WHO INVENTED THE DAYAKS?

Historical Case Studies in Art, Material Culture and Ethnic Identity from Borneo

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Prehistory and Archaeology Program of the Graduate School at the Australian National University by

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March 1994
The following work is a piece of original research carried out by myself. All sources of information or comment used in the text have been acknowledged.

[Signature]
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A project such as this can only be undertaken with the assistance and indulgence of a large number of people whose time is already at a premium. Various curators and assistants have not only given me their time and assistance while I was visiting their museums and archives, but have answered letters full of questions that I should have thought of while I was there.

I would therefore like to offer heartiest thanks to Dr Urs Ramseyer at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel, Mr Thomas Psota at the Bernisches Historisches Museum, Dr Heide Leigh-Theisen at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, Dr Jutta Engelhard and Prof. Waldemar Stöhr at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne, Mrs Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata at the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Rotterdam, Mr van Brakel of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, Mrs Hilly Djohanni at the Museum Nusantara in Delft, Brian Durrans at the Museum of Mankind in London, Elizabeth Edwards and Linda Mowat at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, Anita Herle at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, Ken Teague at the Horniman Museum in London, Mrs Petra Godthelp at the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden and Mrs Frei at the Basel Mission. Extra special thanks have to go to Dr Peter ter Keurs at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, who allowed me to fossick through his collections for weeks while the contents of the museum, his office, the phone and fax system and the very fabric of the building were being rearranged around his ears. Then there were all the people who heaved boxes of artifacts, brought cups of tea, located the toilets and, on one notable occasion, worked for two days in a storeroom in London in January, wearing a parka and scarf because the heating had been turned off.

Back at the more arduous and less entertaining end of the project, my supervisors Dr Andrée Rosenfeld and Dr Peter Bellwood and my advisor Dr Doug Miles have read, counselled and, most importantly, displayed faith.
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SYNOPSIS

Ethnic identification is known to be a significant force in directing or justifying human behaviour. However, the relationship between the ethnic identity of groups of people and the material culture assemblages they produce has been acknowledged in only diffuse terms in prehistory.

In order to focus on the factors which cause changes in ethnic identification and shifts in its signification through material culture, I have chosen to study an area and time period where pressures caused by aggressive migrating groups have intensified the significance of ethnicity and accelerated changes in affiliation. A historical analogy of processes in action has more significance to prehistory than an ethnographic analogy in a static time frame.

The island of Borneo and its indigenous population, the Dayaks, only received any significant degree of colonial attention by both the British and the Dutch from around 1840 onward. At this time there were two major migratory movements in train which continued through the period of colonial control and which still continued after the incorporation of Borneo into the modern nations of Indonesia and Malaysia. The people now known as Iban expanded from the southernmost part of Sarawak across the full length of this country and became its most populous indigenous group. At the same time, a diversity of peoples including the Kayan and Kenyah groups were moving downriver from the interior plateaus into the major river systems of Sarawak, West Kalimantan and East Kalimantan.

The nature of ethnic relations within and at the borders of these migratory movements tended to be somewhat different. The Iban adopted a single name and presented a unified cultural image. The central Borneo region developed a mosaic character with the retention of many small scale ethnic identifications and a greater diversity of custom and presentation.

As conditions changed, so did the meaning of certain terms of ethnic identification. At the most basic level, the term Dayak is only just becoming a term which has the same meaning for all its users.

Within this milieu, ethnic identity can be seen not to be a signifier of origin or descent, although group origin folk histories are used to encapsulate and validate identity. Ethnic identity is a matter of choice and the ethnic identities of particular groups of people and their descendants can change over time. The choice is, however, a highly significant one as it involves use of language, community ritual and belief, social organization, material culture and
Synopsis

group values.

Ethnic identity is not simply a process of association with a named enclosed entity, although this is what it has become in modern bureaucratic processes of government. Rather, it represents a series of relationships, defining a degree of inclusion within or exclusion from other groups. The structure or membership of a group may be difficult to define. The nature of the various boundaries created and maintained may be a more useful indicator of the nature of relationships.

The use of material culture to signify ethnic identity does not require an enclosed or unchanging tradition. Material culture assemblages of a defined group may change over time as they diversify, innovate or incorporate material from outside. Some degree of boundedness may limit the vocabulary and syntax of an art tradition, but the tradition may be maintained in a deliberate act of boundary maintenance when alternative forms are well known to the producers. As with ethnic identity itself, the nature of the boundaries may reveal more about relationships than the nature of broad ranging cultural assemblages.

The period under scrutiny for this study has produced great social change. Certain types of objects have changed their function as a result of changes to the nature of conflict, to religion and to political organization. The changing patterns of use of these objects indicate that an important factor in the analysis of art and material culture in ethnic identification is the examination of the social function of objects. Mere typologies do not allow for an understanding of the use of objects or art styles in boundary maintenance.

The concept of ethnic identity in understanding the behaviour of human groups in prehistory is an important one, as it involves the recognition of human choice. When dealing with the unwritten evidence of human behaviour over large spans of time and territory, deterministic explanations, technological evolutionism or the evocation of very vague concepts such as cultural diffusion are tempting. The recognition of processes of ethnic affiliation is the recognition of large scale human decision making processes in action.
Borneo in Southeast Asia
MAP 2

Borneo:
Major rivers and modern political divisions
INTRODUCTION: PEOPLES AND CULTURES

The Problem

Prehistorians, over many years, have expended much time and mental energy in attempting to reconstruct aspects of human behaviour from the relics of the material culture of societies. The backbone of this type of study has been excavation, whereby material objects from a society of the past are painstakingly assembled into a picture, however incomplete or difficult to decipher, of that society.

The recovered remains of an extinct society represent only fortuitous and random losses of the complete material culture set of that society. However, by a process which has no clearly defined rules, assemblages and type artifacts are used to define archaeological cultures. From the ordered remains of urban societies such as those of the Near East, Egypt or the Indus valley to the highly problematic and disorderly remains of palaeolithic societies, material culture patterning has revealed something of the functioning of society. Modes of subsistence, technology, social structure, patterns of trade and artistic influence can be assessed through the content and arrangement of material culture sets. One of the most intractable problems, however, is the relationship between archaeological cultures and human identity groups.

Childe, who first equated peoples with material culture assemblages in the English language, took pains to avoid stating overtly just what was meant by a people (eg. Childe 1954:21, 1958:10), although he asserted that the adjective from "people" was "ethnic" (Childe 1929:vi). Nevertheless the terminology of archaeology became laden with groups of people identified by certain material culture attributes; the Beaker Folk, the Megalith Builders or the Hallstatt Horsemen. Such terms went hand in glove with a vaguely enunciated conception of migratory groups of people who were capable of travelling, material culture in hand, over wide ranges of territory. Attempts to identify the physical attributes of the bearers of certain cultures was a manifestation of a belief that they were physically identifiable, therefore endogamous, therefore self-consciously aware of their identity. This made them, in some sense, an ethnic group.

Later studies on the transmission of culture have tended to refute this conception of a tightly bonded relationship between peoples and cultures. Processual archaeology concentrated on adaptive mechanisms and ecological relationships. The mechanisms by which populations adapted were of more
significance than the mechanisms by which they defined themselves. Studies on trade and exchange emphasized the means by which material objects crossed cultural boundaries. Social archaeology has tended to concern itself more with the means by which the internal arrangements of society were expressed rather than the relationships between societies. There has been a recent revival of interest in questions about the relationships between identity and culture in archaeology, based around an awareness of the complexities of defining both concepts (eg. Shennan ed. 1989).

One of the primary identifiers of ethnic identity in the present is language, but languages of the past cannot be exhumed and examined like artifacts. Linguists construct patterns of language relationship which have a chronological component, identifying archaic forms among the multiple borrowings and sound shifts that make up the complexity of modern languages and dialects. To relate these language forms to ethnic identity groups from the past requires a series of difficult assumptions. First it has to be assumed that the taxonomies of language in some way correspond to taxonomies of culture; that more archaic language forms will also reflect more archaic cultural forms; that linguistic borrowings reflect cultural borrowings.

Renfrew's (1989) re-examination of the prehistoric significance of the expansion of the Indo-European language family addresses the question of ethnic identity. His chapter on the ethnogenesis of the Celts (Renfrew 1989:211-249) demonstrates how an ethnic identity not only transforms over a period of history, but can be transformed retrospectively using historical data. The characteristics that groups of people identify with from the past may not be identical to those they identified with in the past.

If it is assumed that peoples of the prehistoric past used their material culture to proclaim their identity or affiliation, then it is necessary to find some way of reading their code which does not require tracing backwards through time, attempting to identify some modern language or cultural tradition with a cultural entity from the past. The identity code may have been rewritten many times over hundreds of years. It is more productive to investigate how identity codes work. Events in the modern world indicate quite clearly that affiliations and identities can be motivating forces for human behaviour. Is it actually possible to investigate this motivation and these behaviour patterns from purely material evidence?
Chapter 1

Beyond Ethnographic Analogy

The concept of ethnic identity itself can be examined from different points of view. It can be seen as an aspect of social psychology, in which the behaviour of groups is the sum of the cognitive and emotional processes of their members (Tajfel 1978:28-29). It can be evaluated from an anthropological perspective, whereby the structures, beliefs and institutions of a society define its place in relation to others (Naroll 1964:283-284, Barth 1969:10-11). It can be seen as a component of human ecology in which economic adaptation is a major factor (Haaland 1969, Siverts 1969). Linguistic definitions can be used, underlying the assumption that facility in, or barriers to, communication are keys to intergroup relations (De Vos 1975:15, Giles 1978). Ultimately, however, the ethnic identity of an individual is that of the group with which he or she identifies, regardless of history, language, custom or belief. It is an act of self-identification (De Vos 1975:9, 17, Barth 1969:10).

The identification process is not simple. There are groupings within a society with which a person can identify: status ranks, age grades, gender, kinship groupings. Such affiliations are not simply sub-groups, but may cut across ethnic boundaries. Ethnic identification requires a minimum participating group which incorporates both sexes, all ages and all social classes. Social values are shared across these other groupings.

In many studies of ethnic identity and ethnic relations, the basic units are named ethnic entities. These are treated as defined and circumscribed units. This circumscription is social, not genetic, as there are many mechanisms by which individuals cross ethnic boundaries without compromising the integrity of the boundary (Barth 1969:9-10). Relationships between entities are frequently depicted in a tree pattern, with a hierarchy of sub-groupings, perpetuating the frequently inappropriate biological models which persist in the social sciences.

Certainly modern processes of bureaucratisation of identity have required people to identify with a named entity. Minority groups in particular are labelled in this way. Smith (1981:66) defines the features of an ethnic group as follows,

"the sense of unique group origins, the knowledge of a unique group history and belief in its destiny, one or more dimensions of collective cultural individuality, and finally a sense of unique collective solidarity."

This uncompromising definition may be appropriate to the discussion of
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ethnic identity in the modern, bureaucratised and politicised world of nation states in which Smith's discussion is based. However it may be inappropriate to other social environments.

Some prominence has been given in the literature to processes of boundary maintenance (Barth ed. 1969, Wobst 1977, Giles 1978), but the terminology employed suggests that the boundaries entirely enclose ethnic units. Doubts have, however, been cast on this concept as the absolute basis for identity. Hodder, in his studies from Africa, has indicated that the differentiation between named ethnic groups may be more or less emphatic in different geographical areas where the groups interact. This may depend on variable economic and ecological conditions which alter the degree of competition between groups (Hodder 1982:27-31). Hill (1989) has queried the procedure of defining ethnic entities in situations where minority groups have interacted closely, forming unclassifiable splinter groups. Fried's (1983) questioning of the concept of the development of the ancient Chinese state from a society of pre-existing "tribes" is also a query on the necessity to postulate bounded ethnic entities in a pre-bureaucratic society.

Cohen (1978), in a discussion of the whole concept of ethnicity, has argued in favour of a highly fluid conception in which ethnic identity is defined as situational, interactive and existing only in a context of interethnic relations (Cohen 1978:388-389). Case studies supporting this view include that of Southall (1976) on the relationships between Nuer and Dinka, categories more complex than their simple exonymic nomenclature would suggest. Difficulties of definition and the precise allocation of boundaries are also reported by Moerman (1965) for the Lue of Thailand. Benedict (1962), discussing the plural society of Mauritius, examines the changing significance of ethnic identification under altering political and economic conditions, arguing that ethnic identity is of greater significance when it corresponds to economic stratification within the community. An entire volume of papers has been produced attempting to define the ethnic identity of the Karen of northern Thailand (Keyes ed. 1979). In this volume Kunstadter (1979:119-120) divides the concept of ethnicity into three parts: ethnic group, meaning a set of individuals sharing some cultural values; ethnic identification, meaning the process of establishment of boundaries; ethnic category, meaning a class with some form of systematic categorization. These three conceptions do not necessarily lead to identical results, or to permanent categories, groups or boundaries.

Naroll's (1964) attempt to define a new term, the "cultunit", to replace
ethnic terminology in delineating culture bearing units, assumed the existence of definable bounded entities, even if these do not coincide with named ethnic identities. The existence of bounded cultural entities in prehistoric archaeology has been queried by Shennan, who, in reference to the spatial distribution of components of the Bell Beaker culture, has found the concept of a "culture" entity to conceal rather than reveal information (Shennan 1978:135). He prefers to emphasize networks and relationships as opposed to ethnic identity, which he describes as "an evanescent situational construct" (Shennan 1989:13). The problems of definition of ethnic or cultural entities lie not only in the terminology, but in the question of their very existence.

Some previous studies have investigated relationships between ethnic identity and material culture in a modern ethnographic context. The analyses of Wobst (1977) on aspects of ethnic costume in Yugoslavia and Wiessner (1983) on projectile points from the Kalahari were both based on the examination of a single class of artifact. The artifacts chosen were very different in social context. The distinctive hats examined by Wobst were chosen because they should fulfill certain criteria of visibility and capacity to display and project information. The iron projectile points of Wtessner were only capable of carrying more subtle, almost subliminal, information. Such studies are not designed to examine the totality of ways in which the material culture of a society can be used to transmit information, but to develop hypotheses for testing. Wobst's concept that material information is designed to be decoded by persons at an intermediate social distance (Wobst 1977:323-324) and his assertions that expressions of stylistic form are more likely in objects of high visibility (Wobst 1977:328-329) are both worthy of testing. Wiessner's division of style into the categories emblemic and assertive style (Wiessner 1983:256-258) is an idealization, but one with value for decoding the social information of objects.

A more comprehensive study is that of Hodder (1982), who has investigated interactions among a range of forms of material culture, and has also attempted to define a range of types of ethnic interaction in his studies from Africa. This has shown up many complexities and has indicated that, even if one regards style in material culture as a process of information signalling, this process is not necessarily carried out in a manner which maximizes efficiency and minimizes energy expenditure, as suggested by Wobst (1977:326-330). Some signals are externally directed in an active process of boundary maintenance. Others are internally directed within a society in a process of reinforcement of commonality or within-group relations (Hodder 1982:35, 55,
His conclusions on the significance of territorial or socio-economic stress in defining sharp ethnic boundaries and in their signification through material culture is a concept with particular relevance to archaeological thinking (Hodder 1979, 1982:26).

Miller's (1985) study of pottery style and variability in a village in central India does not address questions of ethnic identity, but does consider the use of material culture as an active component of social strategies. He concludes that pottery of mundane daily use is highly significant in such strategies because its functionality and triviality allows messages to be superimposed on inconspicuous items which are not in themselves a focus of attention (Miller 1985:192). This is somewhat at odds with Wobst's notions of visibility in objects which carry social signals (Wobst 1977:328-329). Miller claims that such signals should be read in combination with many other aspects of the material environment (Miller 1985:192), echoing Hodder's approach rather than the single artifact emphasis of Weissner or Wobst.

All these studies have treated style in material culture as an active participant in the conscious maintenance of social boundaries, not as passively reproduced reflections of absorbed cultural values. Such approaches are evident in studies on other aspects of boundary maintenance (eg. Barth ed. 1969).

These studies have in common an intricate examination of relationships at a particular point in time, but do not investigate in any depth how ethnic relations and their material culture correlates change over time. Hodder does refer briefly to some historical changes (eg. Hodder 1982:32), but it is not a major component of the analysis. Part of the reason for this relates to the deficiencies of working from second hand reportage. Hodder's conclusions are drawn from detailed field observations specific to the problem in hand. This gives them far greater detail than can be abstracted from general ethnographic reporting, which has a tendency towards normative description and also often ignores many apparent trivialities in variation of use of material culture. He has, in fact, blamed a lack of definitive results from a previous series of studies on material culture patterning (Hodder ed. 1978) to deficiencies in working from this type of material:

"a combing of the ethnographic and anthropological literature failed to produce detailed evidence of material culture patterning and its relationships" (Hodder 1982:1)
The material culture investigated by Hodder is all of a traditional type (Hodder 1982:17). While working in the present, there is no analysis of materials or objects perceived as intrusive, like electric torches, plastic buckets or European style clothes. The analysis is thus removed from the real present to that indefinable territory known as the ethnographic present, where nobody actually lives. It may be an analysis of tradition, but it is not an analysis of the past. In some aspects such a study parallels the rejected ethnographic descriptions, with an emphasis on normative values and traditions.

A recent collection of papers on art and identity in Oceania (Hanson ed. 1990) indicates variations in attitude to the significance of time in relation to ethnic traditionalism. One set of papers on New Guinea and Solomon Islands art devotes much energy to discovering the precise location, origin and function of artifacts hitherto poorly provenanced (Smidt, Schneebaum, Waite, Corbin). The approach implies some belief in the conservatism of tradition. Another group, on Maori art and Tongan grave decoration, specifically addresses changing art forms which are used in a modern context as ethnic identity markers (Neich, Mead, Teilhet-Fisk). Nowhere is there a discussion about the theoretical implications of the uneasy juxtaposition of these two approaches.

There is scope for a study of changing ethnic relations over time and the reflections of those changes in the art and material culture of the participants. By examining the evidence within a strict chronological framework, it should be possible to examine how the information code changes to accommodate changing circumstances. Such a study has the disadvantage that it is not possible to work from detailed first hand field observation. It is therefore necessary to devise strategies for extracting the maximum information from written accounts of various dates. This involves relying not only on ethnographies, but scanning a range of other forms of written evidence for descriptions, allusions and references. Museum collections of known date and provenance and photographic evidence of various dates can provide the visual evidence. The aim is to examine the processes of ethnic identity construction and change in action and to compare them to changes in the material expression of the groups involved. This approach means that ethnic identity, and its material expression, is regarded not as a status quo, but as a manifestation of constant processes of redefinition.

Written Evidence

The case study chosen for this task concerns relationships between
indigenous ethnic, or Dayak, groups in Borneo in the period from the middle of the 19th century to recent times, concentrating particularly on the period before the Second World War. The parts of Borneo selected for special study are the areas of Sarawak and Kalimantan occupied by the Iban, the Kayan and Kenyah and related groups. This area, these groups and this time period were chosen for a number of reasons.

Borneo has a colonial history as a place outside the mainstream of economic or political interest of the time, with forms of administration which did not immediately impose sudden and drastic changes on the lives of its inhabitants. Pre-colonial Borneo was a sparsely inhabited island whose main contacts with the outside world were via a series of independent coastal Islamic sultanates. While the Islamic rulers exercised a certain authority over the indigenous groups in their immediate vicinity, there were vast tracts of country inhabited by indigenous peoples apparently acting independently of such control (Healey 1985, Brown 1988).

There has been a continuing interest among Europeans in the inhabitants of this island, leading to a diverse literature dating from the 1840s to the present day about its occupants. While scholars may bemoan the lack of detailed ethnographic literature for some areas of the island, it is better served in both quantity and diversity of descriptive writing than many other places. Questions of ethnic identification and categorisation have been much discussed for Borneo societies. The diverse indigenous peoples of Borneo are all similar in racial type and in many cases have a very similar economic and ecological orientation. Ethnic barriers are socially maintained between groups which otherwise have much in common.

