

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Abbreviations

*BKI* . *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*

*JMBRAS* . *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*

*JSBRAS* . *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*

*TAG* . *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (1874–1884); Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (1885 onward)*

*TIV* . *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*

*TNI* . *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands-Indië*

## Primary Sources

British Library, London, United Kingdom

General Protocol Books, India Office Records. Documents on microfilm. Series R9/22.

Malacca Records, India Office Records. Documents on microfilm. Series R9/23/57.

Leiden University Library, Leiden, The Netherlands

“Kedatangan Bondjol.” Anonymously handwritten notes, dated 1934, preserved on microfilm. Call no. D Or. 435–69. Collectie V. E. Korn.

“Opzet N.V. Houthandel Singkel.” Speech delivered in 1916 on the establishment of the company Nijverheid Houthandel Singkel. Call no. KITLV3 M 1996 A 1398.

National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague, The Netherlands

*Memories van overgave, 1852–1962*. Documents on microfiche. Archive no. 2.10.39.

National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek), The Hague, The Netherlands

*Koloniaal Verslag*. Bijlagen bij de Handelingen van de Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal, 1868–1924. Call no. TG 32881.

- National Archives of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia  
 “Hikayat Hikamat.” Manuscript, ca. 1880. Call no. Sp/5c/13.  
 “Mantra gajah.” Perak, undated. MSS. INDIA OCEAN S.49 WH/1184.  
 Syers, H. C. “Report on His Tour round the Stations.” 1876. Call no. 1957/0000301.  
 “Three Anonymous Manuscripts in Malaya Entitled Elephant Charm Books.” Perak, 1929. MSS. INDIA OCEAN S.48 WH/11.  
 “With Reference to the Elephant Killed near Kajang: Memoranda on Correspondence regarding This Matter.” 1884. Call no. 1957/0003783.
- National Archives of Malaysia, Perak branch, Ipoh, Malaysia  
 “Raja Bila punya ini takwil mimpi.” Perak, undated. Manuscript. Call no. 1999/0000381.  
*Buku daftar kes aduan.* Perak, ca. 1903–9. Call no. 1999/0000410, Raja Bilah Collection.
- Private Holdings  
 Raja Muhammad Yacob. “Ini tarikh Raja Asal dan keluarganya.” Perak, ca. 1934. Courtesy of Abdur-Razzaq Lubis.
- Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, United Kingdom  
 “Kitab perintah pawang.” Perak, dated AH 1296/AD 1879, Maxwell Malay 106.  
 “Surat mantra gajah.” Perak, dated AH 1296/AD 1879, Maxwell Malay 107.
- School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London, United Kingdom  
 Annual Reports of Federated Malay States, 1880–1919. Call no. PPMS 31/File 3.  
 “Rajas and Chiefs of Perak,” Perak, 1876. Compiled by W. E. Maxwell. Call no. MS46943A, ff. 1–15.

## Secondary Sources

- Abdullah, Taufik. “Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau.” *Indonesia* 2 (October 1966): 1–24.
- Adas, Michael. *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Ahmad, Kasim, ed. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1975.
- Aiken, S. Robert, and Colin H. Leigh. “On the Declining Fauna of Peninsular Malaysia in the Post-colonial Period.” *Ambio* 14, no. 1 (1985): 15–22.
- Al-Attas, S. M. N. *Historical Fact and Fiction*. Johor Bahru: Penerbit UTM Press, 2011.
- Aljunied, K., and M. Mohamed, ed. *Melayu: The Politics, Poetics and Paradoxes of Malayness*. Singapore: NUS Press, 2013.
- Allsen, Thomas. *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

- Ammerman, Nancy T. *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Amoroso, Donna J. *Traditionalism and the Ascendancy of the Malay Ruling Class*. Singapore: NUS Press and SIRD, 2014.
- Amrith, Sunil. *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- . *Unruly Waters: How Rains, Rivers, Coasts and Seas Have Shaped Asia's History*. London: Basic Books, 2018.
- Andaya, B. W. *Perak, the Abode of Grace: A Study of an Eighteenth Century Malay State*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- . "Rivers, Oceans and Spirits: Water Cosmologies, Gender and Religious Change in Southeast Asia." *Trans-regional and -national Studies of Southeast Asia* 4, no. 2 (2016): 239–63.
- . "Seas, Oceans and Cosmologies in Southeast Asia." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 48, no. 3 (2017): 329–52.
- Andaya, Leonard. *Leaves of the Same Tree: Ethnic Change along the Straits of Malacca*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.
- . "The Trans-Sumatra Trade and the Ethnicization of the Batak." *BKI* 158, no. 3 (2002): 367–409.
- Anderson, John. *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coasts of Sumatra: With Incidental Notices of the Trade in the Eastern Seas and the Aggressions of the Dutch*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Århem, Kai. "Southeast Asian Animism in Context." In *Animism in Southeast Asia*, edited by Kai Århem and Guido Sprenger, 3–30. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Århem, Kai, and Guido Sprenger, eds. *Animism in Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Aritonang, Jan S. *Mission Schools in Batakland (Indonesia), 1861–1940*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- . *Beberapa pemikiran menuju teologi Dalihan na Tolu*. Jakarta: Dian Utama, 2006.
- Asnan, Gusti. "Transportation on the West Coast of Sumatra in the Nineteenth Century." *BKI* 158, no. 4 (2002): 727–41.
- Aung-Thwin, Michael. "The Myth of the 'Three Shan Brothers' and the Ava Period in Burmese History." *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996): 881–901.
- Balamurugan, Gopal. "Tin Mining and Sediment Supply in Peninsular Malaysia with Special Reference to the Kelang River Basin." *Environmentalist* 11, no. 4 (1991): 281–91.
- Baekeland, Leo Hendrik. "The Invention of Celluloid." *Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* 6 (1914): 90–91.

