of *ende* still practiced—*ende mangandung*, or mourning songs, extensively described in a dissertation by W. Robert Hodges—suggests the likely vocal practice for *ende*: equal phrases with patterns that move up or down a narrow range of pitches, with a stylized ending (transformed into chains of ornamentation in laments).<sup>69</sup> Regardless, the complexity is lodged in the construction of the poetry, as is the cultural significance.<sup>70</sup>

Equally important to recognize is that in contemporary Toba practice, the *ende* tradition and the instrumental tradition of *gondang* stand apart: in Toba ritual, even speech stops when the *gondang* music begins. In all my years studying *gondang*, I have on only one occasion heard my teacher set words to the melody and rhythm played by the *tataganing* and *sarune* (as each song in this repertoire *does* carry a melody, played on the tuned drums and double reed, although this was often missed by Europeans who coded the *gondang* as “monotonous”). To be clear, *ende*, *gondang*, and the related tradition of *tonggo-tonggo* (incantations) clearly share formal and melodic structures; the melodies of early popular music pieces followed *gondang* contours, and the gong cycle that underpins *gondang* can easily animate other genres. Moreover, it is impossible to reanimate the precolonial *ende* from the archival record, as a voice is not as durable as a gong or a drum. But it is

likely that at the advent of the missionary project, voice and instrument were not paired within the formal ritual realm. *Gondang* and *ende* may have been made of the same musical stuff and might have been played or sung by the same person, but they were likely distinct musical traditions.

This difference explains why in the hymn publications of the HKBP, there are two distinct books and lists: *Buku Ende*, providing a hymn's stanzas, and *Buku Logu*, indicating the tunes and their realization in four-part harmony. The *Buku Ende* serves its purpose whether or not the melodies are notated; the *Buku Logu* usually has no words (though it does provide a title), but plenty of notation. The logic of this distinction is carried through in all sorts of places. For instance, Nahum Situmorang's popular song "Molo Margitar Ahu Ito" (When I play the guitar) uses the general verb *mangendei*: "*Molo mangendei ahu ito/ mambege nan hata nai*" (When I sing, sister, hear my words). However, when the singer suggests that the two lovers sing together in harmony, the verb changes: "*Molo hubaen marlogu sada* (the first logu)/*ihuton ahu marlogu dua* (the second logu)" (When I sing the low part / follow me and sing the high part). Although the singing is obviously done with the voice, the effect is no longer about the words but about the arrangement of two voices together. As a result, this music would not be described as an *ende* but rather as a *logu*.<sup>71</sup>

As the twentieth century progressed, another musical genre developed using this new conception of music: Opera Batak, a musical theater troupe that moved from village to village, led by composer Tilhang Oberlin Gultom (1896–1973). Gultom used the *ende* tradition of narrative song in his own compositions, pairing it with some of the instruments from the ritual genres.<sup>72</sup> Because Gultom began his composing in the 1920s, it is difficult to use his work as an exemplar of musical activity before the mission, although his music maintains the most traditional elements of any popular music played today. What is clear, however, is that as his compositional practice progressed, he gradually added more instruments to the arrangement, including instruments that did not normally play together, such as the lute paired with the bamboo flute. In the first track of a Folkways Records recording from 1976 (FE 4357), Gultom introduces his group with each of its eight members playing his instrument in turn—a surprising choice if they are merely supporting *ende* but a logical one if Gultom is laying out an arrangement for his new *logu* (or in Indonesian, *lagu*). Ritany Hutajulu remarks that over the fifty years of his career, the range of Gultom's melodies moved from the constrained five-tone range of precolonial Batak music in the beginning, to a diatonic range in the 1960s and '70s.<sup>73</sup> The Folkways recording also features flutes playing in parallel thirds and other harmonic incursions.

The influence of the music introduced by the RMG, then, is clear, even well outside of its religious sphere. I believe that a direct line can be drawn between the musical preferences of the nineteenth-century German church—the composite effect of choral song supported harmonically by an accompanying instrument or set of instruments—and the wide variety of Toba musical expressions that have

been created since. Almost all popular genres with roots in the twentieth century take this configuration as natural—the Toba Batak recordings of Hawaiian music from the 1920s, the popular trios sung with guitar in the palm liquor stand, the songwriters of the 1960s who wrote out instrumental parts in cha-cha-cha or country-western rhythms, and the industry of pop music, with its studio sound and electronic keyboard work imitated throughout Indonesia. The exceptions are the lamentation tradition of *ende andung*—ever a singular, vocal-based tradition—and, of course, the sound of a congregation singing the *Buku Ende*, with one voice.