The events of the colonial history of the island have been documented in a number of books, giving a framework of reference for the indigenous events. It is not proposed to reiterate the political history of the island.¹

The specific region selected for detailed study was one in which there were many changes of ethnic identity and rearrangements of ethnic categories

¹. Some European publications (eg. Temminck 1847, Veth 1854) have documented early contacts. Irwin's (1955) account covers colonial relationships with the whole island. Sarawak has had the most extensive coverage, Baring-Gould and Bampfylde (1909) providing an early semi-official coverage with later commentary by Runciman (1960) and Tarling (1971). There are several volumes specifically about the Brookes. Tregonning (1958) and Wright (1970) have examined the history of Sabah from an institutional perspective while Brown (1969) and Singh (1984) have discussed the history of Brunei.
as strong groups such as the Iban and Kayan migrated into new territory. Weaker ones formed alliances, were absorbed by others or sought the protection of either the government or stronger groups to preserve their ethnic integrity.

This area was divided between Dutch colonial administration and the government of Sarawak, initially an independent kingdom under the control of a White Rajah who remained a British subject. It became a British Protectorate with its own eccentric form of independent colonial style government under the White Rajah until coming under British colonial control after the Second World War.

Neither the Dutch nor the British were highly interventionist in their policies with respect to native affairs on the island. Sarawak had no colonial army and no complex bureaucratic infrastructure, while the Netherlands deployed fairly minimal human resources on the island. Certainly their policies affected ethnic relations, and this is part of the history. However, actions taken to suppress warfare were not accompanied by processes causing large shifts in power relations among groups in the far interior. The existence of two competitive, and mutually disapproving, colonial regimes in the region means that there are certain checks and balances on propagandist reporting of indigenous affairs in which both parties were involved. There are some interesting divergences of reporting of certain incidents in the border regions.

The area chosen for investigation has the most detailed and comprehensive records about ethnic relations and general ethnography for the island. Some other areas, such as Sabah or large areas of West Kalimantan, are very poorly reported. The southeastern region of the island has some detailed ethnography, but poor information about how ethnic relations were conducted.

Sarawak, however, has a continuous literature from the initial encounters with the island by James Brooke to the present day. James Brooke's diaries and letters were published in various forms (Keppel 1847, Mundy 1848, Keppel 1853, Templer 1853). Later members of the family, including the wives of the White Rajahs, contributed their accounts (Brooke, C. 1866, Brooke, M. 1986, Brooke, S. 1970).

There is, from 1870 onwards, a series of accounts on native affairs in the outstation reports of the Sarawak Gazette. These provide a month by month serialisation of affairs in the various regions of the interior, from the perspective of the local government official. These reports can have a very individualistic flavour, depending on the author. Some outstation officers obviously had a
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greater interest than others in indigenous affairs and ethnic relations. Reports by Brooke Low from the Rejang, C.C. de Crespigny and Charles Hose from the Baram, O.F. Ricketts from the Trusan and Limbang, F.R.O. Maxwell and D.J.S. Bailey from the Second Division and Reginald Awdry from the First Division have provided copious information from these areas at different times. A very large amount of material concerning modern perspectives on ethnic identities and traditions, as well as material culture, is provided by the *Sarawak Museum Journal*.

Adjacent regions of the interior of East Kalimantan, such as the Mahakam river and the Apo Kayan plateau, are probably the best documented areas of Dutch, now Indonesian, Borneo. There is also more descriptive literature on the upper Kapuas region, immediately adjoining Sarawak, than on other parts of West Kalimantan. The work of modern researchers in these areas has supplemented the earlier Dutch and German literature.

The types of people whose accounts have been sifted for useful observations concerning the people and their material culture include government administrators, geologists, explorers, missionaries and pure adventurers as well as those for whom ethnography was their specific mission. Hopefully this unsubtle but comprehensive approach will go some way towards eliminating problems in working from summarised written ethnography. The descriptions of amateurs sometimes have advantages over the accounts of ethnographers in the recording of material culture, as they tend to write about what they see rather than probing for organizational aspects of society.

The period from the establishment of colonial government in the 19th century until the Second World War was one in which the ethnic identities and relationships of the indigenous people were gradually investigated and then bureaucratised. Processes of redefinition of identity which were taking place in the earlier years of the colonial era were inhibited by census taking and some form of agreement between the classifiers and those being classified as to their ethnic status.

After the incorporation of Sarawak and Sabah into Malaysia, and Dutch Borneo into Indonesia, ethnic identification developed different purposes. Ethnic identity was no longer largely a matter of maintaining boundaries between groups with competing affiliations. It was also a role played out for a third party, bureaucratic government. At stake were claims on territory and resources, and lobbying for programs of education, health, economic development and modernization. Studies on such aspects of identification in a
modern context are themselves of interest (eg. Miles 1976). However the game is played to a different set of rules. In recent times, political activities in the context of the modern nation state have reflected back on ethnic identity (Jawan 1990).

This change did not occur suddenly, but was an adaptation to the gradual encroachment of direct government on the affairs of the interior. By the early years of this century it appears that no new named ethnic groups were being created and there was a trend towards consolidation of nomenclature. Certain named groups were able to claim status as ethnic minorities and many such small scale identities survive today. Other minority groups slowly disappeared as their mechanisms for maintaining individuality were disabled. It would be foolish to presume that the situation under colonial domination was identical to that in a period without centralised control. However, in the pioneer conditions of the government of interior Borneo, the mechanisms of control were simple and clearly expressed. Their significance can be evaluated. The naive reportage of many aspects of interior affairs by the European officers who first encountered them can be confusing, but represent attempts to untangle many complex local affairs which were later simplified by governments and ethnographers.

In recent years, traditional art forms and material culture have not been produced purely for the eyes of those within specific social groups, or for those differentiated from them at a local level. Displays of traditionalism have become part of the process of national identification and pride in diversity of cultural heritage. With the steady demise of traditional religious practice in favour of Christianity, many traditional forms which were formerly invested with layers of meaning have become simplified to overt and self-conscious ethnic identifiers.

Items of traditional craftsmanship are made, not for participation in local social interaction, but for sale to outsiders. Such items can still display signals of pride in ethnic identity, but the audience has a different code of interpretation. Those who purchase such items and carry them away are not intimately engaged in local intergroup affairs. Nonetheless they may be stimulated by ownership of such objects to contribute to the affairs of the creators on a wider political or economic stage. Ethnic craft items can become a signifier for political causes. Once again studies of this aspect of modern traditionalism in material culture are of interest and value (eg. Graburn ed. 1976), but represent a shift in the use of traditional material culture for information signalling in the modern world.
Many of the items taken away by collectors in the 19th century were also made specifically for them, and the tastes of the collectors certainly contributed to the selection of items collected, but an awareness by the makers of the consequences of the translocation of their handiwork must have been more gradual. Thomas (1991) has drawn attention to the significance of the interaction between colonial and indigenous peoples in the production, movement and value of objects, even of apparently traditional items. It is not to be assumed that material culture relationships in the pioneering colonial period, even in interior Borneo, were identical to those of a pre-colonial age. However there is a period when the function of locally produced material culture, even using newly imported European or Asian materials, was primarily directed towards social interactions at a local level.

Museums

The material culture investigated for this study was drawn from a number of sources. Museum collections were explored in Britain and in Europe, while material from an earlier visit to the Sarawak Museum in Kuching and a brief visit to the Museum Negara in Kuala Lumpur was utilised. The collections visited by no means represent an exhaustive interrogation of material culture removed from Borneo, but were able to provide a considerable quantity of material. Much of the material in museum collections was found to be inadequately provenanced for a detailed study of this type. The most useful collections were those which had been assembled by a single person. If that person had also published written descriptions of their work and travels, this was the most valuable of all as the terminology of the museum catalogue had a reference and attributions were corroborated.

For this reason, my researches in late 1991 and early 1992 in Europe and Britain had a particular emphasis on the collections of A.W. Nieuwenhuis from Dutch Borneo, and those of Charles Hose from Sarawak. Other provenanced material was also examined.¹ My visit in 1988 to the Sarawak Museum was not

¹ The most intensively investigated collection was that of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, which contains, among many other things, the collections of Nieuwenhuis and those of Molengraaff and Büttikofer from various parts of interior Kalimantan in the late 19th century. The Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel and the Bernisches Historisches Museum contain collections by Schneeberger from East and southern Kalimantan in the 1930s. The Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna has a collection by Baz from the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan from the 1880s. While the individual items in the latter are not, in most cases, closely provenanced
specifically directed toward this study, but nonetheless valuable information was obtained. The Brooke Low collection, founding collection of this museum, has been described and illustrated to a large extent in publications and provides valuable information from the 1880s. Examination of photographic material in the museum and a brief trip up the Rejang gave me some valuable information about the use of funerary monuments, in particular.

There are, no doubt, other collections which could have proved useful, even to the specifics of this study. Lack of time and persistence meant that I did not examine the extensive collections in German museums, apart from in Cologne. The collection in Oslo made by the explorer Lumholz from central Borneo in the early part of this century was not pursued due to lack of knowledge of the Norwegian language (Lumholz 1920, Klausen 1957). The collections made by Furness, Hiller and Harrison in the late 19th century and held in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Katz 1988) could not be contemplated as the world is too big to fit into one postgraduate research grant, despite the fact that these collections were made on the rivers at the heart of this study. However the collections investigated provided an adequate sample of provenanced and documented material for a historical study.

There is a substantial literature on the presentation of culture in museums. A museum is not an inanimate and neutral collection of objects, but represents an engagement between individuals and cultures. The collector, acting within his own political and intellectual environment, transfers a selective image of a society to a museum, where policies of curation and display mediate in an interaction with the consumers of culture. The question must be asked as to whether such an environment is conducive to a realistic investigation of a historical culture.

...Continued...

it represents a rare coherent collection of Ibanic material from West Kalimantan. Other material from Dutch Borneo was investigated at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Museum Nusantara in Delft, the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Rotterdam, the Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw in Groningen and the Museum Justinus van Nassau in Breda. Hose collections were examined in the Museum of Mankind in London, the University Museum of Anthropology in Cambridge and the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne. The material in Cologne is not attributed directly to Hose in their records, but was obtained from a firm called Gerrard and Sons in London. This firm acted as Hose's taxidermists for his biological specimens and as selling agents (Brian Durrans, pers. comm.). The Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford contains a small amount of Hose material, as well as a collection donated by the Rajah of Sarawak in the 1920s. The Horniman Museum in London was also visited.
Much of the recent literature on museums relates to display, exploring the relationship between objects, display styles and the visiting public (Karp and Lavine ed. 1991, Falk and Dierking 1992). The history of display styles is very much engaged with theories of culture (Stocking ed. 1985). Ethnographic objects can be presented in an entirely decontexted way in an art environment (Clifford 1988:189-214, Price 1989), or there can be an involvement with the communities that claim the objects as their cultural heritage (Karp, Kreamer and Lavine ed. 1992). Populist presentations in the past included display of exotic material culture and living people in zoos or in world fairs, where they were relegated to the realm of the exotic other, along with unfortunate individuals with natural deformities (Benedict 1983:44-58). The more modern form of populist presentation is the heritage reconstruction, which itself suffers from problems of distortion of reality (Walsh 1992:95-115). Modern managerialist trends mean that museums have to pay their way, with consequent pressures towards populist activities (Ambrose and Runyard 1991, Boylan ed. 1992).

Within the modern ethnographic museum, displays of historical material such as that from colonial Borneo can look decontexted and anachronistic. Usually there is a standardised display of iconic Dayak objects without ethnic, historical or geographic reference. Items which would never be found together in any part of Borneo are placed in immediate juxtaposition, presenting a homogenised picture of Dayak culture. There is nearly always a bird mask from the Mahakam, an Iban ikat cloth, a Ngaju hampatong figure and a beaded Kenyah baby carrier along with an assortment of jewellery, engraved bamboo boxes and, of course, an elaborate parang ilang identified as a headhunting sword. There is a tendency to include only items which have had their authenticity ratified by continuing use in modern cultural and ethnic display in Borneo.

There is, however, a considerable difference between how a museum displays and how effectively it can be used for research. Griffin (1981) has indicated how museum policies of the past have led to a decrease in value of some collections for research as a result of dissipation of coherent collections. Sturtevant (1969), in his advocacy of museum studies, dubbed the period from 1840 to 1890 as the "Museum Period of Anthropology", during which the gathering of museum collections for later analysis was an important and respectable part of fieldwork. Between 1890 and 1920, museums supported fieldwork even though teaching of anthropology was carried out in universities,
so museum collections became even more important for research. Systematic collecting was steadily abandoned as an anthropological exercise in favour of the acquisition of highly priced pieces without documentation for the art market. This general pattern was also apparent in the collections from Borneo, with the most extensive and coherent collections dating from the late 19th century, and almost no collections as such after the 1930s, just assorted diverse artifacts.

Museum documentation can be seriously inadequate for detailed research. Some writers have stressed the importance of additional research on ethnohistorical sources and photographs to give the collected objects some form of historical context (Fowler and Fowler 1981, McLendon 1981). Sturtevant (1973) has also emphasized the importance of a core of objects of known provenance and date, a thorough investigation of all the museum records and the necessity for drawing on multiple collections, not always in the most obvious places.

"The museum catalog is like a bad index in a book: it helps a lot but should not be trusted to be complete or accurate." (Sturtevant 1973:45)

The impending advent of computer technology for record storage poses some interesting problems for the historian of material culture. While easing the difficulties of searches, the storage of records on databases requires a standardised nomenclature which may not reflect the terminology of the original donor of the objects. This original terminology may be eccentric or difficult, but may be very important for a historical analysis of the collection. Objects in museums are reattributed at various times by curators with particular interests or according to current theories. Annotations on index cards or accession books are not irrevocable, but erasures or corrections on electronically stored data are. The importance of original records for historical research in museum collections cannot be overstated.

The collections, on the whole, are not representative of the entire material culture of societies, but are selections based on the interests and concerns of the collectors. They tend to be biased towards the highly crafted and decorative rather than the simple and mundane. They reflect what Europeans found exciting and exotic among these societies. Collections from Borneo are heavily overloaded with the accoutrements of war and headhunting, and every collection has some colourful and monstrous masks. There are many miniature
items, such as model houses, boats, grave huts, coffins and rice mortars, which have clearly been made especially for the collector. As far as can be ascertained, these are usually accurate in their use of motif and design, and a reasonable reflection of the full sized article. However they generally represent the most elaborate and decorative form of the article, or the type which is considered to be the most definitive or correct. They convey valuable information on the aesthetic aspirations of the creators, but do not convey the variety of design and use of such objects within society.

Less well represented are the utensils of craft production, mundane domestic objects, or objects used but not made by the people from whom they were collected. Museum collections from Borneo do not convey, for example, the degree of use of mainland Asian and European pottery in daily, or non-ritual, contexts. Nor do they indicate the wearing of western, Malay or Javanese clothing by Dayaks. Objects perceived as ingeniously primitive may be represented, but rarely those seen as intrusive. Thus one might find the remains of a *damar* torch but not a kerosene lamp, a Saribas fire piston or a bamboo container with flint and steel but never a box of matches, a blowpipe and case with darts still coated in poison but not a flintlock musket. Taken uncritically, the museum collection can be a material embodiment of the ethnographic present (Clifford 1988:201-202).

The Nieuwenhuis collection in Leiden was the only one investigated which acknowledged the use of toys by Dayak children, or which contained plain functional tools, made by the Dayaks themselves for such tasks as blacksmithing and blowpipe manufacture. The Bacz collection in Vienna has the whole range of objects used in textile production, including simple rattan beaters for cleaning cotton and plain wooden troughs for dyeing thread. However, most other collections concentrate on the more decorative examples of the products of the loom and the occasional carved weaving shuttle.

The strengths of museum collections for this type of study lie in the exemplification of style, motif and design among the decorative objects which are their mainstay. They also indicate which kinds of objects are selected for decorative treatment. While they are rarely comprehensive collections of all aspects of the material culture of a society, they can reveal aspects of the past as they contain many objects which have not only dropped out of use, but which have dropped out of tradition. They reflect the collectors as well as the makers and must be approached, like any other piece of historical evidence, with an eye to the processes which selected them as well as those that produced them.
Pictorial Evidence

The other main body of visual evidence used for this study, photographs and illustrations, has been subject to some analysis in recent times. Photographic archives have been rediscovered as a source of ethnographic information, but as with other types of historical source material, the interpretation can be problematic (Steiger and Taureg 1987, Theye ed. 1989, Edwards 1992). A photograph is not a simple piece of visual evidence, but represents an interaction between the photographer, the subject and the viewer. The code of representation and the context of the photograph are essential for interpretation (Sherer 1992). The term "visual anthropology" was coined initially in relation to the use of still photography and movie film in contemporary ethnographic recording (Collier 1967, Hockings ed. 1975). Its use in relation to the interpretation of early photographic material, recorded in a different political and intellectual environment, is a later development.

For this study, as well as published photographs, a few selected archives were investigated. I was fortunate in being able to see some of the personal collection of the late Mrs Hedda Morrison. A comprehensive investigation of photographic archives would be a mammoth, but fascinating, task.

The earliest published pictures of Dayaks were prints, either lithographs, woodcuts or engravings. These have certain iconographic characteristics which indicate how the acquisition of information for the image and the procedure of production influenced the final product. Very few of these prints were taken from life drawings in the field, although a series of illustrations in the *Illustrated London News* of 1849, the prints in Marryat (1848) from the Sarawak of James Brooke's time and the splendid colour lithographs of people and their works from the Mahakam in Bock (1985) evidently were. However, even these had to go through the hands of a platemaker before they could be reproduced.

Some were taken from early photographs. The woodcut frontispiece from Volume 2 of Charles Brooke's (1866) *Ten Years in Sarawak* is a very close copy of a photograph [Plate 1]. The very fine lithographs in Perelaer's (1870) *Ethnographische Beschrijving der Dajaks* are also copied from photographs. In this case the people depicted were photographed in a studio, but in the

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1. These were the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Basel Mission and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel, the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. The archives of the Royal Anthropological Institute in London had been visited on an earlier occasion.
lithographs they have been placed in a tropical landscape background [Plate 2, 3]. The lithographs are very accurate renditions of the people and material culture of the photographs, but the photographs themselves give the impression of being assembled from a series of objects arranged around a model. Thus a Dayak from the Kapuas river (Perelaer 1870, frontispiece) and one from the Dusun, or Barito (Perelaer 1870, facing p.62), are shown in different clothes but carrying an identical shield [Plate 3]. The shield is drawn in great detail, and represents a decorative type which is highly distinctive to the southeastern region of Kalimantan in the 19th century, but whether from the Kapuas or the Barito can no longer be determined. A much reproduced photograph of a Dayak lady taken by Lambert and Co. of Singapore was used for a lithograph illustrating an article on women's costume from the Mahakam (Tromp 1890, Pl.III) [Plate 4, 5].

In many cases it seems the artists and printmakers worked from a combination of written description, a standardised library of posed human figures and items of material culture either supplied to them or in museums. They also evidently borrowed from each other, as poses or particular figures appear in a very similar manner in different works, and sometimes even in different media. Thus the Saribas Dayak produced in lithographic form in Marryat (1848, facing p.79) stands in the same pose, wears the same tapered loincloth and padded jacket and carries the same long handled sword as one of the Lundu Dayaks reproduced in engraved form in Mundy (1848, Vol.1, facing p.22) [Plate 6]. However the Saribas Dayak also wears an item which was supposed to distinguish him from a Lundu Dayak, a series of rings around the shell of each ear. A close examination of the lithograph shows that it has been drawn as if the rings are not attached to his ears, but to a flat plate suspended in front of his ears [Plate 6C]. Such sets of earrings are often displayed in museum collections attached to a thin piece of wood, and it seems the printmaker must have used such an object for reference. This same figure, as well as the figure of a Segai Dayak from Marryat (1848, facing p.88) appear in livelier poses in an engraving of a Dayak head dance in Greenwood's (1866:120) novel The Adventures of Reuben Davidger, a "ripping yarn" of shipwreck, piracy and headhunting in Borneo [Plate 7].

The engravings in Reuben Davidger are interesting in that the figures of the Dayaks themselves are grotesque caricatures of ferocious natives of indeterminate ethnicity. However their material culture has in some cases been drawn accurately. A decorative arrangement of Dayak weapons (Greenwood
Chapter 1

1866:156) could have come from the store of one of a number of museums, with many types represented that are now extinct in Borneo [Plate 8]. However material culture was not always accurately depicted. Two identical shields appear in the Lundu Dayak engraving (Mundy 1848, Vol.1, facing p.22) and the Segai lithograph in Marryat (1848, facing p.88). However in this case the shield is unlike any found in Borneo, save for the tufts of attached hair [Plate 9]. It is unclear whether the object was simply copied from one print to another, or whether some inappropriate real model was used for both.