- Bagir, Zainal Abidin. "The Importance of Religion and Ecology in Indonesia." *Worldviews* 19, no. 2 (2015): 99–102.
- Barclay, Paul. *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage" Border*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018.
- Barendregt, Bart. "From the Realm of Many Rivers: Memory, Places and Notions of Home in the Southern Sumatran Highlands." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2005.
- Barlow, Henry S. *Swettenham*. Kuala Lumpur: Southdene Sdn Bhd, 1995.
- Barrow, John. *A Voyage to Cochín-China*. London: Cadell and Davies, 1806.
- Bartlett, Harley H. "A Batak and Malay Chant on Rice Cultivation with Introductory Notes on Bilingualism and Acculturation in Indonesia." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, no. 6 (1952): 629–52.
- . *The Labors of the Datoe and Other Essays on the Batak of Asahan*. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1973.
- Beighton, John T. *Betel-Nut Island: Personal Experiences and Adventures in the Eastern Tropics*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1888.
- Benjamin, Geoffrey. *Temiar Religion 1964–2012: Enchantment, Disenchantment and Re-enchantment in Malaysia's Uplands*. Singapore: NUS Press, 2014.
- Birch, Ernest W. "My Trip to Belum." *JMBRAS* 54, no. 1 (1911): 117–35.
- Böckmann, F. R. *Celluloid: Its Raw Material, Manufacture, Properties and Uses*. London: Scott, Greenwood & Son, 1907.
- Bodaan, L. "Een Bataksche perkara." *Medelingen Nederlandsch Zending* 61 (1917): 112–18.
- Boomgaard, Peter. *Frontiers of Fear: Tigers and People in the Malay World, 1600–1950*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- . "Land Rights and the Environment in the Indonesian Archipelago, 800–1950." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54, no. 4 (2011): 478–96.
- . *Southeast Asia: An Environmental History*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2007.
- Braddell, Roland. "Further Notes upon a Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula." *JMBRAS* 15, no. 1 (1937): 25–31.
- Braddell, Thomas. "Notes of a Trip to the Interior from Malacca." *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* 7 (1853): 73–104.
- Brakel-Papenhuyzen, Clara. *Dairi Stories and Pakpak Storytelling: A Storytelling Tradition from the North Sumatran Rainforest*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Brans, P. H. "Sumatra-Benzoë." PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1935.
- Brouwer, J. J. van Limburg. "Het gouvernemental inlandsch onderwijs op Sumatra." *TNI* 5, no. 2 (1876): 1–24.
- Brown, C. C. *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals: An Annotated Translation*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Bulbeck, David, Anthony Reid, Tan Lay Cheng, and Wu Yiqi, eds. *Southeast Asian*

- Exports since the 14th Century: Cloves, Pepper, Coffee, and Sugar*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998.
- Bunnell, Tim, and Alice M. Nah. "Counter-Global Cases for Place: Contesting Displacement in Globalising Kuala Lumpur Metropolitan Area." *Urban Studies* 41, no. 12 (2004): 2447–67.
- Burkill, Ian H. *A Dictionary of Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*. Singapore: Government of the Straits Settlements, 1935.
- Burns, Peter L. "Annexation in the Malay States: The Jervois Papers." *JMBRAS* 72, no. 1 (1999): 1–93.
- , ed. *The Journals of J. W. W. Birch: First British Resident to Perak, 1874–1875*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- . *Papers on Malay Subjects*. Edited by R. J. Wilkinson. 1907–16. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Burns, Peter L., and Charles D. Cowan, eds. *Sir Frank Swettenham Malayan Journals, 1874–1876*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Burton, Richard, and Nathaniel Ward. "Report of a Journey into the Batak Country, in the Interior of Sumatra, in the Year 1824." *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1, no. 1 (1827): 485–501.
- Byl, Julia. *Antiphonal Histories: Resonant Pasts in the Toba Batak Musical Present*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014.
- "Camphor." *American Journal of Pharmacy* 45, no. 3 (1873): 459–74.
- Casparis, Johannes Gijsbertus de. *Indonesian Palaeography: A History of Writing in Indonesia from the Beginnings to c. AD 1500*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- Castles, Lance. "The Political Life of a Sumatran Residency: Tapanuli 1915–1940." PhD diss., Yale University, 1979.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "The Climate of History: Four Theses." *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 2 (2009): 197–222.
- Charney, Michael. *Southeast Asian Warfare, 1300–1800*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Ché-Ross, Raimy. "Hikayat Hikamat: The Malay Memoirs of a Sumatran Christian." *JMBRAS* 80, no. 1 (2007): 59–89.
- Clarence-Smith, William G. "Elephants, Horses and the Coming of Islam to Northern Sumatra." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 93 (2004): 271–84.
- Clifford, Hugh. "A Journey through the Malay States of Trengganu and Kelantan." *Geographical Journal* 9, no. 1 (1897): 1–37.
- Commins, David. *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2009.
- Coolsma, Sierk. *De zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch-Indië*. Utrecht: C. H. E. Breijer, 1902.
- Cowan, Charles D., ed. "Sir Frank Swettenham's Perak Journals." *JMBRAS* 24, no. 4 (1951): 1–148.

- Cronon, William. "The Trouble with Wilderness." In *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, edited by William Cronon, 69–90. New York: Norton, 1993.
- Crutzen, Paul J. "Geology of Mankind." *Nature* 415 (2002): 23.
- Crutzen, Paul J., and Eugene F. Stoermer. "The Anthropocene." *IGBP Newsletter* 41 (2000): 16–18.
- Davies, Jeremy. *The Birth of the Anthropocene*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.
- Dean, William. "Missionary Work among the Malays." *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 56, no. 5 (1876): 131–35.
- De Boer, D. W. N. "De Permalimsekten van Oeloean, Toba en Habinsaran." *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 47 (1917): 326–33.
- De Jong, Josselin. "Negotiations in Bismarckian Style: The Debate on the Aceh War and Its Legitimacy, 1873–74." *Itinerario* 29, no. 2 (2005): 38–52.
- "De kamferboom op Sumatra: Stukken, gewisseld nopens de kwestie of voorziening noodig is tegen de uitroeiing van dien boom." *Tijdschrift voor Nijverheid en Landbouw* 17 (1872): 91–108.
- De la Croix, J. Errington. *Les mines étain de Perak*. Paris, 1882.
- De Ligny, J. "Legendarische herkomst de kamfer Baroes." *TIV* 23 (1923): 549–55.
- De Morgan, J. *Explorations dans la Presqu'île Malaise Royaumes de Perak et de Patani*. Paris: Imprimerie General A. Lahure, 1896.
- "De Permalims." *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 45 (1913): 326–34.
- De Stuers, H. J. L. L. R. *De vestiging en uitbreiding der Nederlanders ter westkust van Sumatra*. Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1850.
- De Vriese, Willem Hendrik. *Mémoire sur le camphrier de Sumatra et de Bornéo*. Leiden: Brill, 1856.
- . "On the Camphor-Tree of Sumatra." *American Journal of Pharmacy*, n.s., 18, no. 4 (October 1852): 329–43.
- Dewey, Lyster H. "The Camphor Tree." Circular no. 12, US Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, 1897.
- Dobbin, Christine. *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784–1847*. London: Curzon, 1983.
- Donkin, Robert Arthur. *Dragon's Brain Perfume: An Historical Geography of Camphor*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Dorset, C. W. "Cultivation of Tobacco." *Farmer's Bulletin*. N.p.: Manila Bureau of Public Printing, 1903.
- Dove, Michael R. "Forest Discourses in South and Southeast Asia: A Comparison with Global Discourse." In *Nature in the Global South: Environmental Projects in South and Southeast Asia*, edited by Paul Greenough and Anna L. Tsing, 103–23. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