## CONCLUSION

Toba Batak leaders assumed control over the HKBP in 1940 and approved a new confession in 1951, integrating elements of Lutheran and Reformed doctrine, an expression of theological autonomy that might have surprised those in Barmen. But the early decades of the twentieth century were not without struggles for self-governance. In 1909, fueled by nationalist ideas, a Toba Batak man who had trained at the RMG seminary, Sutan Panggabean, demanded autonomy from the missionaries and left the church with parishioners to found his own denomination, Hoeria Kristen Indonesia. After the internment of the German missionaries in 1940, the RMG *ephorus* (a title for bishop, derived from the Greek) was replaced with the Dutch *voorzitter*, and the question of whether German chorales should be removed from the hymnal was broached.<sup>74</sup> (They weren't, and the elected leader of the HKBP church is still called the *ephorus*.) However, it wasn't until 1968 that the strictures against the use of the *gondang* ensemble were lifted by the Batak-led HKBP, when their Order of Discipline allowed for the limited use of the ensemble in pre-funeral ceremonies.

In recent years, there has been a groundswell of popular support for “Ompu Nommensen” (Grandfather Nommensen) and the RMG mission. In 2004, nationally recognized Toba recording artists Viky Sianipar and Tongam Sirait released a single titled “Nommensen” that extolled the leader as *si boan dame* (peace bringer) to an alt-rock beat: its popularity has not waned. More recently, in 2015, ethnomusicologist Ritaony Hutajulu produced a stage performance called *The Story of Buku Ende*; although it ran only in Jakarta, it was fully sold out and inspired the then *ephorus* of the HKBP, Willem Simarmata, to write his thoughts about the Batak hymnbook in a newspaper article:

The Buku Ende for Batak churches is like the Book of Psalms for Israel[ites] an element that is not divisible from religious life. For Israel[ites] the Psalms are like a river that flows, bring new life to living creatures. . . . The experience of the Psalmist becomes a part of the experiences of those who read the Bible. In this way, singing a psalm and understanding the context of its age can help us understand the meaning behind these songs. This is the marvel of singing a psalm: it can transfer the experiences of the faithful.<sup>75</sup>

At first, I found it remarkable that Simarmata said nothing about choirs, hymns, Luther, Nommensen, or the RMG. But in fact, he was exactly right to equate the old Toba Batak *ende* with the Hebrew psalms; in both genres, expression lives in the words, and singing is above all a way of experiencing their meaning. In fact, *The Story of Buku Ende* was replete with hymns of European origin and actually featured an operatic tenor singing “Ein feste Burg” in very good German. But the choristers were all Toba, as were the actors who played the missionaries. In Simarmata’s formation, then, the work of the missionaries who brought Christianity to the Bataklands is accepted, to be sure. The true communion in this excerpt, though, is between the faithful of Israel and the faithful of Sumatra, connected to each other through human experience and divine revelation. Simarmata had the theological training to compose these thoughts and the authority to speak for the church he led, and the Toba audience watching the play had the requisite piety to recognize the intent of the songs and to integrate them deeply into their own, local lives. The European missionaries, then, were but the agents of the transfer—but they left as a legacy a corpus of song that could continue to work in their absence.

#### NOTES

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7. Julia Byl, “Music, Convert and Subject in the North Sumatran Mission Field,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities*, ed. Jonathan Dueck and Suzel Reily, 33–54 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). See this article for a discussion of missionary complicity in colonial projects, including the burning of villages during the Batak War of 1878.
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9. Paul Pedersen, *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul: The Development of National Batak Churches in North Sumatra* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1970), 71.
10. Jubelando O. Tambunan, “Berteologi Melalui Nyanyian: Kajian Peran Buku Ende Membangun Spiritual Jemaat Gereja,” *Clef: Jurnal Musik dan Pendidikan Musik* 2, no. 1 (2021): 11–18, at 15.
11. Huria Kristen Batak Protestan, *Buku Ende HKBP*.