Many prints give the impression of being carefully portrayed collections of material culture, artfully arranged around a human form. The illustrations, evidently done by several hands, of Müller's travels around the southern rivers (Müller 1839-44) illustrate many objects now in the Müller collection in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. Some of these are depicted displayed on human forms. These images have in turn served as models for later depictions [Plate 10, 11]. In such illustrations, as with the Perelaer examples, the individual items may be presumed to be accurately depicted, but there is no guarantee as to their use in that particular ensemble.

Other prints convey material culture with less detail and accuracy, but may use some particular item to give the image an identity. Some of the illustrations in Mundy (1848, Vol.1, facing p.261, 328) are fairly crude depictions of savage headhunters. There is little detail or accuracy in the depiction of their weapons, clothes or shields, which appear to have been modelled on examples from New Guinea. However the distinctive hooped earrings of the Saribas and Skrang Dayaks are depicted in a minimal way [Plate 12]. The portrait of a Dayak youth in Wallace (1874:66) could have been drawn from verbal description using the elements of headcloth, earrings, necklace of beads, bracelet and spear without reference to the particularities of detail of any of those objects [Plate 13A]. The prints are almost exclusively of people in traditional dress and in traditional settings, conveying the exoticism of the people and locations. Only a couple of lithographs of Sea Dayaks in St John (1863, Vol.1: facing p.5) show them wearing trousers, for example, in tandem with their elaborate earrings [Plate 13B, C].

The prints make a definite statement about the European perception of the Dayak. Some images emphasize their savage and warlike characteristics, some their nakedness. Others emphasize the elaboration of their costume, focussing on exoticism and glamour. Unusual and different aspects of their lifeways are exemplified by depictions of longhouses, suspension bridges and
canoes [Plate 14]. The repertoire of images invoked is actually quite small.

Similar conventions are used in early photographs, although it can reasonably be assumed that the details of objects in the pictures are accurate. However, as already discussed, the procedure for construction of the scene to be photographed is not always known. Many of the earliest photographs which have found their way into archives have limited information as to provenance. Edwards (1982) has discussed the difficulties of provenancing the photographs collected by C.W. Dammann in the early 1870s for the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgesichte. Copies of many of these photographs are in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

Some early photographs are mainly concerned with racial types, and consist of full face and profile views of heads or complete bodies. The more interesting ones present exotic images crammed with material culture for the edification and astonishment of a European market. There is a convention of presentation that survived to the end of the 19th century, in which subjects posed in their best finery, carrying certain material attributes to identify themselves. Many of these were taken in studios, sometimes in rather incongruous settings. However, some of the superb photographs taken on location in central Borneo by Demmeni for Nieuwenhuis’s (1900, 1904) publications have something of this character, with subjects artfully posed with their paddles, rice winnows, baskets or *parangs* [Plate 15].

The photographs produced for Nieuwenhuis and Hose were designed to edify. Hose has, in fact, been named as one of the earliest truly ethnographic photographers who attempted to show the life, the crafts and the appearance of the people in their natural setting (Wolf 1989:337), although Wolf appears to have overlooked Demmeni’s work. Some, such as those produced by Lambert and Co. of Singapore in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, were largely for the entertainment of tourists and visiting dignitaries. As such they were a form of visual propaganda for imperial processes and presented an image consistent with the benign spread of progress over the colourful savages of the east (Falconer 1987:30-31). One such album in the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden, entitled *Album Souvenir de Voyage Sumatra-Borneo* was apparently destined for an eminent visitor to the coal mines of East Kalimantan. As well as some widely disseminated Lambert prints of Dayaks, it had photographs of the coal mines and their employees, the palace and theatrical company of the Sultan of Kutai and a Land Dayak headhouse labelled as the palace of an important interior Dayak chief. Romantic imagery took
precedence over strict scientific accuracy and the market value of exotica could intrude. One traveller in the late 19th century was disgusted to discover that two photographs, of a Dayak man and a young woman, which he had purchased on Java, were in fact images of Javanese servants of the photographer, who had also disguised themselves as Bataks from Sumatra and people of various islands for other photographs (Baessler 1890:494).

The Lambert photographs, and some others of this genre such as those reproduced in Beccari (1904) and evidently taken by no less a personage than the Ranee of Sarawak herself (Beccari 1904:xi), present a highly glamourised image of the Dayak. All the subjects are young and incredibly beautiful. Their clothing, while no doubt accurate in general type, is of the most extravagant form. The women wear all their jewellery and festive adornments even when sitting down to weave at their looms. The folds in the headcloths of the men are extraordinary, while their long teardrop earrings seem to be a photographic conceit to emphasize the line of their necks and shoulders [Plate 16, 17, 18].

Later visitors to Borneo managed, with the aid of more portable photographic equipment, to produce photojournalistic works. However, even the finest examples of this genre, such as the works of Tillema (1938, 1989) in the Apo Kayan in the 1920s or those of Hedda Morrison (1957, 1962) in Sarawak in the 1950s and 1960s, are selected in such a way that they give visual shape to the ethnographic present, excluding as many modern intrusions as possible. Such photographs tend to focus on traditionalism, managing to give the lie to Mead's (1975:5) assertion that it was reliance on words which gave ethnography its projection into a remembered past, while photography represents a faithful documentation of the present. An amusing example is a picture of Kayan girls in Wong (1960: P1.31), in which the unease of the young women at being photographed in traditional topless dress is apparent by their nervous smiles, extravagant contraction of their abdominal muscles and hunching of their shoulders.

Modern published photographs tend to emphasize ceremonies and dancing, the wearing of traditional clothing, the practice of traditional handicrafts and the donning of equipment formerly associated with headhunting. There is a feeling that the modern is merely a reflection of the greater world and no longer unique, but the fact that the sole garage in Belaga, on the upper Rejang, repairs only outboard motors indicates that adaptations to modern material culture can still have unique features. I neglected to photograph it due to an enthusiasm for funerary monuments.
The three main classes of evidence for this study, written description, museum collections of material culture and photography, are all incomplete records of the material culture of a society and its use in all aspects of life. Each body of evidence documents a relationship between the recorder and the subjects of study. There is no unbiased witness. By combining these sets of information, one is not simply using an additive process to achieve something closer to total truth. Rather, different sets of relationships are being compared, the motivations of the recorders assessed and an attempt made to cut across the strategies of the recorders to elucidate something of the relationships of the various subjects of study with each other, rather than with the recorder.

Some Matters of Definition

Over the period under scrutiny there have been changes in ethnic terminology, as well as in the political divisions of the island. The nature of the changes in ethnic terminology is discussed in the next chapter. As far as political and geographic terminology is concerned, even the terms Sarawak and Brunei have very different ramifications over the course of the 19th century. I have tried, as much as possible, to use the terminology appropriate to the period under discussion although this does lead to some difficulties. When discussing the relationships of the 1840s, Sarawak means the Sarawak of the 1840s and Brunei means the Brunei of the 1840s, much smaller and much larger respectively than their counterparts today.

As well as political divisions, there are broad geographical divisions which are significant in their effect on ethnic relationships. Borneo is essentially an island of rivers, which have formed the main, sometimes the only transport and communication link between communities. The land near their banks formed the only areas of habitation by agriculturists on the edges of what was once dense primary rainforest. A couple of fairly recent attempts by modern jungle heroes to find out why there were blank areas on the map of East Kalimantan, and possibly to discover a lost tribe or two, found waterfalls, leeches and some genuine rainforest (Blair 1988:228-259, Gersi 1987). None of the Dayaks are lost. They live by the rivers.

In Indonesian Borneo the rivers which flow to the west define the province of Kalimantan Barat, or West Kalimantan. The southward flowing rivers define the modern provinces of Kalimantan Tengah and Kalimantan Selatan, Central and South Kalimantan. This whole region was referred to by the Dutch as Southeast Borneo. I have also referred to it as southeastern
Kalimantan, more as a general geographical description than an ethnic or political region. In the province of Kalimantan Timur, or East Kalimantan, the rivers flow to the east coast. In Sarawak they meander their way to the northwest coast while in Sabah they fan out to all points in a northerly orientation.

Crosscutting these geographic and political divisions there is a region which is defined by its people and culture, referred to as central Borneo. Rousseau (1990:1-5) has elucidated the definition of this region, home to a number of ethnic groups with related histories and cultures. It includes interior Sarawak, parts of West and East Kalimantan and border regions of Sabah. Its existence as a cultural entity testifies to the continuing relationships across political boundaries among its inhabitants, only interrupted by the Confrontation of the early 1960s. Central Borneo as a cultural and ethnic region is not to be confused with Central Kalimantan, or Kalimantan Tengah, as a political division. The latter is home to the Ngaju and Ot Danum ethnic groups, quite distinct from the Kayan and Kenyah groups of central Borneo.

I have used the word Dayak to mean all non-Muslim indigenous peoples of Borneo. This usage was practised in the 19th century by the Dutch, although it was not used in this sense in Sarawak and Sabah, where it was confined to the Iban and Bidayuh groups. However there is an increasing trend towards this usage which has been intensified by recent political events in Sarawak (Jawan 1990). If it was not quite correct until recently, it is rapidly becoming accepted.

For specific ethnic names, I have attempted to use terms which are appropriate to the period under discussion, with the addition of certain modern classificatory terms for clarification if necessary. Thus, in James Brooke's time there were Sea Dayaks and Land Dayaks; in modern Sarawak there are Iban and Bidayuh. A simple transposition of modern terms is not appropriate, as old and new terms do not always mean exactly the same thing. A theme of this thesis is not just to untangle this confusion, but to understand something of the significance of the fact that the confusion is there.

I have included an appendix which attempts to untangle, or at least present the tangles, of ethnic terminology in Borneo. Because the evidence for material culture for this study has been drawn from a range of sources, material, pictorial and descriptive, I have included an appendix and annotated bibliography outlining the range of material used.

I have approached the central problem of the relationship between two cultural features, ethnicity and material culture, which are both changing over
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time, from several different points of view. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 I have examined the history of ethnic categorisation in Borneo in general, and examined in more detail the history of changing ethnic identity in areas under the influence of the migrating Iban and central Borneo peoples. In Chapter 5 I have taken an overview of the island and attempted to define some large material culture complexes in ethnic terms. In Chapters 6 and 7 I have examined the changing patterns of art styles and material culture use among the Iban and central Borneo peoples. In Chapter 8 I have used the material from the previous chapters to discuss the social function of objects, especially in relation to their role in the definition of ethnic identity. In the final chapter I have attempted to integrate these approaches into a dynamic pattern of culture and identity. Some generalising principles about the communicative power of objects can be extrapolated beyond Borneo and into the prehistoric past.
CHAPTER 2: PERCEPTIONS OF ETHNICITY

Ages and Stages of Ethnic Perception

Over the time period that Europeans have been writing about the indigenous peoples of Borneo, the terminology they have used to identify groups of people has changed. This reflects both changes in ethnic self-identification by groups of people and changes in the perception of ethnic identity and relationships by the writers.

It is possible to detect fairly distinctive phases in the relationships between colonial observers and indigenous peoples in the history of both the British and Dutch areas of Borneo. The period up to about 1840 is characterised by lack of direct knowledge and contact between outsiders and the indigenous inhabitants of areas outside the major trading ports. Trading bases and factories established by outside powers were of a temporary nature, succumbing to sea piracy, disease or sheer lack of profitability.

From around 1840 to 1880 a more permanent colonial presence was set up by the White Rajah of Sarawak and at the major Dutch stations in western and southeastern Kalimantan. The first major interactions between Europeans and the Dayaks were involved with the establishment of James Brooke as the White Rajah of Sarawak in 1841 (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:73) and the founding of missions in southeastern Kalimantan by the Rheinisch Mission in 1836. Mission stations were established on the Kapuas Murong, or Pulaupetak, in 1839 and 1840 (Witschi 1942:10-12). There was bloodshed in both these regions during the course of establishing colonial control. The most remote interior regions were still unknown territory.

From the 1880s onward a great deal of energy was devoted to the discovery of the interior. Sarawak annexed the Baram, Trusan and Limbang areas from Brunei, continuing a process which had been going on since the initial creation of the rajahdom of Sarawak. North Borneo, currently Sabah, had been handed over to the Chartered Company. The Rheinisch Mission, having been forced to abandon its efforts from 1859 to 1866, extended its work into the uppermost regions of the southern rivers. The Dutch sent parties of exploration into the interior, and set up a civil and military post at Long Nawang, on the Apo Kayan plateau in the very heart of the island. Natural scientists, military men, geological prospectors and explorers carried on a tradition of exploring the heart of Borneo.

A great deal of ethnographic and exploration literature appeared during
Perceptions of Ethnicity

this period, and attempts were made to define and describe peoples from all over the island. Ethnic nomenclature became more standardised across the colonial borders, although there were differences of perception about the relationships between ethnic groups in different areas.

During the Second World War the indigenous peoples of interior Borneo were exposed to aspects of outsiders which they had not encountered before. Post-war events brought irreversible economic and political change as the indigenous peoples of Borneo were incorporated into the modern nation states of Indonesia and Malaysia.

In this recent period, indigenous peoples themselves have made contributions to the written records of their traditional life. Ethnicity has developed a political aspect. There is a self-conscious urgency in the collection of traditions, oral histories and ethnographica from societies in a situation of rapid social and political change.

Raiders and Traders

The first descriptions of the indigenous inhabitants of Borneo come from visitors seeking trade and profit. They visited the ports, and contact with the indigenous people was deliberately prevented by the town traders, who did not want their role as middlemen shortcircuited.

These early visitors presented an image of Borneo as a place of isolated Islamic sultanates, with a few mysterious hints of unknown savage and exotic peoples in the dark interior. The mariner's viewpoint was restricted by the nature of the ports, and even Conrad's Borneo novels, written much later, only ever hint at Dayaks as something unknown and dangerous in the distant background. Some 18th century writers were fully preoccupied with resources, potential profit and the navigability of rivers rather than native inhabitants (eg. Valentijn 1858, von Hohendorff 1862).

The Chinese of the Ming dynasty were evidently aware of a group called the Beaju in the Banjermasin region, but also of an uncivilised tribe called the "Wu-lung-li-tan" or "O-lung-li-tan" who had tails and traded in gold dust (Groeneveldt 1880:107). This confusion between human and simian indigenes

1. Pigafetta, in his description of the visit of Magellan's expedition in 1520, described only the splendours of the court of the Sultan of Brunei (Nowell 1962:185-190). Even in 1814, Captain Basil Hall of the British Navy paid a visit to the Sultan of Pontianak without being aware of more than the Sultan's palace and the Malays and Chinese of the town (Hall 1931:240-255).
was perpetuated in an engraving in Beeckman's account of his adventures in the Banjarmasin region in 1713 [Plate 19]. He got a glimpse of some Beajus (Beeckman 1973:43), but seems also to have confused them with sea Bajaus whom he encountered in pirate boats (pp.51-54). A Portuguese missionary had worked among the Beajus of the Barito in the late 17th century, but his accounts have been filtered through a screen of Catholic Christian mythologising (Nicholl 1972). The term Dayak, or Dajakker, was also used for inhabitants of this region by some writers, but equally the term Beaju was misapplied to inhabitants of West Kalimantan (Radermacher 1784:119-139). The term Beaju was not being used in a sense of ethnic specificity, but simply as a regional term for a native of Borneo.

Late 18th century visitors to the northern part of the island under the control of the Sultan of Sulu used different terminology. Forrest (1969:368-370) referred to both Idahan and Murut, but did not apparently know how to differentiate the two. He used the term Orang Bajau to refer to the boat dwelling fishers and traders of the northern coastal waters. Another group mentioned specifically by Forrest was the piratical Orang Tidong, or Tirun, of the northeast coast (Forrest 1969:374-375). Dalrymple used the term Idahan for the indigenous people of the northern part of Borneo, but considered this to be simply a regional name (Dalrymple 1808:60-64). He did not actually interview these Idahan, but was provided with information about them by the Sulus.

The Dayaks of Sambas and Pontianak on the west coast appeared in the port regions in order to trade for salt (Anon. 1827, Earl 1837:210, 219, 246). Earl claimed that the tribes of Dayaks living along the large rivers were "generally under the dominion of one more powerful than the rest", while those who lived in the forests were in small, independent communities. He hinted at more powerful tribes in the interior (Earl 1837:254-255). He also referred to a powerful and aggressive tribe of seafaring Dayaks from regions to the north of Sambas. These people made huge canoes and rampaged down the coast devastating local communities and headhunting (Earl 1837:270, 312). This is the first specific reference to Sea Dayak coastal raiding.

An odd gentleman by the name of Mr Dalton (1831) gave an early account of the Dayaks of the Mahakam region, having travelled upriver with boatloads of warring Dayaks to watch the action. That was what he claimed, but it seems possible that he just listened to a few upcountry yarns while under some kind of house arrest by his unwilling host, the Sultan of Kutai. After all, he did claim that "all over the face of the country, the remains of temples and pagodas
are to be seen, similar to those found on the continent of India, bearing all the
traits of Hindoo mythology" (Dalton 1831:41). The few small pieces of Hindu
statuary that have been found secreted in caves in the Kutai region, and a
couple of ancient inscriptions, hardly square with this extravagant description.
His supposedly first hand descriptions of the effects of blowpipe poison and of a
blood mixing ceremony with a Dayak chief are so melodramatic as to suggest a
shred of truth mixed with an imagination fired by long and lonely
contemplation. He identified Dayak groups by the names of war leaders rather
than a specific ethnic terminology. Mr Dalton has been much quoted as an early
observer of Dayaks, but I suspect that his observations were secondhand.

Mr Dalton also claimed to have met the nomadic people of the region.
The term Punan had already been reported for nomadic peoples living in the
central ranges of Borneo "in the very rudest state of savage life" (Leyden
1814:93). The nomads of Borneo were therefore not unknown, but were
undoubtedly uncontacted.

Two accounts from the early 19th century give lists of the tribes of
Borneo Proper, or the territory of the Sultan of Brunei. These lists must have
been collected in Brunei town from Malay officials, and as such give an
interesting picture of how the indigenous people were conceptualised from the
centre of power. The lists are not identical, but they have certain features in
common. They include, as might be expected, very specific and localised names
for groups living close to the town of Brunei, such as Bisaya, Narom, Dalis,
Tabun, Kwijao and Tagal. They contain some very diffuse terms for peoples
living at a distance from Brunei, such as Dusun, Murut, Sundayak and Dayak.
They contain no specific terms from the upper Baram region, not even the term
Kenyah, but they do contain some very specific and localised terms from the
Rejang, such as Kajaman and Kanowit. The sets of names reflect the existing
pattern of Brunei control and influence over the landscape rather than any
comprehensive picture of ethnic identity at the time.

The general picture presented by these raiders and traders is of a large
island occupied at the major river mouths by immigrant trading communities.

1. The lists are, in original spelling Malay, Suluk, Bajao, Dusum, Illanun, Kadayan, Bisaya, Murut, Kalamut, Tutung, Kyajoo, Kayan, Dayak, Tatao, Kanawit and Melando (Anon 1821:2), and Murut, Kayan, Bisaya, Tabun, Punan, Daya, Tatow, Kanawit, Siting, Bukatan, Sundaya, Dali, Baung, Taring, Kajaman, Agis, Tagar, Dusun, Bajow, Narun and Milanow (A Correspondent
1838:133).
The indigenous people were seen as having some diversity of custom, but were essentially one people with some very spectacular cultural features in common, including headhunting and superstitious rituals. The distinction between Dayaks and non-Dayaks could be seen as religious: Dayaks were never Muslim. It could be seen in terms of habits of warfare: Dayaks used blowpipes and cut off heads. It could be seen in economic terms: Dayaks were agriculturists, not traders.

Some confusion surrounds the use of the term Dayak. The most common assertion about its origin is that it derives from a Brunei Malay and Melanau word for interior people, and although regional, was not a term of ethnic specificity. The daya root also appears in such ethnic terms from the western coastal region as Bidayuh, Kendayan or Kadayan. However it was appropriated by Dutch and German writers to mean any non-Islamic native of Borneo, despite the protestations of English writers (Roth 1896, Vol.1:39-43) who had started using it as a term of ethnic specificity, albeit for two diverse groups, the Land Dayaks and the Sea Dayaks. It appeared in pre-colonial lists of the "tribes" of Borneo (Hunt 1812, Leyden 1814). The Dutch usage has gradually gained ground. The Sea Dayaks are now generally referred to as Iban, and the Land Dayaks as Bidayuh.