- , ed. *Southeast Asian Grasslands: Understanding a Vernacular Landscape; Canonical Readings*. New York: New York Botanical Garden, 2008.
- . *Swidden Agriculture in Indonesia: The Subsistence Strategies of the Kalimantan Kantu*. New York: Mouton, 1985.
- Drakard, Jane. *A Malay Frontier: Unity and Duality in a Sumatran Kingdom*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asian Studies Program Publications, 1990.
- Eijkemans, C. H. J. F. *Profitability or Security: Decision-Making on Land Use among Toba Batak Peasants in North Sumatra, Indonesia*. Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik, 1995.
- Elvin, Mark. *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- . “Who Was Responsible for the Weather? Moral Meteorology in Late Imperial China.” *Osiris* 13 (1998): 213–37.
- Feener, Michael. *Muslim Legal Thought in Modern Indonesia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Fogg, Kevin W. “Reinforcing Charisma in the Bureaucratisation of Indonesian Islamic Organisations.” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 37, no. 1 (2018): 117–40.
- Forsyth, Tim, and Andrew Walker. *Forest Guardians, Forests Destroyers: The Politics of Environmental Knowledge in Northern Thailand*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. 1976. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Foxworthy, F. W. *Malayan Forest Records No. 3: Commercial Timber Trees of the Malayan Peninsula*. Singapore: Fraser & Neave, 1921.
- Frazer, James G. *The Golden Bough: A Study of Magic and Religion*. London: Macmillan, 1971.
- Fuller, Christopher J. *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Gabriel, C. “Kriegszug der Bondjol unter Anführung des Tuanku Rau in die Bataklander, zusammengetragen von Guru Kenan Huta Galung und aus dem Batakschen ins Deutsche übersetzt.” *TIV* 61 (1922): 157–90.
- Gade, Anna. *Muslim Environmentalisms: Religious and Social Foundations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Gauchet, Marcel. *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Gerth, Hans H., and C. Wright Mills, eds. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Ghosh, Amitav. *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

- Gobée, E. "Dr. Neubronner van der Tuuk's bezoek aan Si Singa Mangaradja in 1853 van Bataksche zijde toegelicht." *TAG* 34 (1917): 366–69.
- Goss, Andrew. "Building the World's Supply of Quinine: Dutch Colonialism and the Origins of a Global Pharmaceutical Industry." *Endeavour* 38, no. 1 (2013): 8–18.
- . *The Floracrats: State-Sponsored Science and the Failure of the Enlightenment in Indonesia*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011.
- Grehan, James. *Twilight of the Saints: Everyday Religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Grove, Richard. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Gullick, John M. "The Economy of Perak in the Mid-1870s." *JMBRAS* 83, no. 2 (2010): 87–46.
- . "The Elephants of Syed Zin." *JMBRAS* 59, no. 1 (1986): 113–23.
- . *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*. London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1958.
- . *Kuala Lumpur, 1880–1895: A City in the Making*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1988.
- Hadler, Jeffrey. "Historiography of Violence and the Secular State in Indonesia: Tuanku Imam Bonjol and the Uses of History." *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 3 (2008): 971–1010.
- . *Muslims and Matriarchs: Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- Hale, Abraham. "Mines and Miners in Kinta." *JSBRAS* 16, no. 1 (1885): 303–20.
- Hall, David. *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Hamilton, Clive. "The Anthropocene as Rupture." *Anthropocene Review* 3, no. 2 (2016): 93–106.
- Hamka. *Antara fakta dan khayal: Bantahan terhadap tulisan-tulisan ir: Mangaradja Onggang Parlindungan dalam bukunya "Tuanku Rao"*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974.
- Harahap, Basyral H. *Greget Tuanku Rao*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2009.
- , trans. *Si Bulus Bulus, Si Rumbuk Rumbuk: Sebuah buku bacaan karangan Willem Iskander*. Jakarta: Campusiana, 1978.
- Haraway, Donna. *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Harrison, Charles W. *Council Minutes Perak, 1877–1879*. Kuala Lumpur: Federated Malay States Press, 1936.
- Henley, David. "Conflict, Justice and the Stranger-King Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewhere." *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004): 85–144.

- . “Swidden Farming as an Agent of Environmental Change in Southeast Asia: Ecological Myth and Historical Reality in Southeast Asia.” *Environment and History* 17, no. 4 (2011): 525–44.
- Herzog, Shawna. “Domesticating Labor: An Illicit Slave Trade to the British Straits Settlements, 1811–1845.” *Journal of World History* 28, no. 3–4 (2017): 341–69.
- Hijjas, Mulaika. “Not Just Fryers of Bananas and Sweet Potatoes: Literate and Literary Women in the Nineteenth Century Malay World.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 41, no. 1 (2010): 153–72.
- Hirosue, Masashi. “The Batak Millenarian Response to the Colonial Order.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25, no. 2 (1994): 331–43.
- . “Prophets and Followers in Batak Millenarian Responses to the Colonial Order: Parmalim, Na Siak Bagi and Parhudamdand, 1890–1930.” PhD diss., Australian National University, 1988.
- Hirth, Friedrich. *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-Chi*. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science, 1967.
- Hodgson, Marshall. *The Venture of Islam: Volume 1, The Classical Age of Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Hornaday, William T. *The Experiences of a Hunter and Naturalist in the Malay Peninsular and Borneo*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Hubback, Theodore. *Elephant and Seladang Hunting in Malaya*. London: Ward, 1905.
- Hubback Commission. “Interim Report.” *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 19 (1933): 30–42.
- H.v.D. “Oorsprong der Padaris (Een secte op de Westkust van Sumatra).” *TNI* 1, no. 2 (1838): 113–32.
- Idrus, Rusaslina. “Contesting Indigeneity.” In *Melayu: The Politics, Poetics and Paradoxes of Malayness*, edited by Khairudin Aljunied and Maznah Mohamed, 99–118. Singapore: NUS Press, 2011.
- Iskandar, Teuku, ed. *Hikayat Aceh*. The Hague: H. L. Smits, 1959.
- James, Ronald M. “Knockers, Knackers, and Ghosts: Immigrant Folklore in the Western Mines.” *Western Folklore* 51, no. 2 (1992): 153–77.
- Janssen, J. W. “De Batak als exploitanten van hun eigen gebied.” *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 12, no. 2 (1924): 353–78.
- Janssen, J. W., A. W. Nieuwenhuis, C. A. Van Ophuijsen, C. J. Westenberg, and J. C. Van Eerde. *Kort verslag omtrent de verrichtingen van het Bataksch Instituut te Leiden*. Leiden: Bataksch Instituut, 1913.
- Jenkins, Willis J., Mary E. Tucker, and John Grim, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Ecology*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Jones, Russell, ed. *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti, 1999.