12. Sandra Niessen, *Rangsa ni Tonun: A Film about the Sacred Batak Weaving Tradition, behind the Scenes* (Oosterbeek and Jakarta: Bergoord, 2013).
13. Leiden University Special Collections: Or.3396: Collective volume with texts in Batak: Stories and other pieces copied in 1872 for Nommensen by Guru Sinangga from Sait ni Huta in Silindung; and other texts. Van der Tuuk's remarkable breadth is shown by his erudition in Batak manuscripts at the beginning of his life and work on Balinese manuscripts at its end, for which he assembled a tri-lingual dictionary (Kawi, Balinese, and Dutch). He is also the author of the definitive Toba Batak dictionary and two-volume grammar, published in 1861 and 1864/7, respectively.
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15. Niessen, *Rangsa ni Tonun*, 8.
16. Groeneboer, *Een Vorst onder de Taalgeleerden*: Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, Taalafgevaardigde voor Indië van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap 1847–1873 (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2002), 2.
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25. Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment," 104.
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29. Aritonang, "The Encounter of the Batak People," 180.
30. Niessen, *Rangsa ni Tonun*, 7.
31. Pedersen, *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul*, 60.
32. Pedersen, *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul*, 52.
33. Purba, "Adat ni Gondang," 73.
34. Purba, "From Conflict to Reconciliation," 217.
35. Georg Zimmer, "Erwünschte Nachricht aus Borneo," *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* 9 (1866): 275–277.
36. Zimmer, "Erwünschte Nachricht aus Borneo," 276.
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38. Quentmeier, "Das Gesangbuch der Batakkirche," 52.

39. Quentmeier, "Das Gesangbuch der Batak Kirche," 53.
40. Published in Purba, "From Conflict to Reconciliation," 216.
41. Quentmeier, "Das Gesangbuch der Batak Kirche," 54.
42. In the *Buku Ende*, "Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen" is an Easter hymn, "Hamu Saluhut Halak."
43. Quentmeier, "Das Gesangbuch der Batak Kirche," 54.
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51. David Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
52. Edith Blumhofer, "Fanny Crosby and Protestant Hymnody," in *Music in American Religious Experience*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 215–32, at 236.
53. Anna Maira Busse Berger, *The Search for Medieval Music in Africa and Germany, 1891–1961: Scholars, Singers, Missionaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 157.
54. Quentmeier, "Das Gesangbuch der Batak Kirche," 56.
55. Aritonang, "The Encounter of the Batak People," 370n88.
56. Zimmer, "Erwünschte Nachricht aus Borneo," 276.
57. Aritonang, "The Encounter of the Batak People," 269–71, 280.
58. Purba, "From Conflict to Reconciliation," 214.
59. Aritonang "The Encounter of the Batak People," 254n66.
60. Aritonang "The Encounter of the Batak People," 291.
61. Aritonang "The Encounter of the Batak People," 291n103.
62. Quentmeier, "Das Gesangbuch der Batak Kirche," 56.
63. Busse Berger, *The Search for Medieval Music*, 132.
64. Philip V. Bohlman, "Prologue: Again, Herder," in *Song Loves the Masses: Herder on Music and Nationalism*, by Johann Gottfried Herder, trans. and ed. by Philip V. Bohlman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), 1–18, at 13.
65. Quentmeier, "Das Gesangbuch der Batak Kirche," 57.
66. Johannes Warneck states, about the *ende gasgas*, that the lyrics were a bit naughty as would be expected: "Die nicht gerade sauber sind." See Voorhoeve, *Codices Bataci*, 135.
67. Like the early hymnals printed in Laguboti, the readers were supposed to supply the hymn tune.
68. Mission Press di Si Antar, *Umpama Angka na Masa ni Habatahon* (Pematang Siantar: Rongkoman Rhein, 1903), 48.
69. Hodges, "Ganti Andung Gabe Ende," 142.
70. Clara Brakel-Papenhuijzen, *Dairi Stories and Pakpak Storytelling: A Storytelling Tradition from the North Sumatran Rainforest* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
71. Incidentally, the use of the word *logu*, clearly related to the Malay and Indonesian *lagu* but missing from precolonial Toba Batak writings, shows the growing proximity with the coastal areas and with the burgeoning discourse as the German mission developed.

72. Indeed, the work of professional itinerant musicians may be one exception for the *ende*/instrument division; many performers would travel with instrumentalists, particularly the *hasapi* or lute. Yet even in these genres, the focus is still on the single voice of the singer and the text that it interpreted.

73. Ritaony Hutajulu, "Analisis Struktural Musik Vokal pada Opera Batak: Dengan Pusat Perhatian pada Karya Tilhang Gultom" (bachelor's thesis: Universitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, Indonesia, 1988).

74. Aritonang, "The Encounter of the Batak People," 395.

75. Hotben Lingga, "Pentas 'The Story of Buku Ende: Hymns from the Bataklands' Sukses di Gelar di JCC, Jakarta," *GramediaPost*, September 7, 2015, [www.gramediapost.com/2015/09/pentas-the-story-of-buku-ende-hymns-from-the-batakland-sukses-digelar-di-jcc-jakarta/](http://www.gramediapost.com/2015/09/pentas-the-story-of-buku-ende-hymns-from-the-batakland-sukses-digelar-di-jcc-jakarta/).