The names used for different groups of Dayaks were regional rather than ethnic. Names such as Beaju or Idahan were seen as regional terms for indigenous people in general. Terms like Dusun, Murut or Kayan designated people of a broadly defined region with a different identity to that of their informants. Terms like Kanowit or Tatau were used for people from a particular local region or community, but such terms contained no information as to the cultural affiliation or self-conscious ethnic identity of their bearers.

The seagoing trader had no means of knowing how these various communities interacted. Relations between inland indigenous communities were thought to be localised and unfriendly, based on reciprocal headhunting raids and warfare. The cultural features which Dayak groups shared all over the island were attributed to their common origin as the original inhabitants of the island.

**Colonial Establishment in Sarawak**

Sarawak was not the first area of Borneo to be colonised by Europeans, but because of its initial localised focus, dramatic early colonial history and later expansion it provides an interesting first case study of changing ethnic perception. According to Irwin, the foundation of Sarawak was the single most
MAP 3 - SARAWAK

Major rivers

Dates for acquisition of territory from Brunei

Major ethnic groups as perceived before 1880
important event in the colonial history of Borneo, precipitating actions by both the Netherlands and British governments (Irwin 1955:v). In 1838 the area was first visited by James Brooke, a man with extraordinary motivation who founded a colonial rajahdom unlike any other in the East Indies.

The descriptions of the Dayaks of Sarawak and surrounding territories in these early days come from sources with a common purpose. The writers were united against what they were passionately convinced was unjust criticism by influential people back home in Britain of James Brooke and his actions against piracy on the west coast of Borneo. Brooke's own diaries were published in various extracts (Mundy 1848, Keppel 1847, 1853) as well as his private letters (Templer ed. 1853). Various British naval personnel who were sympathetic to his cause published their own accounts (Bethune 1846, Belcher 1848, Marryat 1848). Officials from Britain who were supporters of the regime published their descriptions of the state of the country and its people (Low 1848, St John 1863). The Tuan Muda, Charles Brooke, who was to become the second Rajah, gave a rollicking account of his part in the affairs of the day (Brooke 1866). The particular involvement of these people in the cause of supporting the Sarawak regime undoubtedly gives even their descriptive accounts a certain colour.

The natives of the small area that was Sarawak in the early 1840s were in a somewhat distressed condition at the time. They had been subjected to raids from powerful and unruly fellow Dayaks in the east who had burned villages, taken heads and captured slaves. They had been engaged in rebellion against the authority of Brunei. They were also involved in a continuing, unrelenting process of reciprocal headhunting among themselves. However, these people were represented in the accounts of the day as meek and peaceable (Bethune 1846:298, Boyle 1865:26), or in a more negative appraisal, as indolent and oppressed (Denison 1874, quoted in Roth 1896, Vol.1:67, Wallace 1874:90, Chalmers nd, quoted in Roth 1896, Vol.1:68).

These Sarawak natives were reputedly not addicted to headhunting, but only took the heads of their enemies, although it would appear that their enemies consisted of everyone who was not a member of their own village or one with a closely related recent history. The "tribal" names applied to all these Sarawak Dayak groups were actually names for small clusters of villages, and there are immense lists of them in the various British accounts of events from this time.

James Brooke divided the many small groups into two main classes, Land and Sea Dayaks (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:235). This division, and the general
perception of the major characteristics of the two groups, played an important part in later ethnic politics.

He based his division on an assortment of observations. Their languages were perceptibly different (Keppel 1847:164, 227, 358). Only the Sea Dayaks were competent boatmen (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:226, Mundy 1848, Vol.1:198). Only the Land Dayaks built head houses for community ownership of heads (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:231). The Land Dayaks were very fragmented, while some of the Sea Dayaks were able to form larger scale alliances for purposes of warfare (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:364, Templer1853, Vol.1:130-1)). The Sea Dayaks had transvestite priests while the Land Dayaks did not (Mundy 1848 Vol.2:65-6, Low 1848:262). The Land Dayaks were noted for lavishing rather more care and artistic attention on the heads they collected than the Sea Dayaks did (Low 1848:304-5).

The terms Land Dayak and Sea Dayak were used because there was no indigenous term to unify the many branches of these two groups, or to differentiate them from each other. It is not true, in the small area of territory that was Sarawak at that time, that the Land Dayaks were meek and peaceable and the Sea Dayaks were aggressive and competitive. "Mr Brooke’s favourite Dayaks" (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:363), the Sibuyau, were a Sea Dayak group who had suffered as much as the Land Dayaks at the hands of their aggressive eastern neighbours, and they were one of the first groups to desire protection in order to live a quiet life. One branch of this group, the Lundu Dayaks, had split away from the main group and was living separately in the middle of Land Dayak territory. This was the first ethnic tourist attraction of Sarawak, as visiting dignitaries and British naval commanders were taken there regularly to visit a community of headhunters in safety.

The aggressive, unruly and reckless Sea Dayaks lived outside the Sarawak borders of the early 1840s. These were the Saribas and Skrang Dayaks, originating in the rivers of those names. These were the pirates, the headhunters and the villains. They acquired their strength by forming alliances, and attacking others at a distance rather than conducting perpetual petty feuds among themselves. The myth that Sea Dayaks never attacked each other developed from this capacity. This was stated by Low (1848:174), even though in another part of his book he described how the Lundu were supplied with cannon to protect them against the Saribas and Skrang (p.220). The Balau branch of the Sea Dayaks were reportedly friendly with the Sibuyau but at deadly feud with the Saribas (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:221). The Undups had also been driven from
their lands on the Batang Luper by the Saribas (Keppel 1853:408). Sandin (1967a) has documented many folk historical accounts by the Sea Dayaks themselves of their internal feuds before and after colonial intervention.

The attribution of the characteristics of the Saribas and Skrang Dayaks to Sea Dayaks in general was popularised in the debate following the battle of Beting Maru in 1849, when strong criticisms were made in the British Parliament of the severity of the actions against the Saribas pirates and the role of the British Navy in the exercise. Captain Henry Keppel took his staunch support of the Brooke regime into print.

"If they are 'Sea Dyaks' (including those of the large rivers), 'Coast Dyaks', 'Wild Dyaks' they are almost invariably PIRATES. If they are 'Land Dayaks', 'Hill Dyaks', 'Mild Dyaks' - they may be 'harmless, inoffensive people', as respects piracy; though except in the regenerated province of Sarawak, they will still collect human heads." (Keppel 1853:200)

The ethnic differences between Land and Sea Dayaks had become politicised into generalisations about their character. The Saribas Dayak had become the prototypical Sea Dayak.

Brooke had little opportunity to examine the different indigenous peoples who lay outside his area of control. The Kayans were a powerful tribe of the interior, but the Malay chiefs would simply not allow him to proceed up the Rejang to contact these interior people (Mundy 1848, Vol.2:24). He had to be content with stories from natives who had met them.

He seemed fascinated by reports and occasional glimpses of people who tattooed themselves extensively (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:19, Vol.2:123, Low 1848:335, Keppel 1847, Vol.1:87-8). He thought these might be Kayans, but discovered that Kayans were not all that heavily tattooed (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:259). The expression "tattooed race" became something of an ethnic identifier for some little known interior peoples in 19th century English writings.

The Melanau people lived in the coastal regions to the north of Sarawak. Brooke regarded them as having been heavily influenced by the Islamic populations of the coastal regions. He also described them as "inoffensive" (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:358), which meant that in those roaring days they claimed very little of his attention.

At this time, English writers tended to use the term Kayan for all the inhabitants of central Borneo whom they had not yet been able to contact. These people had a reputation for being fierce and well organised, but the term
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had little meaning at that time. For some years, Kayans always seemed to be the people who lived just beyond the point of European contact.

There was a concept that the interior peoples of Borneo consisted of multitudinous small groups perpetually in a state of petty warfare, their contact with the outside world and other distant tribes limited by the proximity of their enemies. This was perhaps an extrapolation of the condition of the Land Dayaks in Sarawak at that time. In 1846 the Sultan of Brunei had numerous members of his own family murdered because of their complicity with the British. Captain Mundy noted that this news had been rapidly conveyed to Kanowit, on the Rejang, along with the "fame of Mr Brooke", suggesting an effective network of communication in the interior (Mundy 1848, Vol.2:124-5).

In the late 1840s a Mr Robert Burns set off from Brunei and crossed via the coastal rivers and overland to the upper Rejang, thus becoming the first European to make contact with the real inland Kayans (Logan 1849:138-9). Burns attempted to narrow the definition of Kayans by listing the names of the other, mostly tributary, tribes which lived between them and the coast.¹ The true Kayans had fairly recently moved into the lower regions of the Rejang occupied by these tribes, and to the Baram system from the Balui, or upper Rejang. The Kayans were found to be very proud, and had contemptuous appellations for other groups. The downriver people they called Kajang, and the Sea Dayaks they called Hivan (Burns 1849:144-5).

A small controversy indicated something of the confusion that was to follow in the ascription of ethnic labels, and in working out the relationships between ethnic schemes developed in different parts of the island. A German missionary working with the Ngaju people in southeastern Kalimantan had reported that the people there had some unusual sexual practices, including institutionalised prostitution with female religious functionaries.

The missionary, Mr Hupé, had discussed the matter with James Brooke on a visit to Sarawak, and the latter had duly reported it in his diary, with a note that such things did not apply to the Sea Dayaks (Mundy 1848, Vol.2:2). The editor of the journal which published Mr Burns' account noted that the term Kayan was nearly synonymous with the name of a major river in southern Kalimantan, the Kahayan, and that Mr Burns had therefore visited a western

¹. These were the Kanowit, Bukitan, Lugat, Tanjong, Tatau, Balingian, Punan, Sekapan, Kajaman, Bintulu and Tilian (Burns 1849:141).
branch of this great people, as described by Mr Hupé (Logan 1849:139). Mr Burns, in defence of his hosts, accused Mr Hupé of "slanderously" maligning these people in producing "so notoriously unfounded a report" (Burns 1849:142). An anonymous correspondent wrote an indignant letter to the journal in answer to Mr Burns, demanding "the retraction of a charge so rashly and groundlessly advanced" against the unexceptionable authority of the man of the cloth (A Friend to the Absent 1849). St John (1863, Vol.1:123) did not believe the account given by this missionary of the "Southern Kayans" but concluded that it was probably just a mistake caused by "his want of knowledge of the language". Mr Hupé had, meanwhile, published an account of the people under his care in a Dutch journal (Hupé 1846). Despite all the shock and indignation, the two parties were discussing quite different groups of people.

Kayans were further investigated by St John when he visited the Baram River by steamer, as the first European into this particular area. He reported that the relatively few Kayans in this area were recent immigrants from the Balui, or Rejang, and that the original inhabitants of the Baram were Kenyahs and Muruts, while Sebops lived mainly on the Tinjar. (S. 1851)

The Rejang River became the focus for Brooke’s colonial activities in the late 1840s and 1850s. The native communities of the Rejang mouth were Melanau fishermen. Kayans, it was claimed, could be encountered at Sarakei (Bethune 1846:299), although presumably these were visiting Kayans from upriver. The longhouses at Sarakei and Sibu belonged to two groups, those of the Rejang Melanaus and those of the Sibu Sea Dayaks (Low 1848:364-5). The Kanowits further upriver were considered to be a morally and mentally inferior downriver branch of the Kayans. The Tanjongs, Punans, Kajamans and Sekapans encountered by Burns lay between Kanowit and the true Kayans.

The events which followed the murder of Fox and Steele in Kanowit on the Rejang in 1859 and the later punitive expedition to the Kayans of the upper Rejang by Charles Brooke in 1863 involved various confusions of ethnic identity. The expedition produced some serious randomly directed bloodshed

1. Of the three conspirators to the murder, who were sheltering with the Kayan, one was reputedly a Muka Melanau, one a Kanowit and one was half Ukit and half Tanjong (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:293). The Sea Dayaks who were attempting to move into the Rejang had complained about attacks and treachery from the Kayans (pp.282-283), further inspiring government retribution. However most of the damage done by the expedition was to the houses and farms of the Punans, Kajamans and Sekapans.
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by Brooke's 15,000 Sea Dayak followers, who ravaged a section of river between the Pelagus and Bukun rapids in the far interior (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:232-312). These two rapids had probably played an important part in protecting the ethnic diversity of this section of the river by impeding the movement of large war parties.

Brooke later considered the Kajaman, Sekapan, Punan, Bukitan and Ukit to be "lower intermediate" branches of the Kayan (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:301). The latter two groups were nomadic and were at that time the only inhabitants of the Baleh river (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:250). The Kenyah reportedly lived above the Kayan. The term Kayan had become redefined from an appellation for all interior peoples to a more closely specified large interior tribe of the upper Rejang, with sub-tribes of varying custom and lifestyle.

Charles Brooke listed four major ethnic categories for Sarawak; Malays, Land Dayaks, Sea Dayaks and Melanaus. In the last category he included the Kayan, their "lower intermediate" branches, the Kenyah and the Maloh (Brooke 1866, Vol.1:43-86). He thus used Melanau in the same catch-all way that Kayan had previously been used.

A pervasive aspect of 19th century colonial writing was the practice of ascribing character traits to whole ethnic groups (Roth 1896, Vol.1:64-96). Such character stereotyping undoubtedly affected the way these people were treated by colonial government, their own self-image and even their fate. The Kanowits, for example, were seen as deserving the fate of extermination by Sea Dayaks invading their territory (Boyle 1865:94-5). The sometimes eccentric policies of Rajah Charles Brooke could be seen to relate to his expressed views of ethnic character traits.  

The writings from this period do not provide a complete picture of the societies depicted. They are heavily oriented towards certain male concerns of warfare and power brokering and are overlaid with sometimes patronising colonialist views. However, the attitudinal biases cannot simply be dismissed as obfuscations of reality. They contributed significantly to further developments in

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1. Charles Brooke described the natives of Bintulu as "a hard-favoured and uninteresting set, caring for little beyond their immediate wants, without Eastern polish or finish, and their ugliness was marked" (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:222). "No one could ever trust a Kayan's faith or word. They are false in the extreme, neither proving true friends or steady enemies" (p.224). The Land Dayaks "do not encourage so great an interest in a traveller's breast as the sea Dyaks, who are a fairer and finer people in every way" (Vol.1:48).
ethnic relations in the region.

Early Colonial Establishment in West Kalimantan

In interior West Kalimantan, the indigenous inhabitants of the island were not neatly separated from Malays. Along the Kapuas river, various Malay chiefs had their centres of power in fortified riverside kampongs, and the Dayaks in the surrounding region lived under a condition of tributary status. Headhunting and warfare were suppressed, as was trade or the accumulation of wealth and power by the fragmented subject Dayak populations. These riverine Malay chieftainships extended right into the hinterland of the upper Kapuas.

The relationship between Dayaks and Malays was frequently described in scathing terms, although the situation was exploited in the general maintenance of law and order. One missionary presented an extremely negative impression.

"This Dâyâk of To-Day, indolent, filthy, ungrateful, mendicant that you see - improvident - unchastely loquacious - ingeniously obscene - his very liberty of spirit held in pawn by beings viler than himself" (Anon 1848:xxii).

Most authors did not engage in such severe character assassination, but the condition of the tributary Dayak was described as wretched, a slave, with much of the fruits of his labour appropriated by masters who were categorised as foreign (Francis 1842:13). The tributary Dayaks were obliged to offer prestation and corvées, provide rice and wood for the chief as well as trade items such as birds' nests, and were obliged to pay very high prices for tobacco, iron and salt. (Temminck 1847, Vol.2:298)

In the region of the Montrado gold mines there was a considerable population of Chinese miners. These lived in their own villages and had their own separate social and political system, but Dayak villages and Chinese villages were dotted about together in some areas. Although socially separate, Chinese men did take Dayak women in marriage, but this resulted in the woman losing her position in her own society and effectively becoming a Chinese wife (van Lijnden 1851:587).

Some Dayaks did engage in gold mining, but they were never regarded as very reliable in this type of work. Chinese and Dayak agriculturists used very different techniques, with the Chinese occupying the river flats with gardens and irrigated rice fields while the Dayaks were forced into the foothills for their swidden dry rice growing (Doty and Pohlman 1840:298). Dutch actions against
Major rivers

Major ethnic groups as perceived before 1880
insurrection by the Chinese had forced some Dayak communities to flee into more remote regions.

The initial preoccupation of the Dutch had been to maintain a monopoly on coastal trade, leaving the Malays to look after law and order in the back country. In the areas under Malay influence, power was associated with the Islamic religion, and some of the more remotely located Malay chiefs were relatively recent converts, perceived as having little knowledge of the religion or lifeways they were embracing. Dayaks who had converted to Islam were known as *Anak Sungei* or *Orang Bukit*, depending on whether they lived on the river banks or in the hills (Temminck 1847, Vol.2:500). The latter name exemplifies the confusion in Bornean ethnic nomenclature, as it has been used for various totally unrelated groups, including some nomadic groups as well as a small group of swidden agriculturists in far northern Sarawak and an isolated group in southeastern Kalimantan.

The term Dayaks was used for all the indigenous inhabitants of the downstream regions of the westerly flowing rivers. The varying customs and general condition of the indigenous inhabitants were described in regional terms rather than by the employment of an ethnic vocabulary (eg. von Dewall 1862). As among the Land Dayaks of Sarawak, the Dayaks were seen to be highly fragmented and in a constant condition of petty warfare with their neighbours (Anon 1856:91).

Occasionally ethnic groups were mentioned by name. For example, the Selako of the Sambas area were noted to be "one great tribe" who appeared to be "under some general law of Government" (Doty and Pohlman 1840:300). The Jangkang of the Sekayam tributary of the Kapuas were a particularly wild lot, reputedly addicted to cannibalism (Anon 1856:104-5). Areas in the northwest had been ravaged and depopulated by raids from the fierce Dayaks of the north, generally identified as Saribas Dayaks (Anon 1856:121, van Prehn Weise 1861:130-1).

Ethnic distinction was more commonly restricted to differentiating those Dayaks in a tributary status under Malay chiefs (*serah* Dayaks) from the free Dayaks (*mardahika* Dayaks). The latter were either Dayaks in the western coastal region who had somehow released themselves from tributary status (von Dewall 1862:2, Gronovius 1849:342), or inhabitants of more remote regions (Temminck 1847:292-3). These latter were little known, but were reputedly more warlike, more colourful and more interesting than the more accessible coastal and riverine Dayaks. As in Sarawak, stories of powerful tribes in the
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interior had filtered down from the back country.

Around 1850 there were two publications which attempted to ethnically categorise the peoples of West Kalimantan. Von Kessel divided the population into five main categories. His "Northwest Race", so called because they had no encompassing name for themselves, contained the people of Sarawak labelled by James Brooke as Land Dayaks as well as the neighbouring groups from Sambas, Landak, Tayan and Sanggau in West Kalimantan. Within the Malay race he included not only the Islamic people of the island, but also those native groups speaking a closely related language, such as the Batang Lupars (the Dutch term for Sea Dayaks who had fairly recently immigrated from Sarawak) and other groups of the Kapuas area (von Kessel 1850:166).

The third group he called the Pari, named after a tributary of the upper Mahakam in East Kalimantan. This seems to be a case of a very particular name becoming generalised. In southeastern Kalimantan, the inhabitants of the upper Barito were regularly harassed by these Pari. The term was adopted in a very loose way for fierce interior peoples who hunted heads and wore earrings. They inhabited the Kutai region in the east, and had representatives in parts of the upper Kapuas in the west (von Kessel 1850:167). The term Pari was used for a time by Dutch writers in much the same way as English writers used Kayan. It tended to mean all the mysterious and interesting peoples of the interior, of which only a few of the marginal branches had so far been contacted by European society. Von Kessel classified Kayan and Maloh groups of west Kalimantan together under this label (von Kessel 1850:185).

The fourth group was the Beaju, living in southern Kalimantan and considered to have no representatives in the western region. The Ot Danum people of the Melawi and the Mandai rivers were evidently still unknown to the authorities. The fifth group comprised the Punans and Bukitans, the nomadic peoples of the interior country in the Kapuas and Melawi region. Because they were deemed primitive, they were considered to be aboriginal.