- Joustra, M. *Batakspiegel*. Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh, 1926.
- . *De toestanden in Tapanoeli en de regeringscommissie: Nota in opdracht van het Bataksch Instituut*. Amsterdam: Schooneveld & Zoon, 1917.
- . *Van Medan naar Padang en Terug*. Leiden: Bataksch Instituut, 1915.
- Junghuhn, Friedrich Franz Wilhelm. *Die Battäländer der Sumatra*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1847.
- Kahn, Joel. *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2006.
- Kartomi, Margaret. *Musical Journeys in Sumatra*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012.
- Kathirithamby-Wells, Jeyamalar. "Human Impact on Large Mammal Populations in Peninsular Malaysia from the Nineteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Century." In *Paper Landscapes: Explorations in the Environmental History of Indonesia*, edited by Peter Boomgaard, Freek Colombijn, and David Henley, 215–48. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997.
- . *Nature and Nation: Forests and Development in Peninsular Malaysia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.
- . "The Origin of the Term Padri: Some Historical Evidence." *Indonesia Circle* 41 (1986): 3–9.
- Kielstra, E. B. "Sumatra's Westkust sedert 1850." *BKI* 41 (1892): 254–330.
- . "Sumatra's Westkust sedert 1850 (Vervolg)." *BKI* 41 (1892): 622–706.
- Kipp, Rita S. *Disassociated Identities: Ethnicity, Religion and Class in an Indonesian Society*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- . *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission: The Karo Field*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- Kipp, Rita S., and Richard D. Kipp, eds. *Beyond Samosir: Recent Studies of the Batak Peoples of Sumatra*. Athens: Ohio Center for International Studies Southeast Asia Program, 1983.
- Knappert, Jan. "Why There Is Only One Sun." *World and I* 16, no. 10 (2001): 188–96.
- Köhler, H. J. *Habinsaran (Het Land van den Zonnestraal)*. Zutphen: W. J. Thime & Cie, 1926.
- Kozok, Uli. "On Writing the Not-to-Be-Read: Literature and Literacy in a Pre-colonial 'Tribal' Society." *BKI* 156, no. 1 (2000): 33–55.
- . "The Seals of the Last Singamangaradja." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 28, no. 1 (2000): 244–79.
- . *Surat Batak: Sejarah Perkembangan Tulisan Batak*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009.
- . *Utusan damai di kemelut perang: Peran Zending dalam Perang Toba*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2010.

- . *Warisan leluhur: Sastra lama dan lksara Batak*. Jakarta: Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient/Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2004.
- Kratoska, Paul H. *Honourable Intentions: Talks on the British Empire in Southeast Asia, 1874–1928*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Kratz, E. Ulrich, and Adriyetti Amir. *Surat keterangan Syekh Jalaluddin karangan Fakhir Saghir*. Selangor: Percetakan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Siri Warisan Sastra Klasik, 2002.
- Kreemer, J. *De karbouw: Zijn betekenis voor de volken van de Indonesische Archipel*. The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1956.
- Kuiper, Franciscus B. J. “Cosmogony and Conception: A Query.” *History of Religions* 10, no. 2 (1970): 91–138.
- Kushnick, Geoff. “Resource Competition and Reproduction in Karo Batak Villages.” *Human Nature* 21, no. 1 (2010): 62–81.
- Laakkonen, Simo, Richard Tucker, and Timo Vuorisalo, eds. *The Long Shadows: A Global Environmental History of the Second World War*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017.
- Latour, Bruno. *Facing Gaia: Eight Lectures on Political Theology*. New York: Polity Press, 2017.
- Leech, H. W. C. “About Kinta.” *JSBRAS* 4, no. 1 (1879): 21–33.
- . “About Slim and Bernam.” *JSBRAS* 4, no. 1 (1875): 34–45.
- Lees, Lynn Hollen. “Becoming Malay: The Case of Batak Orphans in 1930s Perak.” *JMBRAS* 94, no. 2 (2021): 141–67.
- Lefebvre, H. *Critique of Everyday Life, Vol. 1*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Lehmann, Martin E. *A Biographical Study of Ingwer Ludwig Nommensen (1834–1918), Pioneer Missionary to the Bataks of Sumatra*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996.
- Li, Tania M. *Land's End: Capitalist Relations in an Indigenous Frontier*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.
- . “Masyarakat Adat, Difference and the Limits of Recognition in Indonesia's Forest Zone.” *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 3 (2001): 645–76.
- Liaw Yock Fang, ed. *Undang-undang Melaka: The Laws of Melaka*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976.
- Linehan, William. *A History of Pahang*. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1973.
- Lister, Martin. *Mining Laws and Customs in the Malay Peninsula*. Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1889.
- Locke, Piers. “Elephants as Persons, Affective Apprenticeship, and Fieldwork and Nonhuman Informants in Nepal.” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 7, no. 1 (2017): 353–76.
- Lofton, Kathryn. *Consuming Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

- Lorimer, Jamie. "Nonhuman Charisma." *Environment and Planning Development: Society and Space* 25, no. 1 (2007): 911–32.
- Louys, J. "Limited Effect of the Quaternary's Largest Super Eruption (Toba) on Land Mammals in Southeast Asia." *Quaternary Science Review* 26, no. 25–28 (2007): 3108–17.
- Lubis, Abdur-Razzaq. *Sutan Puasa: Founder of Kuala Lumpur*. Penang: Areca Books, 2018.
- . *Tarikh Raja Asal dan keluarganya*. Penang: Areca Books, 2021.
- Lubis, Abdur-Razzaq, and K. Salma Nasution. *Kinta Valley: Pioneering Malaysia's Modern Development*. Penang: Areca Books, 2005.
- . *Raja Bilah and the Mandailings of Perak, 1875–1911*. Kuala Lumpur: Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2003.
- Lubis, Z. Pangaduan. *Asal usul marga-marga di Mandailing*. Medan: Pustaka Widiasarana, 2010.
- . *Kumpulan catatan lepas tentang Mandailing*. Medan: Pustaka Widiasarana, 2012.
- . *Lebih jauh tentang Willem Iskander dan "Si Bulus Bulus, Si Rumbuk Rumbuk."* Medan: Pustaka Widiasarana, 2011.
- Lumbantobing, Adniel. *Sejarah Si Singamangaradja I–XII*. Jakarta: Toko Buku, 1951.
- Macdonald, John. "On Three Natural Productions of Sumatra." *Asiatick Researches* 4 (1795): 1–30.
- Mackenzie, John M. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Maloney, Bernard K. "Pea Bullok: A Preliminary Account of a 30 000 Year Record of Vegetation and Climatic Change from Highland North Sumatra." *Quaternary Newsletter* 73 (1994): 7–10.
- . "Pollen Analytical Evidence for Early Forest Clearance in North Sumatra." *Nature* 280 (1980): 324–44.
- . "Possible Early Dry-Land and Wetland Rice Cultivation in Highland North Sumatra." *Asian Perspectives* 35, no. 2 (1996): 164–92.
- Manap, Norpadzlihatun, and Nikolaos Voulvoulis. "Data Analysis for Environmental Impact of Dredging." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 137 (2016): 394–404.
- Manickam, Sandra. *Taming the Wild: Aborigines and Racial Knowledge in Colonial Malaya*. Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia/Southeast Asia Publications Series, 2015.
- Manik, Liberty. *Batak-Handschriften*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973.
- Mann, Charles C. *The Wizard and the Prophet: Two Groundbreaking Scientists and Their Conflicting Visions of the Future of Our Planet*. New York: Knopf, 2018.
- Marsden, William. *The History of Sumatra*. 1783. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Maxwell, William E. "The Folklore of the Malays." *JSBRAS* 7, no. 1 (1881): 11–29.

- . “A History of Perak from Native Sources.” *JSBRAS* 14, no. 1 (1884): 320–21.
- . “A Journey on Foot to the Patani Frontier in 1876: A Journal Kept during an Expedition Undertaken to Capture Datoh Maharajalela of Perak.” *JSBRAS* 9, no. 1 (1882): 1–67.
- . “Shamanism in Perak.” In *A History of Perak*, edited by Richard O. Winstedt and Richard J. Wilkinson, 181–226. Singapore: Malayan Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, 1934.
- Maxwell, W. G. *In Malay Forests*. Singapore: Graham Brash, 1907.
- . “Mantra gajah.” *JSBRAS* 45 (1906): 1–53.
- . “Mantra gajah.” *JSBRAS* 49 (1907): 71–86.
- Mayer, Charles. *Trapping Wild Animals in Malay Jungles*. New York: Nuffield & Co., 1921.
- McCarragher, Eugene. *The Enchantments of Mammon: How Capitalism Became the Religion of Modernity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019.
- McKinnon, E. Edwards. “Ceramics, Cloth, Iron and Salt: Coastal Hinterland Interaction in the Karo Region of Northeastern Sumatra.” In *From Distant Tales: Archaeology and Ethnohistory in the Highlands of Sumatra*, edited by Dominik Bonatz et al., 120–42. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009.
- Meerwaldt J. H. “Aantekeningen betreffende de Bataklanden.” *TIV* 37 (1894): 513–50.
- Middendorp, Wilhelm. “Het inwerken van Westersche krachten op een Indonesisch volk (de Karo Bataks).” *De Socialistische Gids* 7 (1922): 329–465.
- Middlebrook, S. M. “Yap Ah Loy (1837–1855).” *JMBRAS* 24, no. 2 (1951): 1–127.
- Milner, A. C. “A Note on the Rawa.” *JMBRAS* 51, no. 2 (1978): 147.
- Mintz, Sidney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. London: Penguin, 1982.
- Modigliani, Elio. *Fra i Battachi indipendenti*. Rome: Società Geografica Italiana, 1892.
- Moore, Sophie S., Monique Allewaert, Pablo F. Gómez, and Mitman Gregg. “Interrogating the Plantationocene.” *Edge Effects*, 2019. Accessed June 16, 2019. <http://edgeeffects.net/plantation-legacies-plantationocene/>.
- Multatuli. *Max Havelaar or the Coffee Auctions of a Dutch Trading Company*. Translated by Alphonso Nahuys. New York: Penguin, 1987.
- Niessen, Sandra. *Batak Cloth and Clothing: A Dynamic Indonesian Tradition*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . *Motifs of Life in Batak Texts and Textiles*. Dordrecht: Foris, 1985.
- Neumann, J. H. “Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Karo-stammen.” *BKI* 82 (1926): 1–36.
- . “De Bataksche goeroe.” *Medelingen Nederlandsch Zending* 54 (1910): 1–18.
- . *Een jaar onder de Karo Bataks*. 2nd ed. Medan: V. H. Varekamp, 1949.
- Noer, Deliar. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900–1942*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- Nongbri, Brent. *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015.
- O'Connor, Stanley J. "Iron Working as Spiritual Inquiry in the Indonesian Archipelago." *History of Religions* 14, no. 3 (1975): 173–90.
- Olivier, Robert, "Conservation of the Asian Elephant." *Environmental Conservation* 5, no. 1 (1978): 1–17.
- Orsi, Robert. *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Ota, Atsushi. "Tropical Products Out, British Cotton In: Trade in the Dutch Outer Island Ports, 1846–1869." *Southeast Asian Studies* 2, no. 3 (2013): 499–526.
- Parker Lyn, Kelsie Prabawa-Sear, and Wahyu Kustiningsih. "How Young People in Indonesia See Themselves as Environmentalists." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 136 (2019): 263–82.
- Parkin, Harry. *Batak Fruit of Hindu Thought*. Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1978.
- Parlindungan, Mangaradja O. *Pongkinangolngolan Sinambela gelar Tuanku Rao: Terror Agama Islam Mazhab Hambali di Tanah Batak 1816–1833*. Jakarta: Penerbit Tandjung Pengharapan, 1963.
- Parreñas, Juno Salazar. "The Materiality of Intimacy in Wildlife Rehabilitation: Rethinking Ethical Capitalism through Embodied Encounters with Animals in Southeast Asia." *Positions* 24, no. 1 (2016): 97–126.
- Pasqual, Joseph C. "Chinese Tin Mining in Selangor." *Selangor Journal* 4 (1896): 25–29.
- Pedersen, Paul. *Batak Blood, Protestant Soul: The Development of National Churches in North Sumatra*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1970.
- Pelzer, Karl. *Planter and Peasant: Colonial Policy and the Agrarian Struggle in East Sumatra*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978.
- Penrose, Richard Alexander F. "The Tin Deposits of the Malay Peninsula with Special Reference to Those of the Kinta District." *Journal of Geology* 11, no. 2 (1903): 135–54.
- Perret, Daniel, and Heddy Surachman. *History of Padang Lawas: The Site of Si Pamutung*. Paris: Cahier d'Archipel, 2014.
- Petraglia, M. D., P. Ditchfield, S. Jones, R. Korisettar, and J. N. Pal. "The Toba Volcanic Super-Eruption, Environmental Change and Hominin Occupation History in India over the Last 140,000 Years." In "The Toba Super-Volcanic Eruption of 74,000 Years Ago: Climate Change, Environments, and Evolving Humans," edited by M. D. Petraglia, R. Korisettar, and J. N. Pal. Special issue, *Quaternary International*, no. 258 (2012): 119–34.
- Pleyte, Cornelis M. "Singa Mangaradja, de heilige koning der Bataks." *BKI* 55 (1903): 1–48.
- Poeze, Harry, and Kees van Dijk. *In het land van de overheersers: Indonesiers in de Nederlands, 1650–1850*. Dordrecht: Foris, 1986.