Intriguingly, despite the ethnic diversity and complexity of West Kalimantan, von Kessel seems to have identified only one small group which did not fit into his scheme. They lived on the river Sekayam and were called the Ribun (von Kessel 1850:167). These are Land Dayak speakers, and it is quite unclear what made them so unique.

Van Lijnden's classification (van Lijnden 1851:586-587) placed all the Dayaks of the lower Kapuas in one group with the Dayaks of Sarawak, Sadong and probably Sambas. This seems to correspond roughly to von Kessel's
"Northwest race". The term Land Dayak has been used rather loosely at a later time to designate the same group. His upper Kapuas people included the Bukitan, Kayan and Punan. He recognised the diversity of this group in stating that they differed in language, clothing and custom more from the first family than they did among each other. He was using the term Kayan in a much more local and specific sense than the English writers did. He encompassed the nomadic peoples within a cultural framework that included interior agriculturists.

The Kantu' Dayaks, an Ibanic speaking group, he claimed were different from both families and related to the Batang Lupars, Skrang and Saribas. This essentially corresponds with the pagan branches of von Kessel's Malay race, although his distinct specification of the Kantu' probably implies that other Malayic or Ibanic speaking groups of the Kapuas were placed in his lower Kapuas group rather than this one.

Van Lijnden specifically named a number of Dayak groups that were not under the influence of the Malay states and which had their own territory (van Lijnden 1851:371). This use of terminology suggests that the free Dayak groups were considered to have a more individualised identity than the tributary Dayaks. When these latter were identified, they were labelled with the name of the dwelling of their Malay chief.

As in Sarawak, there was a sentiment generated that the unknown peoples of the interior would undoubtedly prove to be more interesting than the peoples closer to the coast, who were perceived as repressed and deculturated. This attitude was to lead to the ethnographic neglect of many downriver societies all over the island of Borneo when interest later focused on the far interior.

A monograph by Veth (1854) summarised the ethnographic knowledge of the western region up to that time. Unfortunately, the author tended to supplement what was known about the groups of West Kalimantan with details derived from societies outside the region. Details about Modang groups of the Mahakam, or Kayans of the Rejang, were cited as typical of the Pari in general. Descriptions by Müller (1839-44) and Schwaner (1853-4), from the interior of southeastern Kalimantan, were used to indicate something of authentic interior Dayak cultural practices. There seemed to be a belief that cultural uniformity would be found in the interior, and that this interior culture would reveal the essential nature of Borneo.
Major rivers

Major ethnic groups as perceived before 1880
Early Colonial Perceptions of Southeastern Kalimantan

In southeastern Kalimantan, and particularly up the Barito and regions to the east of it, Dayak communities were intermixed with Islamic communities. However, the emphasis in writings from southeastern Kalimantan is not on negative stereotypes of Dayaks living under the influence of Islam, but on the exotic aspects of Dayak life. Not all these aspects were approved of by the authorities, and certainly not by the missionaries, but cremations and *tiwah* feasts, the activities of *balians* and rumours of human sacrifice permeated the writings of explorers, missionaries and government functionaries.

The non-Islamic natives of the lower Barito and Kapuas region were referred to either as Beajus or Dayaks. Hupe, in his account of their religion and customs (Hupe 1846) simply called them *Dajakkers*, and did not intimate that there may have been regional or ethnic differences of religion or custom. Several shorter descriptive accounts were presented in a similar spirit (Halewijn 1832, Anon 1838, Anon 1847).

Explorations of the region followed the great rivers. The descriptions of journeys of exploration were filled with factual minutiae. They described a large area, from the Barito watershed in the east to the Kotawaringin region in the west, where the people were perceived as having some continuity of culture and identity. River names were used to identify the different branches of this group, but the inhabitants of the Barito, the Pulaupetak, the Kapuas, the Kahayan, the Katingan and the Sampit were differentiated from others at the periphery of the region rather than from each other. The peoples of this region were perceived as a superior race of Dayaks who had absorbed a little higher culture from their various encounters with the outside world.

"The Ngadju (the true name of the inhabitants of the Kahayan river) stand already on a higher step of civilization than any of the other races of Borneo. They possess very ample and complicated hadats." (Logan 1848:xvi-xvii)

Müller published a travelogue of his journeys in 1836 in the region of the Barito (Müller 1839-44, Müller 1857). He used the term Dayak to indicate pagan communities. Dayaks who had fairly recently converted to Islam and who lived in the middle Barito, were called Orang Bakompai, or Pekompai (Müller 1857:160, Weddik 1851:20).

The inhabitants of the middle river were referred to as Dusuns, while those of the lower river were called Beaju. Some of the most spectacular funerary monuments illustrated in Müller (1839-44) came from the western arm
of the Barito where the population was removed from the Islamic influence which penetrated from Banjarmasin far up the main Barito. This western arm was also known as the Pulaupetak, the Kapuas Murong, the Kleine Dajak River or the Beaju River. However it is not clear if the people were named after the river or *vice versa*.

Schwaner, who explored the area from 1843 to 1847, indicated that the correct form of the term was Ngaju (Schwaner 1853-4, Vol.1:164). His further journeyings revealed that the inhabitants of the lower and middle Kahayan and Katingan were also Ngaju, with a great deal in common with the inhabitants of the Pulaupetak (Schwaner 1853-4, Vol.2:115, 146). Beaju became incorrect, while Ngaju has been used ever since with a variable degree of specificity.

Pijnappel (1860:321) claimed the Dayaks of Pulaupetak, Kahayan and Katingan belonged to one tribe, while those of Sampit, Pembuang and Kotawaringin belonged to another, although on what basis he made the distinction is quite unclear. He claimed there was little difference in their language, but this may have been because all spoke Kapuas Ngaju as a *lingua franca*, as the Kotawaringin and Pembuang people have since been classified as Malayic speakers (Würm 1981-3). The westerly group he claimed were not as strongminded, and were more under the control of their Malay chiefs. His descriptions of clothes, weapons, marriages and funerals intimated that such things were uniform across the whole southern region.

The Ngaju, or Beaju, of the Pulaupetak and the Kapuas, appear to have been the most thoroughly investigated and reported of the Ngaju groups, largely through the efforts of the Rheinisch missionaries. Hardeland’s *Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* is not just a simple dictionary, but a sort of alphabetical ethnography of the area (Hardeland 1859), while Perelaer’s ethnographic monograph of the Dayaks concentrates almost entirely on this area (Perelaer 1870).

Schwaner listed a series of tribes living along the Barito. 1 In a local sense, these were groups which he felt could be ethnically distinguished, but their relationships to larger categories can be somewhat confusing.

1. These were as follows; Ngaju in the lower Barito and lower and middle Kapuas; Ot Danum on the upper Kapuas; Dusun along the middle Barito; Manya’an and Luangan along the rivers Karrau and Pattai; Tabayan, Anga, Nyamet and Boroi along the Teweh; Murung on the river of the same name; Siang in the district of the same name; and finally Olo Ot in the northern and eastern ranges (Schwaner 1853-4, Vol.1:164).
Chapter 2

The relationships between the Ngaju and others work at a number of levels. Definitely perceived as other, were the Olo Ots and Paris of the north, who reputedly descended on to the upper rivers in headhunting raids. Evidently they had not actually been encountered by Europeans, and stories about them were relayed from the people who were their enemies, a notoriously unreliable source.

A late 18th century explorer, Hartmann, had used the term Ot Danum for wild wandering people at the head of the Barito, using the term in the sense that writers would later use Olo Ot (Kan 1888:289). The Olo Ot were reportedly forest nomads who were considered wild even by other Dayaks. The Pari came from the region of the Kutai river, or Mahakam, for the purpose of pillage and headhunting (Weddik 1851:21-2). Pari and Dusuns from the upper Barito reputedly got together to wage war on the inhabitants of the upper Kapuas, who were described as Ot Danum, wild tribes who were only overtaken in primitiveness by the wandering Olo Ot (Maks 1860:531-537). The Pari also made raids on the upper Kahayan and were dreaded for their savagery (Che Soliman 1848:358).

The Pari were claimed to be a wandering tribe, but not as completely uncivilised as the Olo Ot as they did plant maize and built temporary dwellings. The Olo Ot made no proper dwellings and crept around the forest, almost invisible to Dayaks and traders and completely invisible to foreigners. The name used for the Pari in Kutai was reportedly Punan. (Pijnappel 1860:321)

Schwaner’s description of the Olo Ot of the northeastern region (Schwaner 1853-4, Vol.1:229-231), and of the Ot Danum of the Kahayan and the Katingan (Vol.2:75-81, 150-2) clearly distinguished the two categories. The Ot Danum were perceived as more uncouth than the Ngaju, but nonetheless culturally similar. He used the term in a more restricted sense than it was to be used later, as he distinguished them from the Siang and the Murung.

The term Pari was used in a purely local sense, for the marauding groups which raided and headhunted in the upriver regions of the northeast of the area. They were known to come from the Kutai region, and were presumed to be related to other groups along the Mahakam. Little was actually known about them. The term was not used in the very generalised sense that was employed by writers about West Kalimantan, who used it to designate powerful, well-organised societies of the interior. The Pari of southeast Kalimantan were regarded as an unruly nuisance, and only barely above the Olo Ots on some sort of value scale of culture.
MAP 6

SABAH AND EAST KALIMANTAN

Major rivers

Major ethnic groups as perceived before 1880
Chapter 2

Just to add a little confusion to the situation, Perelaer's ethnographic account of southeastern Kalimantan rearranged the categories once again. He divided the population into three main categories, Malays who were all designated as foreign, Olo Ot whom he designated as aborigines, and Olo Ngaju. These latter were subdivided into Dayak Beaju, Ot Danom and Dayak Pari. The Dayak Beaju were basically Schwaner's Ngaju, divided into their various river groupings. The Ot Danom were the upriver people, including the Dusun, Murung and Siang. The religion and customs of the Dayak Pari he claimed were similar to those of the others. They were simply more savage and less refined. All the same groups were present, but the relationships between them had been redefined (Perelaer 1870:103).

The picture of relationships generally in southeastern Kalimantan is somewhat different from that painted for the western areas. There are not the innumerable lists of many fragmented and tiny tribes, isolated by reciprocal petty warfare. Such warfare was mainly occurring at the fringes of the area, and the blame was largely laid on marauders from outside. There is no suggestion of active processes of shifting affiliation or migration. In general, the ethnic picture from this time appears stable, and defined in terms of variations of belief or cultural practice rather than inter-group competition.

Early Colonial Perceptions in the East and North

The indigenous populations of the eastern rivers of Kalimantan, and of the northern part of Borneo which was later to become Sabah, were nowhere near so well known to Europeans as the inhabitants of the west and south before around 1880. A couple of Dutch accounts give hasty surveys of the downriver populations of the eastern rivers. British Naval expeditions called in at points on the north and east mainly for burning out pirates' nests.

The picture provided of the native population is therefore scanty. Names are listed for groups of people in particular regions, but there is little information about their relationships with other populations. It was noted that the general term Dayak was not in use in this area and should really only apply to the southwest of the island (Weddik 1849:85).

The Mahakam and its tributaries were investigated to above the junction with the Pari by von Dewall, a Dutch government official. His account of his journey is sprinkled with an assortment of names of indigenous ethnic groups, but only a few clues about their relationships. The great tribes he claimed were the Modang, who had various branches on the Telen and Klinjau tributaries,
Perceptions of Ethnicity

and the Bahau, who lived further up the Mahakam (Weddik 1849). Various named sub-groups were listed for each. Together these made up a larger category which was known outside the area as the Pari, as the Pari river was the place from which they crossed into southeastern Kalimantan on their war parties. From his descriptions of their villages and lifeways, clearly these people were not nomadic bushwackers as described by their victims in southern Kalimantan. Various groups of nomadic peoples were enumerated, including several designated as Punan, as well as the Bassaps.

The downriver people, listed as the Benuaq, Bentian, Bongan and Tunjung, he seems to have found less interesting. Unfortunately, so did the explorers who followed after and they have been little described.

Von Dewall had a peculiar term for indigenous people who had adopted some Mohammedan customs and habits of dress, but who were still fundamentally pagan. He called them "non-Dayak heathens", or even "trouser-wearing heathens", and claimed that they did not belong to any Dayak tribe, despite having their own distinctive language (Weddik 1849:132). Such people lived on the Mahakam tributaries as well as on the rivers further north. It is not clear whether this deprivation of ethnic identity was simply an attitude of the author's, or whether it reflected the attitudes of the members of the Dayak groups of the region.

Further north on the Berau the people were known as Segai, a term claimed to be in use by the inhabitants of the area for all Dayaks. These people were perceived as related to the Modang (von Dewall 1855:449). A British Naval expedition had a brief encounter with these Segai on the Bulungan and the Berau. Captain Belcher was surprised that the Segai chief offered to convey a letter for him to the city of Brunei, indicating that there were channels of overland communication across the centre of the island (Belcher 1848:232).

The inhabitants of the furthest northeasterly region are presented as barely more than a list of names, the significance of which is not elaborated. The Bajaus, or sea people, were perceived as fundamentally not indigenous (von Dewall 1855:445-447). The northeast region has remained a little known area.

Low's (1848:343) description of the northern peoples was simply a reiteration of the earlier descriptions of Forrest (1969:368-375). Various writers drew the distinction between Dusuns who lived in the northern foothill regions, and Muruts who lived in the mountains (Bethune 1846:297, Keppel 1847, Vol.1:361-2, Marryat 1848:111, Anon 1852:2). The term Murut meant very little, and applied to mountain dwelling people about whom almost nothing was
known.

There was uncertainty about the use of the terms Dusun, Idahan and Kadayan, which became confused in a number of accounts (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:361-2, Belcher 1848, Vol.1:180). Idahan was a term used by the Sulu islanders for all the natives of north Borneo, although it was later to be used in a more specific sense for the Islamic peoples of a restricted area of eastern Sabah.¹

Dusuns were perceived as being the more civilised of the indigenous peoples of northern Borneo. They had more orderly forms of gardening and agriculture. Their houses contained furniture and craft equipment. They wore more clothes and did not tattoo. They were apparently less warlike than many other groups and did not use the blowpipe (Keppel 1847, Vol.2:126, Mundy 1848, Vol.2 218, Anon 1852:2). The distinction between Dusuns and Muruts was based not only on where they lived, but also on a value judgment of their level of civilisation.

Indigenous Perceptions in the Early Colonial Period

The above accounts of the changing perception of ethnic terminology and ethnic relations among the various Dayak categories are based on the observations and writings of Europeans. They used nomenclature which they picked up from either insiders or outsiders, and rearranged its meaning according to their perceptions of Dayak relationships. The categories were devised according to an assortment of ethnographic miscellanea, some very elementary linguistic relationships and the current conditions of warfare and mutual hostilities.

There is very little solid evidence on how the Dayak groups perceived their own ethnic relationships at this time. Perhaps some clue comes from the names they used to identify themselves and others. For self-identification, the most commonly used form appears to have been a riverine label. Generally the inhabitants of a particular river or tributary identified themselves by its name. In Sarawak it was noted that groups of Dayaks also remembered relatively recent historical relationships so that, for example, various branches of the Sibuyau Sea Dayaks were identified even though these had become dispersed.

¹ St John, having Bajau guides for his excursions to Mt Kinabalu, called the native people of this region Idahan, although he noted that the same people were called Dusun by the Malays (St John 1863, Vol.1:329-330).
Perceptions of Ethnicity

Such relationships were based simply on the expansion and dispersal of a single community. If a larger sense of community and common cultural heritage was understood, it was not expressed in a form that the European interrogators could understand.

Terms used for others could be quite diffuse. Words like Dusun, Murut, Bukit or Kayan were used to describe a variety of inhabitants of broad geographic areas. Sometimes, as with Dusun or Bukit, they were used in different parts of the island to designate totally unrelated peoples.

This suggests that, among the coastal and middle river people, relationships were perceived in local terms, with a very diffuse sense of other. This is particularly notable among the Land Dayaks of Sarawak, with their multitudes of tiny local identifiers. Very local names were also used for certain ethnic groups along the middle Rejang, such as the Kajaman, Sekapan, Kanowit and Tanjong. It is perhaps less notable in southeastern Kalimantan. While certain local names were reported along the Barito and its tributaries, the peoples across a vast range of territory were simply designated by their river names. 1

Certain kinds of indigenous reportage give clues to ethnic boundaries. There are particular unsavoury characteristics which were commonly attributed to peoples with whom the informants did not identify. The most persistent story told by one group of people about another is that they have tails. Such stories can be quite intricate, with anatomical details and special seating requirements elaborated. Von Dewall traced stories of people with tails right up the eastern side of Borneo, each group claiming that the tailed people lived further up until he had a chain of rumour that spread from Banjarmasin to the Tidong country (von Dewall 1855:456-7).

Less amusing but equally indicative of otherness are tales of cannibalism. There does not seem to be any truly substantiated case of either ritual or nutritional cannibalism in Borneo. However, there were extravagant stories told by one group about another which sometimes included details of the

1. This lack of definition by nomenclature seems even more strange when it is realised that there was an awareness of some language differences within the Ngaju category. On the Kahayan river the inhabitants of the lower river spoke the same language as the Dayaks of Pulaupetak, while those of the upper river were differentiated from them and the Ot Danums further up (Maks 1857:18). A similar language differentiation between the Ngaju of the upper and lower rivers existed on the Katingan (Lumholz 1920, Vol.2:315).
consumption of the old or young of their own tribe.

Acting as hired assassins or slave raiders for the purpose of taking heads or captives on behalf of another ethnic group was attributed to nomadic peoples. Their ability to move silently through the forest and to kill things from a distance with poisoned blowpipe darts seems to have inspired an excessive dread amongst some of the agricultural Dayaks. Such stories were found to be extraordinarily unlikely once the putative assassins or kidnappers were actually contacted, although such people were known to have been coerced into acting as jungle trackers for agricultural groups carrying out their own headhunting or slave raiding activities.¹

Such stories tend to divide the coastal and mid-river people from the far inland agriculturists and the nomads. Possibly such tales might also be used to identify peoples who were intrusive to a particular area. An assiduous collection of such stories could be used to assemble an ethnic map of mutual mistrust.

The Age of Exploration of the Interior

From the 1880s to the Second World War, the central regions of Borneo were explored from all directions, following the major rivers to the interior. There was a perception that the Dayaks of the far interior were truly authentic, while those of the downriver regions were deculturated, Malayised and debased. Many of the far interior groups were found not to be disorderly bands of wild jungle savages living in the way that their prehistoric ancestors were presumed to have done. Rather, they were structured and stratified societies with an exuberant art tradition, their own forms of music and dance, highly developed skills in such a civilised art as ironsmithing, large stone monuments and in some areas irrigated agriculture. Certainly they did hunt heads, and they wore

¹ The Sea Dayaks accused the Ukits of headhunting on behalf of the Kayans (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:250). The Malays accused the Bukitans of cannibalism (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:209) and slave raiding (Burns 1849:142). The Dayaks of the Kapuas of West Kalimantan accused the Kayans of cannibalism (St John 1863, Vol.1:133), and the Punans and Bukitans of headhunting, murdering and slave raiding on behalf of the Pari (von Kessel 1850:187). The Jangkang of the Sekayam, a tributary of the Kapuas, were accused by other lower Kapuas groups of extravagant and gruesome forms of cannibalism (van Lijnden 1851:597, Anon 1856:104, St John 1863, Vol.1:133). The Ngaju claimed that the Pari had tails (Che Soliman 1848:358). The Trings of the Mahakam, a group which evidently had both their contacts and traditional enemies in the upper Kapuas of west Kalimantan and interior Brunei territories rather than in their local region, were purportedly cannibals (Weddik 1849:140). Even this century the Duhoi Ot Danum of the upper Katingan region claimed the Olo Ots had tails, while the Kahayans accused them of cannibalism (Lumholz 1920, Vol.2:341).
Major rivers

Major ethnic groups as perceived at the end of the 19th century
negligible clothing, tattooed their bodies and deformed their ears and genitals. Many descriptive accounts from this era reveal a tension between the writer's perception of the interior Dayaks as indescribably savage and his astonishment at their achievements.