- Pogos, Raja N., and Jan P. Sitanggang. *Batak na marserek: Maradat adat na niadathon*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 2014.
- Pospos, P. *Aku dan Toba: Tjatatatan Dari Masa Kanak-Kanak*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1950.
- Potter, Leslie M. "A Forest Product Out of Control: Gutta Percha in Indonesia and the Wider Malay World." In *Paper Landscapes: Explorations in the Environmental History of Indonesia*, edited by Peter Boomgaard et al., 281–308. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997.
- Radjab, M. *Perang Paderi*. Jakarta: Kampusiana, 1954.
- Raffles, Thomas S. *Memoir of the Life and Public Service of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles F.R.S. & Co*. London: John Murray, 1830.
- Rathborne, Ambrose. *Camping and Tramping in Malaya*. Oxford: John Beaufoy, 2015.
- Reid, Anthony. *Blood of the People: Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- . *A History of Southeast Asia: Critical Crossroads*. Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.
- . "Humans and Forests in Pre-colonial Southeast Asia." *Environment and History* 1, no. 1 (1995): 93–110.
- . *Imperial Alchemy: National and Political Identity in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- . "Islamization and Christianization of Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550–1650." In *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief*, edited by Anthony Reid, 151–79. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- . "Is There a Batak History?" Asia Research Institute Working Paper No. 78, 2006.
- . "Merchant Princes and Magic Mediators: Outsiders and Power in Sumatra and Beyond." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36, no. 105 (2008): 253–57.
- . *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- . *Southeast in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680*. 2 vols. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.
- . "Why Do the Batak Erect Tugu?" In *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, edited by Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid, 88–102. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Richards, John F. *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Richardson, J. A. *The Geology and Mineral Resources of the Neighbourhood of Pahang: Federated Malay States with an Account of the Geology of the Raub Australian Gold Mine*. Kuala Lumpur: Geological Survey Department, 1939.
- Richtmann, William O. "Camphor: A Pharmaceutical and Pharmacognostical Study." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1919.

- Ricklefs, Merle C. "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java." In *Conversion to Islam*, edited by Nehemia Levtzion, 100–128. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979.
- Ricklefs, Merle C., and Pieter Voorhoeve. *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Rijnsche Zending. "De zending onder de Batta's in 1881." *De Rijnsche Zending* 12 (1882): 36–66.
- Ris, H. "De onderafdeling klein Mandailing en Pakantan en hare bevolking met uitzondering van de Oeloë's." *BKI* 6, no. 2 (1896): 441–534.
- Rodgers, Susan. *Adat, Islam and Christianity in a Batak Homeland*. Athens: Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1981.
- . "Antic Histories: Narrating the Past in a Martinican Novel and a Sumatran Mock Family Memoir." *Anthropological Forum* 16, no. 3 (2006): 257–75.
- . "Compromise and Contestation in Colonial Sumatra: An 1873 Mandailing Schoolbook on the 'Wonders of the West.'" *BKI* 158, no. 3 (2002): 479–512.
- . *Telling Lives, Telling History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Rood, Daniel B. *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Ross, Carey. "The Tin Frontier: Mining, Empire, and Environment in Southeast Asia, 1870s–1930s." *Environmental History* 19, no. 2 (2014): 454–79.
- Said, Mohammad. *Dari halaman-halaman terlepas dalam tjatatan tentang tokoh Singamangaradja XII*. Medan: Waspada, 1961.
- Sainsbury, Cleo Ladell. *Tin Resources of the World*. Geological Survey Bulletin 1301. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1969.
- Salleh, Muhammad Haji, ed. *Sejarah Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1997.
- Sangti, Batara Simanjuntak. *Sejarah Batak*. Balige: K. Sianipar, 1978.
- Schadée, W. H. M. *De uitbreiding van ons gezag in de Bataklanden*. Leiden: Van Doesburgh, 1920.
- Schnitger, Friedrich M. *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra*. Leiden: Brill, 1939.
- Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.
- . *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Serullas, M. "Rediscovery of Gutta Percha Tree at Singapore." *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information* (Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew), no. 163 (1891).
- Sevea, Teren. *Miracles and Material Life: Rice, Ore, Traps and Guns in Islamic Malaya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Sherman, D. George. *Rice, Rupees and Ritual: Economy and Society among the Samosir Batak of Sumatra*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.