Explorers of the interior were keen to claim the first contact by Europeans with certain indigenous groups. Some groups were claimed several times. Confusions of identity occurred.¹

Hugh Brooke Low's diaries of his journeys up the Rejang in the early 1880s are besprinkled with the names of numerous ethnic groups. There are not only the peoples already mentioned by Burns (1849), but Lahanans, Sihans, Lugats, Lisums and others, as well as references to tribes then already extinct. The relationships, for good or ill, between various specific longhouse communities are noted in terms of the local events of the time, suggesting that simple classificatory terms such as Kayan or Kenyah did not fully define relationships at an intercommunity level. Brooke Low also used the word Iban for the Sea Dayaks. This term was gradually adopted by European writers and eventually by the Iban themselves.²

Political interest of the 1880s and 1890s in Sarawak was centred on the Baram and the northern borders. The Baram region was an area of ethnic conflict. Movements into and out of the region had occurred as a consequence of the downriver movement of interior groups such as the Kayan. Warfare, slave raiding and territorial occupation by the Kayan, and a lack of protection of the inhabitants of the region by the Brunei government, had caused population shifts. After annexing the region, the Sarawak government allowed Ibans to move into parts of the area. Brooke Low on the Rejang and Charles Hose on

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1. For example, a Mr de Windt was quite indignant that Mr Carl Bock, a Norwegian gentleman, should have claimed first European contact with a "race" called "Poonans" when he himself had just paid a social call on the longhouse dwelling Punans of the Rejang, so he wrote to the Illustrated London News "explaining that the tribe visited by Mr. Bock and ourselves was identical" (de Windt 1882:91). Mr Bock had headed up the Mahakam, however, on the other side of Borneo, looking for cannibals and people with tails. His account of his cultural misadventures was published in four languages, complete with truly magnificent illustrations (Bock 1985). There is a picture of a cannibal whose crimes were confessed through a Malay interpreter, and some Punans, but no people with tails.

2. Brooke Low never compiled his observations into an organized work, but his diaries and notes were edited and published as articles (Roth ed. 1892-3, and incorporated into the first major monograph of Sarawak ethnography (Roth 1896). His diaries and reports from the Rejang were originally published in the Sarawak Gazette.
the Baram seem to have invented the grand multi-ethnic peacemaking at about this time (Low, S.G. May 1 1884, Furness 1902:119-121, Haddon 1901:401-412, Hose 1927:126, Hose 1926:148-155). In a true creation of tradition, representatives of all the ethnic groups in an area under dispute would gather to avow eternal friendship, utilising a miscellany of ceremonial activities borrowed and adapted from all the participants. Identity was very tied up with group self-esteem at these events.

The classification of Borneo peoples presented in Hose and McDougall (1912, Vol.1:30-42) is not only biased by a Sarawak oriented view of the island, but perhaps also by a Baram oriented view of Sarawak. Hose created six major groups; Sea Dayak or Iban, Kayan, Kenyah, Klemantan, Murut and Punan.

The Iban and Kayan groups were perceived as internally uniform and readily distinguished. The Kenyah were less internally uniform, and some branches were difficult to distinguish from some Klemantan groups. The Klemantan group was a classificatory disaster area, containing all the agricultural peoples of southeastern and West Kalimantan, the Land Dayaks of Sarawak and a miscellaneous assortment of ethnic minorities of the Sarawak midriver regions. The Murut group contained all the mountain people of northern Sarawak and North Borneo, as well as the Dusuns of North Borneo. The Punan group contained all nomadic peoples.

This system was based on a "waves of migration" model of cultural diversity, in which the Punan, Klemantan and Kenyah were seen as the original prehistoric inhabitants of the island. The Klemantans received some civilising influences from the outside during the Indo-Javanese period. The Kayans were seen as invaders to the island from the south or southeast, the Muruts from the north and the Ibans from the southwest (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.2:223-256). These invaders ferried their cultures in complete from the outside. They then spread their influence over the existing tribes, the Kayan being the most influential of the incomers. Intriguingly, these Kayan managed to march their way up through the Indo-Javanised Klemantans of the south, the gap closing up behind them, before they started having their enormous influence on the culture of central Borneo.

The diaries of Brooke Low, the works of Hose and his comrades and the reports in the Sarawak Gazette are littered with the names of small ethnic groups or communities. It is often difficult to determine how much some of these names reflect a sense of ethnic identity, and how much they are simply local labels for communities. The term Klemantan seems to act as a mask over
the complexity of relationships between many small groups.

On the Dutch side of the border, the most influential writer on ethnic relationships was Nieuwenhuis (1900, 1904), who conducted explorations into the far interior and visited the ultimate goal of all explorers of central Borneo, the Apo Kayan plateau. This was occupied by the Lepu Tau Kenyah who held some sort of sway over all the lesser tribes of the remote central plateau area. Nieuwenhuis collected oral history traditions from many of the peoples of the central areas of both East and West Kalimantan, and presented a picture of a number of groups retaining their individualities of identity while migrating, at different times and by different routes, downriver from the central plateaus. These people were called Bahau. They had many cultural features in common, including both material culture and social organization. The Kayan of the Mahakam and Mendalam were seen as a sub-group of the Bahau.

Nieuwenhuis did not attempt to classify peoples in the same way that Hose did. The general category Bahau represented a regional integration in the Mahakam and Mendalam watersheds. Some groups such as the Kayan and Long Glat had histories of immigration while others such as the Penihing or some minority groups of the region may have had a long history of occupation of the area. Hose’s equating of Nieuwenhuis’s Bahau with his own term Klemantan misrepresented this view of ethnic identity as a regional development.¹

Around the turn of the century, the Dutch established a civil and military base on the Apo Kayan plateau, on the opposite side of the river to the large Lepu Tau Kenyah village of Long Nawang. Any threats to Lepu Tau supremacy in the area were prevented, and the energies of society were diverted from inter-group and territorial competition. Despite this intrusion of colonialism, the Apo Kayan remained a favoured destination for exploration to seek the genuine and original wild men of Borneo. The first ethnographic monograph on the Lepu Tau was not written for some years (Elshout 1926), proving the obvious truth that it is not possible to study an uncontacted society. Tillema’s photojournalistic essay from this period provides perhaps the best visual record of any single ethnic group in Borneo (Tillema 1938, 1989).

Exploratory expeditions travelled up rivers and mountains all over the

¹ Some of the Demmeni photographs from the Mahakam, published in Nieuwenhuis’s works, were reprinted in Hose and McDougall (1912), labelled with a degree of gay abandon as Kayan, Kenyah or Klemantan (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1: Pl.28, 61, Vol.2: Pl.151, 185, 186, 201; Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.1: Pl.51, 61, 56, 9, 79).
island. Some had primary purposes which were other than ethnographic, and
descriptions of the colourful natives tend to be somewhat incidental. There were
geologists (Molengraaff 1900), naturalists (Beccari 1904, Burbidge 1991),
government officials (Jongejans 1922) and pure adventurers (Bock 1985,
Tehupeiorij 1906). There were those whose details were locally precise (Helbig
1982, Lumholz 1920), and others who could travel up a whole ethnically diverse
river such as the Mahakam and produce a single potted description of the
customs and habits of the Dayaks (Krohn 1927). There were some utterly
appalling compilations of prejudice and rumour (Miller 1946).

In this period, numerous pieces of local ethnographica were produced
and published in various journals, including the Sarawak Museum Journal and
the Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde journals. This tended to produce a jigsaw of
ethnographic knowledge from which there were many pieces missing. North
Borneo and west Kalimantan seem to have been most poorly served. In North
Borneo, Evans' various reports on the Dusun (Evans 1922, 1923, 1953) were
restricted to one local area in the west, while the only Murut group to receive
any ethnographic study was a lowland group, the Timogun (Woolley 1936).
Rutter's ethnographic monograph on North Borneo (Rutter 1985) contains an
assortment of brief quotes on various ethnic groups. Jongejans (1922) and
Schneeberger (1979) both visited the relatively little known northeast region
and provided thumbnail sketches of the ethnic diversity there. Schneeberger
especially clarified some of the relationships between the two distinct groups
which had previously both been known simply as Murut.

An ethnographic survey of West Kalimantan (Bouman 1924) mentioned
the names of groups which were barely recorded in the literature, let alone
described. The very miscellaneous term Pari for the interior people had been
broken down into Taman, Ot Danum, Ulu Ai and Kayan. Nevertheless
relationships between the first three of these groups were seen as intimate and
confusing. The Batang Lupars were presented as unpleasant intruders from
Sarawak rather than as ethnic relations of any of the inhabitants of West
Kalimantan. Enthoven's (1901) geographical description of West Kalimantan
contained large quantities of regional minutiae about the inhabitants, without
much detail concerning ethnic definition.

Some ethnographic descriptions from this period have served as the basis
for generalisation about large scale ethnic groupings such as the Kayan, Kenyah,
Ngaju or Iban. Contradictory reports may simply be indications of diversity
within such categories.
The Second World War

During the actual war years, ethnographic recording naturally gave way to more pressing concerns. Those trapped in Borneo during the Japanese occupation tended to write about the tribulations of survival rather than the diversity of humankind.

An extraordinary exception is the description by Tom Harrisson of the Kelabit people of the central plateau, into whose territory he parachuted during the latter stages of the war (Harrisson 1959a). These people had been little known as they were located in the last remote area of the island. Their culture seemed to possess a pagan exuberance which had long dissipated on other parts of the island. Harrisson’s fascination with these people continued long after the war when he became curator of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching, and his many articles about them document their changing culture.

During this time, white colonials appeared not just as administrators and fanatics for law and order, but as warriors with enemies. A small resurgence of headhunting accompanied the clearing of the last Japanese troops from the island.

The opening up of the interior to communication during the war and in the immediate post-war years had irreversible effects on the lives of the people in the inland areas. The effects of this sudden transition are documented in a highly personalised way by Macdonald (1968), particularly in his account of the lives of the family of Temenggong Koh, an Iban chief of the far interior and former headhunter who became a war hero. Within two generations the expectations of his people, including his own family, of what they could expect from life changed utterly. The maintenance of any former cultural values and ethnic identity in the face of multiple influences from the outside world became a very self-conscious process.

The Rediscovery of Ethnicity

In the period since the war, colonial control has been relinquished. Sarawak and Sabah have been incorporated into Malaysia and Kalimantan into Indonesia. Ethnic identification has developed an important political component in these multi-ethnic national states. In Sarawak, for example, active participation by the Iban in modern political processes has given their identity another dimension.

There has been an increasing preoccupation with detailed ethnographic studies, especially of ethnic minorities, with greater use of linguistic
classification schemes, continuing rearrangement of ethnic categories and a sense of urgency about collecting data from peoples in a condition of rapid cultural change. Many traditional practices formerly associated with indigenous religion became transformed into ethnic identifiers, with consequent changes in their meaning and the details of their practice.

In Sarawak, an article by Leach (1950a) identified some social science research needs of the period. He proposed a new ethnic classification scheme based on the modern sociopolitical situation in Sarawak rather than on beliefs about cultural origins. The Iban and the Land Dayaks were considered clearly defined entities in Sarawak. He introduced a category called para-Malay, which contained such people as the Bisaya, Melanau and Kadayan who were considered to have been profoundly affected by Malay culture. The Muruts were divided into Murut-Kelabit, living on the Sarawak-Sabah-Kalimantan border, and Murut-Tagal who were mainly in Sabah but spilled across into east Kalimantan and the northern tip of Sarawak. He created a large category called Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang, which acknowledged the interrelationships between the Kayan, Kenyah and the various ethnic minorities of the upper rivers. These were modern relationships, cemented by aristocratic intermarriage between groups with diverse cultural histories and practices.

This study stimulated the commissioning of several major ethnographic studies, including that of Freeman (1955a,b, 1970) on the Iban, Morris (1953) on the Melanau and Geddes (1954) on the Land Dayaks. These were somewhat different in tone. Freeman’s report on the Iban laid a great deal of emphasis on the traditional aspects of the life of the inland Iban and their cultural history, while Morris’s report emphasised the socio-economic changes and the modern condition of the coastal Melanau. Geddes’ report was a study of a group living a traditional, in the sense of non-Western, life but failed to acknowledge the profound effects of early Brooke colonialism on these people.

Yet another rewriting of the ethnic categories took place for an encyclopaedic compilation of the ethnography of the islands of southeast Asia (Lebar 1972). This was an attempt to integrate, or compromise, the schemes of writers of various dates. The result is untidy as large conglomerates like the Ngaju are presented as a unit, as are small groups like the Rungus Dusun of Sabah or the Bisaya because there had been recent ethnographies produced about them. The ethnic categories used in Lebar are incoherent because they are not based exclusively on ethnic histories, nor on ethnographically observed divisions of custom, belief or material culture, nor on modern sociopolitical
divisions, nor on linguistics. Instead, it was an attempt to present a compromise between all these different approaches as they had been used in the past.

There have been studies on individual ethnic minorities and the survival or demise of their unique cultural attributes. Such groups include the Maloh of west Kalimantan (King 1985a), the Berawan of northern Sarawak (Metcalf 1982), the Ma-anyan Siong of the Barito basin (Hudson 1972) and the Rungus Dusun of Sabah (Appell 1965). Short articles have also appeared on aspects of minority cultures. The *Sarawak Museum Journal* and the *Borneo Research Bulletin* contain numerous articles on the traditional cultures of various ethnic groups and their modern adaptations.

Ethnically complex areas have been examined with varying degrees of success. The threat of relocation of communities to allow the construction of a massive hydroelectric scheme caused a flurry of interest in the ethnic dynamics of the upper Rejang (eg. Rousseau 1972, de Martinoir 1974, Nicolaisen 1977-8). Pleas for interest in the upper Kapuas of West Kalimantan (King 1976a) or the upper Mahakam (Sellato 1980) have met with less response. The most comprehensive attempt to examine ethnic complexity is the recent monograph by Rousseau (1990) on central Borneo, in which histories, language and social anthropology are invoked to present a complex web of cultural interaction across the whole central part of the island.

There have been written contributions by indigenous people themselves describing their own cultural traditions, such as the writings of Sandin (1961, 1967a, 1980) on the Sea Dayaks, Yahya Talla (1979) on the abandoned religion and practices of the Kelabit, and Kedit (1980) on the modern Iban. These are all studies from Sarawak. Indonesian language studies examining the role of the indigenous peoples of Kalimantan in a modern Indonesian context exist, but can be difficult to locate and obtain.

Linguistic studies on Borneo societies are not numerous, but can introduce a different perspective on the relationship between societies. The earliest European colonials made short vocabulary lists from the various Dayak groups they encountered, and read them out to other Dayaks to see if they understood them. This rough and ready system defined some linguistic categories, but more sophisticated studies were slower in coming. However attempts have been made to delineate the linguistic patterning of the island through modern regional studies (Hudson 1967, 1970, 1978, King and King 1984) and through compilation of the observations of earlier investigators (Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958). A modern linguistic map of Borneo delineates
Perceptions of Ethnicity

ethnic categories to a certain extent, but does not indicate integrative changes in relationships between groups. In the multilingual environment of interior Borneo, some minority groups have retained an individual language while communicating with others from communities now closely related in a regional *lingua franca*.

Some of the small ethnic groups mentioned in 19th and early 20th century accounts have disappeared. Some of these downriver groups adopted Islam and became Malay. Some were absorbed by expansive groups like the Iban or Kenyah. Some possibly only had an ephemeral existence as a named and identified entity, created by community splitting and migration, and disappearing with further community splitting or relocation, intermarriage with essentially similar communities or enslavement by other groups in war. Where such small groups have survived, their existence has become solidified by census taking and written ethnography.

The recording of traditional histories, customs and beliefs of various ethnic groups in the modern era gives a more complete picture of the meaning of the ethnic labels which were applied in earlier times. However, many of these studies are more in the nature of folk history than ethnography, as they record ways of life which have passed or are rapidly passing. The recording of historical ethnographies suffers from the same processes of selection that operate on any historical evidence. Oral histories and traditions evolve in response to the stresses of the times, and identities which were appropriate to the conditions of life in the 1840s may have altered by the 1980s. Ethnic identity and affiliation has more than nostalgic significance when territorial claims are at stake or political influence is needed for the welfare of communities. Some practices of the past are now considered embarrassing or abhorrent to modern communities. The emphasis or significance of certain ceremonies, rituals or customs may be gently distorted to provide a less "savage" image of the life of communities. Modern political systems have intruded entirely into the traditional sociopolitical systems of the past. Modern communities may have adapted and compromised externally imposed systems to suit their traditional methods of social organization, but systems and values have nonetheless changed. These

1. For example the classification of the languages of the Kajaman and Sekapan of the Rejang as a separate category called Rejang-Bintulu and of the Punan Bah as Sajau-Bassap, with relationships to groups in East Kalimantan, does not indicate the cultural and social integration with the Kayans who invaded the river (Würm 1981-83).
Major language groups of Borneo
(after Wurm 1981-1983)
Perceptions of Ethnicity

changed values may act as a filter on traditional knowledge from the past.

Modern studies have greatly increased detailed knowledge about the various indigenous peoples of Borneo, but they have not simplified the process of ethnic classification. In fact, they have shown how very complicated ethnic relations have been when observed over even a comparatively short period of time. There is some risk that studies which attempt to refine or redefine classifications may act to freeze social processes which have been working for centuries. To understand how these processes have worked in the past, it is necessary to examine them, not subvert them.

It is inappropriate to pursue and attempt to refine a classificatory model for the study of inter-group relationships in Borneo. Linguistic, sociocultural, historical and modern political classifications are inevitably going to prove anomalous in some way. More suitable is a study of the historical processes of interaction, to produce a dynamic model of ethnic definition, which allows for identities to change and to work at multiple levels.
The Migrating People

The history of the peoples of Sarawak and the central Borneo region during the later 19th and early 20th centuries is a history of migration. Movements which had started some time in the pre-colonial past caused groups of people to shift up and down the rivers, setting up chains of lesser movements, intergroup tensions and the division and absorption of existing ethnic groups. Colonial policies played their part in these movements and in the power relations between ethnic groups in the region. The participation of colonial administration assisted in defining ethnic entities but did not create ethnic differences.

Two major migratory movements were actively in process during the colonial period. In Sarawak the Iban people moved into the Rejang via its tributaries, across into the upper reaches of the coastal rivers and north to the Baram region, increasing their numbers and expanding their territory to become the most populous and widely dispersed indigenous group in Sarawak. The Ibanic group as a whole became diversified in lifeways with a relatively sedentary base in the Kapuas region of west Kalimantan and the Saribas region in Sarawak, but a very expansive front in which pioneer groups moved many kilometers in the course of a single lifetime. The other movement involved the peoples of central Borneo, who had traditions of migration from the central plateaus to the upper reaches of the major river basins of the Baram and Rejang in Sarawak, the Kapuas of West Kalimantan and the Mahakam and Kayan or Bulungan of East Kalimantan. After colonial contact this general trend of movement continued, but in a less sudden and dramatic manner than the expansion of the Iban and with a certain amount of diversion and backtracking. The resulting ethnic interactions gave central Borneo something of the character of a cultural mosaic.

Pirates and their Enemies: the first ethnic stereotype

The history of the Sea Dayaks or Iban in Sarawak is very much the history of a relationship with the rather eccentric mode of government of the Brooke regime. The story of this relationship during the reigns of James and Charles Brooke, the first and second White Rajahs, has been documented by Pringle (1970). This period was most important in terms of the colonisation of a large area of Sarawak by these people, and in the development of an emphatic
Rivers of the Iban region of Sarawak

Iban Sub-Groups of the Early Brooke Era
group identity for their many branches. Less well documented are relationships between Ibanic groups in West Kalimantan and relations between Sarawak groups and their neighbours over the border.

It is significant that the Sarawak branches of this ethnic conglomerate eventually adopted the single name Iban to designate themselves. The term Ibanic was applied by linguists and ethnographers to designate peoples of West Kalimantan who were deemed to be related to the Iban. The Iban and Ibanic people had no encompassing name for themselves as an ethnic conglomerate.