- . “What Green Desert? The Ecology of Batak Grassland Farming.” *Indonesia* 29 (April 1980): 112–48.
- Sibeth, Achim. *The Batak: Peoples of the Island of Sumatra*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991.
- Sideris, Lisa. *Consecrating Science: Wonder, Knowledge and the Natural World*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.
- Sidjabat, Walter Bonar. *Ahu Si Singamangaradja: Arti politis, ekonomis dan religius Si Singamangaradja XII*. Medan: Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1982.
- Sinambela, Poernama Rea. *Ayahku, Si Singamangaradja XII pahlawan nasional*. Jakarta: Aksara Persada, 1992.
- Singarimbun, Masri. *Kinship, Descent and Alliance among the Karo Batak*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- Situmorang, Sitor. *Guru Somalaing dan Modigliani “Utusan Raja Rom”: Sekelumit sejarah lahirnya gerakan Ratu Adik di Toba*. Jakarta: Grafindo Mukti, 1993.
- . *Toba Na Sae: Sejarah lembaga sosial politik abad XIII–XX*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2004.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. “Trading Knowledge: The East India Company’s Elephants in India and Britain.” *Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (2005): 27–63.
- Skeat, Walter. *Malay Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of Malaya*. London: Macmillan, 1900.
- Soares, Benjamin, and Filippo Osella. “Islam, Politics, Anthropology.” Supplement, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15, no. 1 (2009): S1–23.
- Sprenger, Guido. “Dimensions of Animism in Southeast Asia.” In *Animism in Southeast Asia*, edited by Kai Århem and Guido Sprenger, 31–51. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Steedly, Mary M. *Hanging without a Rope: Narrative Experience in Colonial and Postcolonial Karoland*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- . “Modernity and the Memory Artist: The Work of Imagination in Highland Sumatra, 1947–1995.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 4 (2000): 811–46.
- . *Rifle Reports: A Story of Indonesian Independence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.
- Steffen, Will, Wendy Broadgate, Ludwig Deutsch, Owen Gaffney, and Cornelia Ludwig. “The Trajectory of the Anthropocene.” *Anthropocene Review* 2, no.1 (2015): 81–98.
- Steffen, Will, Paul J. Crutzen, and John R. MacNeill. “The Anthropocene: Are Humans Now Overwhelming the Great Forces of Nature?” *Ambio* 36, no. 8 (2007): 614–21.
- Steijn-Parvé, H. A. “De secte der Padaries (Padries) in de bovenlanden van Sumatra.” *TIV* 2, no. 3 (1854): 249–78.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Capitalism and Confrontation on Sumatra’s Plantation Belt*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985.

- Stoll, Mark. *Inherit the Holy Mountain: Religion and the Rise of American Environmentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Sukumar, Raman. *The Asian Elephant: Ecology and Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- . *The Story of Asia's Elephants*. Mumbai: Marg, 2011.
- "Sumatra Camphor." *New Remedies* 10, no. 11 (1881): 331.
- Susilowati, A., K. S. Hartini, H. H. Rachmat, and A. Alvaroby. "Propagation of Valuable North Sumatera Benzoin Trees (*Styrax* sp.) Using Macrocutting Techniques." *IOP Conference Series Materials Science and Engineering* 180, no. 1 (2017): 1–5.
- Swettenham, F. A. "Annual Report of the British Resident of Perak for the Year 1894." *Perak Government Gazette* 8, no. 19 (July 19, 1895): 353–72.
- Swettenham, Frank. "From Perak to Slim and down the Slim and Bernam Rivers." *JMBRAS* 5, no. 1 (1880): 51–68.
- Syafnir Aboe Nain, ed. *Naskah Tuanku Imam Bonjol*. Padang: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Minangkabau, 2004.
- Symington, C. F. *Malayan Forest Records No. 16: Foresters Manual of Dipterocarps*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit University Malaya, 1974.
- Syuling, Fenneke. *Racial Science and Human Diversity in Colonial Indonesia*. Singapore: NUS Press, 2016.
- Szerszynski, Bronislaw. "Gods of the Anthropocene: Geo-spiritual Formations in the Earth's New Epoch." *Theory, Culture & Society* 34, no. 2–3 (2017): 253–75.
- Tannenbaum, Nicola B. *Who Can Compete against the World? Power-Protection and Buddhism in Shan Worldview*. Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 1996.
- Tavares, Antonio. "Crystals from the Savage Forest: Imperialism and Capitalism in the Taiwan Camphor Industry, 1800–1945." PhD diss., Princeton University, 2004.
- Teh-Gallop, Annabel. "Malay Documents in the Melaka Records in the British Library." *Itinerario* 30, no. 2 (2006): 54–77.
- Teygeler, René, "Pustaha: A Study into the Production Process of the Batak Book." *BKI* 149, no. 3 (1993): 593–611.
- Tichelman G. J. "De parhoedamdam beweging." *Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van Gezaghebbers de Binnenlandsch Bestuur No. 45*, 1937.
- Tideman, J. *De Bataklanden, 1917–1931*. Leiden: Bataksch Instituut, 1932.
- . *Simeloengoen: Het land der Timoer-Bataks im zijn vroegere isolatie en zijn ontwikkeling tot een deel van het cultuurgebied van de Oostkust van Sumatra*. Leiden: L. H. Becherer, 1922.
- Tomich, Dale. "The Order of Historical Time: The *Longue Durée* and Micro-history." *Almanack Guarulhos*, no. 2 (2011): 52–65.
- Tong, Cheu Hock. "The Sinicization of Malay Keramats in Malaysia." *JMBRAS* 71, no. 2 (1998): 29–61.

- Trautmann, Thomas. *Elephants and Kings: An Environmental History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Tsing, Anna L. *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place*. 1993. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- . *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Tucker, Richard, and Edmund Russell, eds. *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally: Toward an Environmental History of War*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004.
- Tugby, Donald J. *Cultural Identity and Change: Mandailing Immigrants in West Malaysia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977.
- . "The Social Function of *Mahr* in Upper Mandailing, Sumatra." *American Anthropologist* 61, no. 4 (1959): 631–40.
- Van Asselt, Gustav. *Achttien jaren onder der Batak*. Rotterdam: D. A. Daamen, ca. 1905.
- Van Bemmelen, Sita. *Christianity, Colonization and Gender in North Sumatra*. Leiden: KITLV/Brill, 2017.
- Van den Arend, Pieter. "De opkomst der landbouwondernemingen in Deli (I)." *TAG* 2 (1897): 295–96.
- Van den Berg, E. J. "De Parhoedamdambeweging." *Medelingen Nederlandsch Zending* 64 (1920): 22–38.
- Van der Putten, Jan. "Abdullah Munsyi and the Missionaries." *BKI* 162, no. 4 (2008): 407–40.
- Van der Tuuk, Herman Neubronner, and Kees Groeneboer, eds. *Een vorst onder de taalgeleerden: Herman Neubronner Van Der Tuuk, taalafgevaardigde voor Indië voor Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap*. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2002.
- Van Dijk, Pieter A. L. E. "Die excursie naar de westelijke onafhankelijke landschappen in Toba-landen van het jaar 1889." *TAG* 12 (1895): 1–24.
- . "Een tochtje per prauw Zuid Samosir van Nainggolan to Lottoeng en een korte beschrijving van den oostelijke oever van het het Toba-meer van Si Regar tot Poerba." *TAG* 13 (1896): 419–36.
- Van Duuren, D. A. P. "Parmalims and Parhudamdams: Twee profetische bewegingen bij de Bataks rond de eeuwwisseling." PhD diss., Utrecht Instituut voor Culturele Antropologie, Rijksuniversiteit, 1983.
- Van Hasselt, Arend L. "Eenige mededelingen omtrent het voorkomen van geophagie in Residentie Tapanoeli." *TIV* 33 (1894): 310–12.
- Van Hoëvell, G. W. W. C. "Tets over t' oorlogvoeren der Batta's." *TNI* 40 (1878): 110–78.
- Van Kessel, Oscar. "Reis in de Nog Onafhankelijke Bataklanden van Klein-Toba, op Sumatra in 1844." *BKI* 4, no. 1–2 (1855): 55–97.
- Van Leur, Jacob Cornelis. *Indonesian Trade and Society*. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1955.

- Van Vuuren, Louis. "De handel van Baroes, als oudste haven op Sumatra's Westkust, verklaard and voor de toekomst beschouwd." *TAG* 25 (1908): 1389–1402.
- "Varia." *TNI* 2 (1976): 476–84.
- Vergouwen, Jacob Cornelis. *The Social Organisation and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964.
- Veth, Pieter Johannes. "De bovenlanden." *TAG* 2 (1877): 154–58.
- . "De oorlog van 1872." *TAG* 2 (1877): 165–71.
- . "De opkomst van de landbouwondernemingen." *TAG* 2 (1877): 159–64.
- . "The Dutch Expedition to Central Sumatra." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 1, no. 12 (1879): 759–77.
- Viner, A. C. "The Changing Batak," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 52, no. 2 (1979): 79–87.
- Vitebsky, Piers. *Living without the Dead: Loss and Redemption in a Jungle Cosmos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.
- Voll, John. "Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi and Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab." *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 32–39.
- Voorhoeve, Pieter. *Batak Bark Books*. Manchester: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 1951.
- . "Bataksche buffelwichelarij." *BKI* 114, no. 1 (1958): 238–48.
- . *Elio Modigliani's Batak Books*. Florence, 1980.
- Wade, Geoff. "Southeast Asian Islam and Southern China in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century." In *Anthony Reid and the Study of the Southeast Asian Past*, edited by Geoff Wade and Li Tana. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist* 56, no. 2 (1956): 264–81.
- Warneck, Johannes. *Die Religion der Batak*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909.
- . *Toba-Batak Deutsches Wörterbuchs*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1906.
- . *50 Jahre Batakmission in Sumatra*. Berlin: M. Warneck, 1912.
- . *Von Heiden und Christen in Sumatra*. Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1920.
- Watson, C. W. "Rawa and Rinchi: A Further Note." *JMBRAS* 55, no. 1 (1982): 82–86.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. 1904–5. New York: Penguin Classics, 2002.
- Wellem, Frederick D. *Amir Sjarifoeddin: Tempatnya dalam Kekristenan dan perjuangan kemerdekaan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Ut. Omnes Unum Sint Institute, 2009.
- Wessing, Robert. "Symbolic Animals in the Land between the Waters: Markers of Place and Transition." *Asian Folklore Studies* 65, no. 2 (2006): 205–39.
- Westenberg, C. J. "Aantekeningen omtrent de Godsdienstige begrippen der Karo Bataks." *BKI* 5 no. 7 (1891): 208–53.

- Wharton, Charles M. "Man, Fire and Wild Cattle in Southeast Asia." In *Southeast Asian Grasslands: Understanding a Vernacular Landscape; Canonical Readings*, edited by Michael R. Dove. Bronx: New York Botanical Garden Press, 2008.
- White, Lynn. "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis." *Science* 155 (1967): 1203–7.
- Widianto, Harry. "The Dawn of Humanity in Sumatra: Arrival and Dispersal from the Human Remains Perspective." In *From Distant Tales: Archaeology and Ethnohistory in the Highlands of Sumatra*, edited by Dominik Bonatz et al., 28–42. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009.
- Wilkinson, Richard J. "Some Malay Studies." *JMBRAS* 10, no. 1 (1932): 67–137.
- Willer, T. I. "Verzameling der Battasche wetten en instellingen in Mandheling en Pertië." *TNI* 7 (1845): 202–96.
- Winkler, Johannes. *Die Toba-Batak auf Sumatra in gesunden und kranken Tagen: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des animistischen Heidentums*. Stuttgart: Belsler, 1925.
- Winkler, Johannes, and Pieter Voorhoeve. "Pane Na Bolon, ein Kriegsorakel auf Sumatra." *BKI* 112, no. 1 (1956): 25–40.
- Winstedt, Richard O. "'Karamat': Sacred Places and Persons in Malaya." *JMBRAS* 2, no. 3 (1924): 264–79.
- . "An Old Minangkabau Legal Digest from Perak." *JMBRAS* 26, no. 1 (1953): 8–15.
- . "Perak Genies." *JMBRAS* 7, no. 3 (1929): 460–66.
- Winstedt, Richard O., and Richard J. Wilkinson. "A History of Perak." *JMBRAS* 12, no. 1 (1934): 1–180.
- Wolf, Eric. *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Wolters, Oliver W. *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell SEAP Publications, 1999.
- Wong, Lin Ken. *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914: With Special Reference to the States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang*. Tucson: published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1965.
- World Bank. *Faiths and the Environment: World Bank Support, 2000–5*. Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2006.
- Ypes, W. K. H. *Bijdrage tot de kennis van der stamverwantschap, de inheemsche rechtsgemeenschappen en grondenrecht der Toba en Dairibataks*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932.
- Zakaria, Faizah. "Sacral Ecologies of the North Sumatran Highlands: An Environmental History of Conversions, 1800 to 1928." PhD diss., Yale University, 2017.
- . "The Toba Super-Catastrophe as History of the Future." *Indonesia* 113 (2022): 33–50.