James Brooke's initial designation of these people as Sea Dayaks reflected the lifeways of the most populous and extroverted of the people influencing his domain. He saw them as people who went down to the sea in longboats, armed to the teeth for sorties of headhunting and plunder. His description of relations among the Sea Dayak sub-groups was based on a militaristic conception of identity. The Saribas and Skrang were the pirates and formed military alliances for their sorties. The Undup, Balau and Sibuyau were their enemies, as were the Land Dayaks and the coastal Malays and Melanaus whom they terrorised (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:225, Mundy 1848, Vol.1:236, 362-364, Keppel 1853:408). The Balau, Undup and Sibuyau all allied themselves behind the new White Rajah to rid themselves of the menace of constant attack by the Saribas and Skrang. After the bloody subjugation of the Saribas and Skrang pirates with the assistance of the British Navy, the Saribas and Skrang, at least those of the lower rivers, pledged loyalty to the Rajah (Keppel 1853:134-163, Templer 1853, Vol.3:56-63). Their country was incorporated into the kingdom of Sarawak, along with much that was still unexplored by Europeans.

The Balau lived in close proximity to the Malays on the Lingga river, although in separate villages. The Balau had relationships with the Sibuyau on the Samarahan and attended their feasts (St John 1863, Vol.1:220). In the 1850s peace treaties were arranged with the Skrang (St John 1863, Vol.1:38, Brooke 1866, Vol.1:136). The Undups claimed as their territory the Undup river, a tributary of the Batang Lupar, but they had been driven out by the Saribas and Malays and were living close to the mountain range dividing Sarawak from the Kapuas in West Kalimantan. After the subjugation of the Saribas they returned to their former territories (Templer ed, 1853, Vol.3:61, Brooke 1866, Vol.1:86, 1

1. Balau Dayaks were known to convert to Islam, however, and to marry Malay women. A number of the Malay Native Officers in the Second Division were such converts, having the advantage for the Rajah's government of being influential in both societies (Pringle 1970:152-153).
The Sibuyau were in fact a dispersed group no longer living on the river whose name they bore. They claimed to have been driven from their original territory by raids from Saribas and Skrang (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:371, St John 1863, Vol.1:218), although according to folk histories this dispersal occurred before the Saribas raids began (Sandin 1967a:7). The first group encountered by the Rajah lived in an enormous longhouse at Lundu (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:51-52). There was also a branch living on the Sadong, some on the Samarahan and some on the Quop. Although they were regarded as Sea Dayaks who had forgotten some of their traditions (St John 1863, Vol.1:206-207), the earliest descriptions of Sea Dayak longhouse life for the European reader were based on the lifeways of this group (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:51-65, Low 1848:166-237).

It became apparent that there were many more Sea Dayaks in the inland areas than had been imagined. These inland Dayaks were populous, independent of outside authority and enthusiastic headhunters. ¹

Other Sea Dayak sub-groups mentioned in early Brooke accounts were the Batang Lupars or Batang Ai of the lower Batang Lupar river, the Lemanak of the Batang Lupar tributary of that name and the Ulu Ai of the upper Batang Lupar waters.² All the groups were named after the river where they originated, but the name was not merely a geographical identifier. They represented areas of social interaction with consolidating ties, albeit loosely defined ones.³

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1. When Captain Keppel ascended the Kanowit stream after the battle of Beting Maru in 1849, as the first European to enter this waterway, he found the banks "thickly populated by the Sakarran and other tribes" (Keppel 1953:172). In 1861 Charles Brooke undertook a journey up the Batang Lupar, crossed to the Kapuas lakes in Dutch territory and returned to the Rejang via the Katibas. The inhabitants of these regions were all related and claimed an origin in the upper Batang Lupar (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:159-196). He was not the first to visit the Dayaks of the border regions however, having been preceded by an intrepid Austrian lady who crossed the watershed from the upper Batang Lupar and journeyed by water down the Kapuas (Pfeiffer 1856:56-97). St John (1863, Vol.1:43) described the headwaters of the Skrang as "very populous, and from a view we had on a hill over the upper part of the Seribas River, as far as the hills in which the Kanowit rises, we could perceive but little old forest."

2. There is a confusion in nomenclature in Dutch and English usage with these terms. The Dutch used Batang Lupar to designate all recent Sea Dayak immigrants into West Kalimantan. In English terminology these would have been Ulu Ai.

3. Freeman (1970:73) described the 19th century groupings as "conglomerates of kindreds which formed the basis for a loose tribal organization". The groups were predominantly endogamous groupings with no rigid internal organization and allegiance based on ties of bilateral kinship.
were variations of *adat* between the groups. They all spoke the same language and could readily understand each other, but there were slight differences of accent.

The Batang Lupars received very little attention in early colonial accounts because of their lack of involvement in the piracy issue, in the warfare between Sea Dayak groups or in the more dramatic headhunting incidents of the later 19th century.¹ It is unclear even how coherent they were as a group. Certain sub-groups of the Batang Lupar, such as Kumpang, Sukong or Engkari, were named in the context of the events of the day, but the significance of these labels with respect to identity groupings is not apparent.

The concept of solidarity within the Sea Dayak divisions and between the Saribas and Skrang disappeared during the 1850s when groups from the interior Skrang and Saribas rivers attacked their brethren further downstream.² The government took advantage of this lack of solidarity and used loyal Dayaks from the downriver Saribas and Skrang groups to pursue so-called rebels from the upriver regions. Charles Brooke's assaults on the notorious Rentap were conducted with these irregular troops, and they accompanied him on his punitive expedition up the Rejang in 1863 (Brooke 1866, Vol.1:106-117, 145-146, 164, 235-263).

A policy was instigated which lasted right through the long reign of the second Rajah, Charles Brooke. Dayaks who fought for the government against rebels were allowed to take heads. There is dispute as to how much this policy actually encouraged and possibly even increased headhunting among the Iban, but the Sarawak government, lacking the military backup of the more usual type of colonial regime, needed to provide some incentive to recruit the irregulars it required to control the hinterland (Pringle 1970:103-104, 244-245, 322). If patterns of warfare ever had had a part in determining the river based ethnic sub-groups, this pattern became very blurred in the second half of the 19th

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1. James Brooke claimed that they were very numerous, and not piratical. "I have never attacked them, and we are excellent friends." (Templer ed. 1853, Vol.3:57). He also described them as "a quiet agricultural race. The Kumpang and other Dyaks of this branch of the river may be esteemed, therefore, as representing what the Sakarrans likewise were, about forty or fifty years ago." (Keppel 1853:403)

2. Competition within the river based groupings is suggested in Keppel's (1853:334) explanation of the willingness of the Skrang Malays and Dayaks to co-operate in the building of the Skrang fort in 1849 "to maintain the ascendency of chiefs disinclined to piracy."

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Migrations of the Iban
Migration and Headhunting: the second ethnic stereotype

Despite the geographically based nature of sub-groupings of the Sea Dayaks at the time of first colonial encounter, their distribution over the landscape was not stable. All the groups had traditions of an original homeland in the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan (Keppel 1853:402, Brooke 1866, Vol.1:49). The major thrust of their migratory effort during the early Brooke period was into the watershed of the Rejang. At the same time, differences in lifeways were developing between the interior migrating branches and the downriver groups with their greater stability, long contact with Malays and encounters with new economic conditions.

There were some Sea Dayaks living on the lower Rejang from earliest colonial times and their numbers continued to increase. In 1870 the government fort at Sibu was attacked by a force of Dayaks from the Kanowit region (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:323). This disruption did not impede the movement of Dayaks from Saribas into the Krian and lower Rejang in some numbers in the 1870s. There are no reports of bloodshed being involved, just official disapproval (Maxwell S.G. Oct. 16 1874).

Further up the Rejang, Dayaks from the upper Batang Lupar and Skrang regions had been migrating overland to the Rejang tributaries of Katibas and

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1. Freeman (1970:126) defines an Iban tribe as a river based territorial grouping which formerly did not take each other's heads. However his definition is diffuse and could be adapted, if required, to changing conditions of warfare.

2. There were Sea Dayaks living at Sibu in the 1840s. The fact that they had some tattoos and used the parang ilang rather than the usual Sea Dayak weapon suggested that they had come from a region where they had had contact with the Kayans (Low 1848:365). In 1859 a government force of Saribas and Skrang Dayaks was sent to attack the Dayaks of Sarikei, who had been hostile to the regime (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:102).

3. The leader of the raid, Lintong, was pardoned and lived in a tributary of the Rejang, acting as a government penghulu. After his death in 1885, his obituary was in true, quirky Sarawak style. "Although the sudden end of this restless, ambitious and intriguing spirit is to be regretted we cannot regard it as a loss to the country." (S.G. Oct.1 1887:165)
Invention of the Iban

Kanowit in order to expand their farming territories. 1 At the time of the Kayan expedition of 1863, the area around the mouth of the Katibas had become disputed ground between the Sea Dayaks and the Kayan (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:248-274). The Baleh was reportedly only inhabited by Ukits and Bukitans (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:250). However, in 1872 when the government was contemplating opening a trading station at Kapit, this area of the main river was described as Sea Dayak territory (S.G. Nov.2 1872). Sea Dayaks also moved into the Baleh in the 1870s (eg. Everett S.G. Sept.16 1874). Katibas and Kanowit Dayaks who had offended the government were forced to move downriver to live near the fort at Sibu, making the lower Rejang an area of mixed Sea Dayak origin (eg. S.G. Dec.17 1870, Jan.9 1871, July 15 1871). By the 1870s there were also small populations of Sea Dayaks living in the upper waters of the coastal rivers, having moved quietly across from the Rejang (eg. Denison 1882:180-181, De Crespigny S.G. Mar.16 1877:20, Gueritz S.G. July 20 1877:55, De Crespigny S.G. June 21 1878:44-46).

All was not quiet in the Ulu Ai region however. This area was the focus of troubles with unruly Dayaks, which broke out periodically until well into this century. Events here had an episodic quality, with each crisis following a roughly similar pattern. First it would be reported that Dayaks were moving out into the remote tributaries in the border regions to build longhouses and make their farms. Then there would be rumours of boat building and parties of men in places where they should not have been, then perhaps a mysterious death or two. Finally there would be an out and out raid, or even several, on longhouses on either the Sarawak or Dutch side of the border. If negotiations to hand over the malefactors conducted by either trusted government penghulus or the Resident failed, then a government force consisting largely of unpaid Dayak irregulars would storm into the region to attempt to capture the evildoers, or at least burn their houses and crops and confiscate their jars and other valuables. In general, the loss of life on these forays was not large. Dayaks living in the upriver regions who were suspected of collaborating with these so-called rebels

1. Keppel's pioneering visit to the Kanowit had revealed that the inhabitants were mainly immigrants from the Skrang (Keppel 1853:172), while Charles Brooke's explorations of the Katibas indicated that these people had come from the upper Batang Lupar waters (Brooke 1866, Vol.1:190).
were forced to move to lower reaches of the river near a government station. ¹

Ulu Ai Dayaks migrated in some numbers to West Kalimantan as punitive parties were sent into the upriver regions of Sarawak on repeated occasions to attack rebels and burn out the homes of recidivist headhunters. The border became a focus for headhunting activities as groups of Dayaks took advantage of communication difficulties between the Dutch and Sarawak authorities to move from one side to the other, setting themselves up in remote localities. Descriptions of these skirmishes in the *Sarawak Gazette* use many localised labels for the peoples involved, which related to their current place of abode rather than any larger sense of group solidarity. ² These border regions gathered disaffected individuals from the upper regions of various rivers and developed an ethos of their own.

In the 1860s and 1870s the Sarawak Dayaks conducted raids against the related Ibanic groups of Bugau, Mualang or Engkias, Kantu' and Rambai in the Kapuas region. Many of the Kantu' were forced away from the border region to an area closer to the Kapuas mainstream (Enthoven 1901:70-71). When the Dutch put military posts in the Kapuas Lakes region,³ the raids from Sarawak shifted direction somewhat to the Maloh of the Embaloh river. Co-operative efforts by the Sarawak authorities and the Dutch eventually made border raiding more difficult (Pringle 1970:217-220, 229) but the problems of headhunting raids among the Ulu Ai continued, as they directed their hostilities to their brethren in the upper rivers on the Sarawak side.

By the end of the century, respected longhouse leaders of groups living on the main rivers were ruefully confessing that their wild young men were joining the upcountry rebels (eg. S.G. April 1 1886:55). It was noted that the Sea Dayak *penghulus*, or government appointed leaders, had little control over the younger men of their communities. Headhunting raids had deteriorated into juvenile delinquency. In the 1880s and 1890s there were reports of gangs of

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¹ The cyclical nature of these episodes is emphasized by the serialised nature of the reports in the *Sarawak Gazette*. The cycles continued until well into this century. Pringle (1970:208-264) has detailed the most significant of these episodes.

² For example, Lanjar, Emparan Kaban, Batu Bangkai and Pait are listed as "tribes" involved in border disturbances in the early 1870s, although these terms all apparently refer to localised populations which had migrated into upper Kapuas waters from the Ulu Ai and Katibas regions (Gueritz S.G. Mar. 2 1874, S.G. April 29 1874).

³ These posts and the condition of the surrounding countryside are described in Gerlach (1881).
Rejjang Dayaks going on headhunting expeditions against other ethnic groups. An expedition of 1885 against the Bahau people of the Mahakam caused great consternation in that area, although intriguingly it was reported in the *Sarawak Gazette* as an officially sanctioned minor avenging mission against an "outrage committed by a lawless body of Pieng Kayans" (S.G., Sept 1, 1885:82).¹

In 1894, 31 Punans were massacred in the upper Balui region, and as this occurred on the Sarawak side of the border, the Rajah was outraged. He harangued the Dayaks at Kapit, claiming that the younger men were abusing the protection of government as in former times they would not have risked the reprisals from the Kayans of the Balui. Furthermore, he claimed, such attacks were contrary even to their own customs (S.G. July 2 1894:96). The Ulu Ai people were creating some new customs.

In the first decade of this century there was an exceptionally violent and continuing episode of disorder. Dayaks from the Rejjang and border regions carried out raids on other Sea Dayaks, on far inland groups and also on the inhabitants of the more recently acquired northern rivers of Sarawak. Unlike some of the earlier inland skirmishes, large numbers of people were killed.² The marauding inland headhunter took over from the sea pirate as the stereotypical image for the ethnic group. The Ulu Ai Iban replaced the Saribas Sea Dayak as the authentic icon of the group.

Each time Sarawak obtained a new slab of territory from Brunei, a series of ethnic rearrangements occurred at the old border. The excuse to acquire territory was usually based on unrest in the region. Either the powerful inland people had been terrorising the region, or the followers of the Sultan of Brunei had been aggravating them. Middle river regions became depopulated as the inhabitants either moved downriver to shelter with their coastal relations, or

1. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:17, 22, 85, 127-129) gave a somewhat different account from the laconic references in the *Sarawak Gazette*. The massive raid changed power relations on the Mahakam as the powerful Penihing chief Belare’s house was destroyed and his people scattered, leaving the Kayan leader Kwing Irang as the most influential chief of the river. The Iban force evidently destroyed houses of people uninvolved in the original headhunting incident which provoked the raid. Because the Iban had guns, it was believed they had been armed by the White Rajah’s government and that the Rajah had sanctioned the carnage preparatory to taking over the region. Elshout (1926:184) reported that the raid even led the Kenyahs to fear that the Apo Kayan would be overrun.

2. Pringle (1970:210-246) has headlined his chapter on these episodes as "Bantin’s Revolt", but it is apparent from the *Sarawak Gazette* reports that many transgressions were occurring in the climate of confusion generated by the lengthy episode involving Bantin.
moved into remote and unpopulated upriver regions, or else whole villages applied to move into Sarawak territory. A vacant piece of river bank would be found for them. When the Baram, the Trusan and the Limbang were actually acquired by Sarawak there was a great deal of empty territory in the midriver regions, and many populations lived in inaccessible inland locations. The Sarawak government constantly encouraged the indigenous people of the rivers to move back down closer to the government station, and also encouraged Sea Dayaks to move in. They were always eager to do so, and usually there were some in residence already, often living in local longhouses and married to local women from other ethnic groups.

However the authorities did not approve of Sea Dayaks living in other people’s houses as they were prone to cause trouble, so such individuals were moved out and placed with communities of immigrant Sea Dayaks on an officially designated territory. These immigrants arrived in their own boats, in Chinese coasting vessels, in Malay trading boats and on steamships, clutching government passes which said where they were allowed to go. This coastal migration was a bureaucratically regulated affair in which the immigrants were required to live and farm in their enclaves, separate from the indigenous population of the region, and to behave to the satisfaction of the government on pain of being sent back whence they had come.

In 1899 the Rajah declared there was to be no impediment to Dayaks from the Second Division and the Rejang moving across to the headwaters of the coastal rivers where small populations were already in place (S.G. Sept. 1 1899:281). Within the next four years there were complaints that the Rejang, Skrang and Lemanak were becoming depopulated by such migrations, while on the coast there were pleas from administrators and native populations alike that such migrations be restricted (Bailey S.G. Aug. 1 1900:160, Deshon S.G. July 1 1901:142, Bailey S.G. Mar.3 1904:54, Cox S.G. Nov.2 1905:253). In 1906 the Rajah decreed that no more migrations from the Second Division would be allowed. However Rejang Dayaks would be allowed to migrate into the Baleh

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1. For example, on the Baram some were located on the Bakong tributary (Douglas S.G. July 2 1900:139), vacated by the Narom and Dalis people who had earlier migrated to the coast and adopted Islam (S.G. Nov.2 1872). Charles Hose set up a community near the government station at Claudetown on the Baram for Iban or Maloh men who had married Kayan or Kenyah women (Haddon 1901:356-357). The Rajah finally issued a proclamation on what was to be done when Dayak men married Kayan women, which included leaving the Kayan country (S.G. Sept.3 1906:214).
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below the mouth of the Gat (S.G. July 6 1906:17, Bailey S.G. Oct.3 1906:241). Within twelve months all available farming land in this area was reportedly taken up (Hose S.G. Mar.4 1907:59, C.V. Brooke S.G. Nov.2 1907:245). The Baleh had actually been unoccupied territory as far as farming populations were concerned, although immigrating Sea Dayaks had been moved out and prevented from re-entering in order to keep them within reach of government.1

The reason for allowing them to move into the coastal and northern rivers was to encourage the collection of jungle produce for trade. However, the Sea Dayaks always seemed to over-react in their enthusiasm. Their trading journeys had some extra-curricular aspects. In 1880 it was decreed that they had to have special passes and permits to work jungle produce in Dutch Borneo (S.G. Mar.31 1880:17). Despite this theoretical restriction, the intrusion of Sea Dayaks into the Mahakam and Kayan river regions for exploration, gutta hunting and warfare was difficult to control as the Dutch did not patrol this area of their borders. In 1898 the Rajah proclaimed that Sarawak Dayaks were not to engage in military operations in British North Borneo, where they were being hired as policemen and mercenaries against refractory natives (S.G. Jan.3 1898:3).2 In 1900 it was announced that Sarawak subjects would have to take out passports if they were to travel overseas, but only if they were Sea Dayaks (S.G. June 1 1900:111, July 2 1900:129).

The expansion of the Sea Dayaks into the mid-river regions was extremely rapid, but controlled. Government regulation designated their agricultural lands and prevented them from overrunning local communities.3 However in the remote backwaters, the Ulu Ai people continued to expand into unoccupied territory in the hinterland. Some ended up in the backwaters of Brunei. The formerly empty Baleh eventually became their inland stronghold. The Sea Dayaks had a territorial foothold in all regions of Sarawak. There were

1. The Baleh was cleared of occupation several times as a result of headhunting episodes. It was permanently occupied only after 1922. The history of Iban occupation of this region is detailed by Freeman (1955b: 11-20).

2. This very formal proclamation repeated concerns that had been expressed as early as 1885 (Pearse S.G. Feb.2 1885:12).

3. A detailed order by the Rajah even specified what resources they could and could not sell in their original territory when they removed, to prevent them selling that which was deemed by the Rajah to be common property or maintaining claims on farming land in more than one region (S.G. Oct. 2 1899:292).
special laws which applied to them. They were officially recognized as an entity.

**Diversification among the Sea Dayaks: alternatives to the stereotype**

During the colonial period the various branches of the Sea Dayaks had very divergent histories. Protestant missions were established among the Undup and the Balau.¹ These groups became strongly Christianised. They became the main suppliers of young men for the Sarawak Rangers, the paid troops of the regime. These groups were not expansive and their members tended to remain in their original territories.² A mission was also established at Lundu, having considerable success among the Sibuyau. However the style of dress and manners adopted by this group was more like that of the Malays, so that they have been described as "Para-Malay", although enumerated as Sea Dayaks (Leach 1950:34).³

The downriver Saribas and Batang Lupar Dayaks became very much engaged with new economic activities in Sarawak, working in coal, cinnabar or antimony mining projects, setting up plantations of rubber and pepper and indulging in a certain amount of entrepreneurial activity themselves (S.G. Aug.1 1874). The capital they generated was often utilised to fund long trading journeys, for which the ultimate reward was a collection of fine jars that would give them prestige at home (eg. S.G. July 1 1873, July 1 1889:95, Dec.1 1885:114).⁴ They became most loyal subjects of the Rajah and were very

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2. Some Undups moved to the Sadong in the First Division. This was of some concern because the population from which recruits to the Sarawak Rangers were drawn would be reduced by such removals. Skrangs were also actively removed from the Undup region as they hardly ever enlisted in the Rangers and might drive potential recruits from the region (Bailey S.G. April 1 1901:84). A rueful note from 1913 regrets an increasing lack of enthusiasm by young Balaus and Undups to join the Rangers (Ward S.G. Mar.1 1913:51).

3. Sandin (1967a:6) has said of the Sibuyau "They often stress that they are quite unlike other Sea Dayaks, an assertion which is not true."

4. These sea journeys took them around the coast of Borneo, but also eventually to such destinations as Singapore and Sumatra. This government-encouraged travel for economic gain, combined with the decline of headhunting, was probably responsible for the development of the practice of *bejalai* whereby young Iban men from the interior spent a period in travel or working away from their homes as part of the process of achieving full adult male status (Freeman 1955b:74-77, 1970:222-226).
enthusiastic about travelling to areas of Sarawak outside their home territory to collect rattan or gutta percha for export. Any attacks by nervous inhabitants on Saribas Dayaks working outside their home territories were roundly condemned by the authorities as assaults on the kingdom's most peaceable and industrious citizens, who had not "gone out in promiscuous search of heads" for at least 15 years (S.G. Nov.3 1875). The Saribas became the most prosperous and economically progressive group, with heritable wealth in the form of rubber and pepper gardens or trading schooners, and opulent modern longhouses (Leach 1950:26, Kedit 1980:95-99, Freeman 1981:7-8). Christian missions made notable inroads into this group as well.

This sudden character reversal from the wild and murderous savages portrayed by James Brooke and his supporters during the piracy controversy can perhaps be partly put down to the changing circumstances of the area and partly due to an enthusiasm for reporting the advances being made in the establishment of Sarawak as a thriving and orderly little kingdom. Despite the quiet on the lower Saribas, the old warriors were evidently still keen to boast about their past exploits and the young men were willing to channel their violent urges into attacking the Rajah's enemies.

The members of the older Sea Dayak sub-groups who remained in their original locations retained their identities, enhanced by their diverse colonial histories. Differences of adat between the various sub-groups were maintained (Leach 1950:54). Although the Iban have been regarded as an essentially egalitarian group, a higher degree of social stratification was apparent among the Saribas, whose leading families accepted Malay titles from the dominant Malays of the river. Their slave raiding activities of the early 19th century enhanced this stratification, despite the ceremonial freeing of slaves and their adoption into Sea Dayak society (Low 1848:200-201, Freeman 1981:6). A greater consideration for family standing and wealth is evidently also found among the sedentary groups of the Kapuas in west Kalimantan, who have had long association with stratified Malay society.

The term Ulu Ai appears to have been used with some diversity of meaning over time. Pringle (1970:214) refers to the Iban living in upper Batang Lupar waters as a defined group who claim to be the original inhabitants of the

1. When 10 Saribas Dayaks were killed in the Oya region in 1878, the Sarawak Gazette reported that the victims "belong to the tribes most friendly and obedient to Government, they are peaceful traders" (S.G. Feb.26 1878:11).
area, with no tradition, like other Ibans, of immigration and displacement of other pre-existing populations. Freeman (1955b:13-15) used the term to designate emigrants from this region to other areas, including the Baleh river. Some of the reports from Sarawak officers used the term Ulu Ai to designate all the Iban of the far interior regions, especially if they were being refractory. In the interior of the Batang Lupar and Rejang tributaries, fragmentation of communities, high mobility, enforced relocation by the government and acts of sheer defiance by rebellious young men determined to live out of reach of authority caused instability in the region. The definition of the Ulu Ai was an ethnonotic process which was still in train during the colonial period. The ethos of the group was migratory, egalitarian and traditional in terms of religious practice. Both Leach (1950:27) and Freeman (1981) regarded the people of these areas as embodying the most authentically Iban culture and ethos, but they could equally be regarded as a construct of conditions of the 19th century.

On the Rejang and its tributaries, along the coastal rivers and in the enclaves on the Baram, the Trusan and the Limbang, the sub-groups had become much more mixed. This was of some significance to the Sarawak government, as law enforcement and dispute resolution were carried out according to the local customs of each region, interpreted with a touch of Brooke idiosyncrasy at times. The old groups were still adhered to in certain immigrant regions and the lands of the ancestors still played a part in ethnic definition. Charles Hose, however, mainly familiar with the immigrant Sea Dayaks of the Baram and later the Ulu Ai rebels of the upper Rejang, claimed that it was no longer possible to discriminate the different sub-groups (Hose

1. For example, in 1884 the Dayaks of the upper Kanowit river requested their own penghulu as they were Lemanak while the current penghulu for the region was a Skrang and his customs were not in accordance with theirs (Brooke Low S.G. July 1 1884:72). In 1908 the Resident at Bintulu changed the system of settlement of Dayak cases on that river from the fines and customs of the Rejang to those of the Batang Lupar, because of the influx of Dayaks from the Second Division to the Bintulu region (Ward S.G. Sept.16:235).

2. Freeman (1955b:11-13) noted the still existing differences between the Katibas and Kanowit tributaries of the Rejang, the former settled from the upper Batang Lupar and the latter from the Lemanak, Skrang and Layar or upper Saribas. The Iban who had migrated into West Kalimantan from Sarawak were also noted to have settled in groups, described by Bouman (1924:185) as Undup and Kumpang or Ulu Kantu' in the Kantu' and upper Merakai rivers; Emparan or Ulu Batang Ai in the lake region and in the Leboyan; Katibas and Gat on the upper Embaloh and Kanowit on the lower Leboyan. These were all known in Dutch Borneo as Batang Lupars.
The Invention of the Iban

The term Iban, or Hivan, was first reported in 1849 as a word used by the Kayans of the Rejang to describe what they considered to be some rather obnoxious invaders of their territory (Burns 1849:145). However some of the Sea Dayaks claimed an alternative meaning for the word, saying that it means a person, or "our people" (Richards 1959:10). These meanings are not necessarily in conflict, but complementary. The autonym and exonym are mutually reinforcing.

The term does not appear to have had much general currency until the 1890s, by which time these invaders had spread into many new regions. At this time it was progressively adopted by European writers. It was also taken up by the Sea Dayaks themselves, but not by all groups at once. It was in use on the Rejang and Baram in the late 19th century, where these Iban were incomers, and was a term which differentiated them from the indigenes of the rivers rather than one which defined an entire ethnic group. The long settled Dayaks of Saribas, who had no problems with their identity in their home territory, still rejected this term in the mid 20th century (Freeman 1981:8).

While the final acceptance of the term by all former Sea Dayak groups today may be seen as a modern procedure of bureaucratisation of identity, the earlier stages of its progressive adoption can be seen as related to the development of a larger self-conscious group identity by those Sea Dayak peoples whose smaller scale definitions of identity had become confused by intermingling, and who had moved into areas where their internal variability was subsumed to a greater difference between themselves and others. In modern Sarawak society the term Iban and certain cultural values it represents are significant even to economically progressive groups and town dwellers removed from traditional lifestyles (Sutlive 1978:3-5, Kedit 1980:103, 111, 198). The active participation of the Iban as a group in the political affairs of Sarawak after its incorporation into Malaysia further solidified the identity of the group in a modern context (Kedit 1980:64-69).

Although the Iban had no name for themselves as a group until they accepted the term Iban, they had a commonality of tradition which tied all the
sub-groups together. The oral traditions of the various branches of the Iban are consistent in supporting an origin for all the Iban groups of Sarawak in the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan. While there are earlier origin traditions which have hints of homelands beyond the seas, it is intriguing that the lawgiving hero gods who purportedly laid down the rules of Iban life are located within Borneo and related to the time when the Iban lived in the Kapuas region of west Kalimantan (Sandin 1967a:2).

The Iban have been perceived as one of the more recent immigrant groups to Borneo, based on the assumption that their language, being so intimately related to Malay, was brought in by pre-Islamic migrants from the west. Some modern linguists dispute this view, seeing western Borneo as the homeland of the Malayic languages (Adelaar 1985:238-239). Nonetheless, a concept of the Iban as immigrants was pervasive. Their culture was seen to contain no hints of Hindu influence found in the traditions of the Ngaju or Land Dayak people, who were perceived as definitely indigenous.

However, the nature of the oral tradition suggests a definite process of ethnogenesis occurring within the Kapuas region in the past. Whatever people or cultural traditions from outside were incorporated into the body of people who underwent this process, the act of self-definition was indigenous. In this context it is interesting that even within the oral traditions there are stories of immigrant groups outside this main base who were incorporated into the Iban movement (Sandin 1967a:3), suggesting that Iban self-definition does not require an exclusive originating group. What it does require is a place of origin for the founders of the culture and long genealogical sequences with which to tie groups of people to the origin tradition.

**Ibans, Ibanic Dayaks, Malayic Dayaks and Others**

In Sarawak in the 1840s it did not require ethnographers to differentiate the Sea Dayaks from the Land Dayaks, despite their lack of discriminating labels. They had differences of language, custom and lifeways and they did not

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1. In a final stage of codification of identity, a meeting in 1961 in Simanggang brought together ritual and legal experts from the Batang Lupar, Saribas and Krian river systems to confirm Iban adat practices from these rivers. The only major divergence of adat was in the most elaborate form of the *Gawai Antu* or feast for the ancestor spirits, which was celebrated on the Saribas and Krian and parts of the Skrang, but unknown in the Ulu Ai. Other adat practices were found to differ only in detail (Jensen 1966:5).
Ibanic Groups of West Kalimantan
interact socially. This separateness was maintained despite movement of people across the boundary, largely in the form of women and children captured in raids by the Saribas and Skrang.¹ These prisoners were kept as slaves but were brought up in Sea Dayak society and later ceremonially freed.²

There appears to be only one group which was described as intermediate between these two major divisions. In a remote area of the Sadong a small group called the Milikin spoke the Sea Dayak language but did not follow Sea Dayak traditions. They were regarded as a mixed group of Land Dayak and Sea Dayak ancestry (Boult and Moulton 1911:142), derived from the Sibuyau (Keppel 1853:402), or perhaps Undup (S.G. Jan.1 1874, Leach 1950:54). This group is notable only for its rarity, as in general the separation between Sea Dayak and Land Dayak identity was emphatic.

In West Kalimantan this division was not perceived in such definitive terms. From von Kessel (1850) and van Lijnden (1851), whose categories do not seem to completely coincide, to modern linguists and ethnographers, writers have had difficulties with the classification of the Dayaks of West Kalimantan.³ The distinction between free Dayak groups and those tributary to Malays had more significance to some observers than other ethnolinguistic characteristics. Certain Ibanic groups of the border regions, such as the Kantu' or Bugau, were seen as very similar to the Iban of Sarawak, and particularly to the Undup (S.G. Dec.17 1870, Dec.14 1876:1).⁴ The Seberuang and Suhaid were rather like the

¹ Keppel (1847, Vol.2:205-206) gave some estimated figures for the population of Land Dayak communities which suggested that some groups had been halved in population as a result of Sea Dayak raids, as well as kidnapping of slaves by Malays.

² Low (1848:201) said of Land Dayak slaves living in Sea Dayak communities, "Instances are not uncommon when children thus treated have forgotten their parents, and expressed, when the opportunity of returning to their tribe has presented itself to them, an unwillingness to avail themselves of it .." Boyle (1865:181-182) also wrote of the Saribas Dayaks, "Every house is full of slaves, who are always kindly treated; having been captured as mere children, they have grown to look on the abode of their masters as their only home, and their parents are forgotten or remembered with contempt."

³ King (1976a, 1979) has discussed this in some detail, drawing on his own field researches and the earlier written descriptions of von Kessel (1850), van Lijnden (1851), Enthoven (1901), Bouman (1924), Dunselman (1949) and others, as well as the linguistic analysis of Hudson (1970).

⁴ Some Undups evidently moved into West Kalimantan (Bouman 1924:185), while a group of Bugau migrated into Sarawak from west Kalimantan and were granted land in the Batang Lupar region (Bailey S.G. Feb. 1 1901:33, Owen S.G. Jan.2 1909:8).
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Iban, but Malayised (Tromp 1879, Enthoven 1901:181-2). The Desa, south of the Kapuas, speak an Ibanic language but were not regarded as very like the other Ibanic groups (King 1976a:90). The Mentebahs and Suruks, classified linguistically as Malayic Dayaks, were described by Bouman (1924:178) as intermediate between the Ulu Airs (or Ot Danums) and the "true Dayaks" (or Ibanic and Malayic groups).

South of the Land Dayak areas of Sarawak, and particularly on the Sekayam tributary of the Kapuas, lived groups with a close linguistic, cultural and historical affinity to the Land Dayaks of Sarawak (Denison S.G. Oct 10 1876:8). To the west of these lived Malayic speaking peoples, sometimes referred to as the Kendayan group (Dunselman 1949). Members of two sub-groups of these, the Selako and Lara Dayaks, migrated into the Lundu area of Sarawak in the period immediately before Brooke rule, where they were absorbed into Land Dayak identity (St John 1863, Vol.1:206, Denison 1876:6).¹ The language and culture of these Malayic Dayaks in West Kalimantan diverges from those of the Land Dayaks, or Bidayuh, of Sarawak and the Sekayam.

In Sarawak the Iban were determinedly identified separately to the Malays, even though there were Malay rulers who set themselves up as chiefs of the various rivers. Malays and Dayaks lived in immediate proximity and interacted closely. Malay chiefs gave honorific Malay titles to Dayak leaders on their rivers, and the Sarawak government very firmly blamed these Malays for leading the Dayaks into the piratical raids of the early Brooke era (Keppel 1853:402, St John 1863, Vol.1:78-79). Nevertheless the Dayaks emphatically

¹ Würm's (1981-83) linguistic map of Borneo shows a language called Selako within the Malayic group in West Kalimantan, and one called Silakau in the Land Dayak group in the Lundu region of Sarawak. Elam (1930-37:375) stated that the Lara and Selako Dayaks of Sarawak could not understand the language of the Jagui Land Dayaks, but their language had some similarities with that of the Sadong Land Dayaks. The immigrant status of the Selako was emphasized by an incident in 1882 when a Land Dayak chief of Lundu claimed to be the last surviving member of the original Lundu tribe, thereby owning all the jungle produce and fruit trees in the area. The Selako complained that if this was true they might as well return to Sambas. The Rajah issued an irritable proclamation that the chief of Lundu and the Selako chiefs each had jurisdiction only over their own people, and the tapang and fruit trees of the jungle were common property (S.G. May 1 1882:31).
maintained their own identity, their own customs and their own religion. Dayaks converting to Islam were rarely reported, although it did occur, but evidently mainly by intermarriage into Malay society.\(^2\) The boundary could be crossed, but it was emphatically maintained.

In west Kalimantan the perception is of a gradation between these categories. Near the more longstanding centres of Malay influence on the Kapuas, Dayak manners and customs had been influenced to varying degrees. Certain groups of Dayaks embraced Islam, sometimes retaining aspects of their original culture.\(^3\)

The border with an entity called the Iban is more clearly defined at the migratory front, in the region with greater territorial stress. The term Iban did not define a circumscribed ethnic group, but a series of interactions at boundaries. Stress created the boundaries and the boundaries created the ethnic identification. Ethnic identification was not merely a reflection of tradition, although tradition was used to ratify identity.

**Ethnic Identities Created by the Iban**

Despite their reputation for ferocity, the Iban were not inclined to attempt to move into territory occupied by the stronger, well organized groups like the Kayan, or to challenge the authority of the representatives of the Sultan of Brunei. Their enthusiasm for farming primary forest led them into thinly

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1. This is despite a good deal of intermarriage between Malays and Dayaks on the Saribas, for example, where the principal Malay and Dayak families became interrelated. Dayaks who married into Malay families always assumed Malay names (Richards 1963-4:104-105). According to Sandin (1967a:22) the Saribas Malays were an indigenous ethnic group called Lugu before they converted to Islam.

2. Charles Brooke claimed to have rarely heard of Dayaks embracing the Mohammedan religion, although one chief from Banting who married a young woman before completing the proprieties for his late wife converted to avoid repercussions from his fellows. He reportedly announced, "I am now the same as a Malay, for I wear breeches." (Brooke 1866, Vol.1:202) Pringle (1970:152) mentions various Balau Ibans who converted to Islam. Conversely, there was, among the Saribas pirates, a Malay chief who had given up his customs and religion in order to become a Dayak and go headhunting (Keppel 1853:141).

3. Enthoven (1901:205-206) refers to the Embau Malays of the Selimbau region who converted to Islam in the middle of the 19th century, but were still living in longhouses and elected their chiefs. The Orang Pengaki of the same region were also recently converted longhouse dwelling Muslims who were still rather fond of *arak* (Enthoven 1901:168-169). Bouman (1924:185) refers to this latter group as Pekaki Malays.
MAP 12

Some Lowland Ethnic Minorities of Sarawak in the 19th Century
populated areas in the mid-river regions. In pre-colonial times it seems that these regions from the south to the north of Sarawak were occupied by a complex of peoples who relied on sago rather than rice for their dietary staple and who were not organized into large scale political or military alliances. The pre-colonial ethnic relationships of these people are not fully reconstructable. Their identities in colonial times were in a state of flux as they reoriented themselves to the events of the time.

Some of these people, such as the Ukits and Bukitans, were nomadic forest dwellers. They had no permanent constructed dwelling houses and they lived by hunting and gathering in the wildest forest regions. Others, such as the Kajaman, Sekapan, Lahanan, Punan Bah, Seping and Bah Mali of the Rejang, or the various Lepo Pu’un Kenyah groups of the Baram, had been incorporated into the central Borneo complex.

The Melanau people were heavily intermarried with the Brunei Malays and many had adopted Islam. They tended to be regarded as an Islamised group, although a large proportion were pagan. They had developed their relationship with sago into a commercial activity before the arrival of the Brookes, while their capabilities as seagoing fishermen made them unique among the indigenous groups. The intrusions of the Iban into the mid-river regions drove a wedge between these people and the central Borneo groups. The former indigenous peoples of the rivers were largely forced to ally themselves either with the Kayans and Kenyahs or with the coastal Melanau. Some groups, such as the Tatau, Balingian and Segan of early colonial accounts (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:318-9, S.G. Feb.15 1875, Crocker 1876:2, S.G. April 15 1879:38, Buck S.G. June 1887:108), abandoned some of their unique characteristics to become absorbed into the coastal Melanau identity. The Kanowits and Tanjongs of the Rejang survived as identity groups, surrounded

1. There was a belief among some Sarawak officers that these branches of the nomadic tribes may formerly have had a more sedentary existence, possibly as longhouse dwellers, even though their subsistence was oriented towards sago (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:15-16). Sandin (1967b) has documented the folk histories of the migrations of the Bukitan.

2. The dependence of the Rejang groups on sago in the 19th century was noted. They supposedly learned their rice cultivation from the Kayans and Kenyahs immigrant to the river. The Punan Bah, Kajaman and other mid-river Rejang groups had plantations of sago palms which they had planted for their own use (Gueritz S.G. June 1 1881:49, Brooke Low S.G. July 1 1882:53, Aug 1 1882:63, 65).
by Ibans and Kayans.1

The way in which response to the Iban invasion could cause the proliferation of small identity groups, followed by the ultimate absorption of many of them, is provided by the example of the history of a series of linguistically related groups which claimed a common origin in the Baleh region. (F. de R. S.G. Sept. 1901:175, Brooke Low S.G. Nov. 1 1882:96). The Ukits were the perpetual enemies of the Iban, and attacks with blowpipe darts followed by inevitable reprisals were a continuing feature of their relationship. The Bukitan, on the other hand, became allies of the Iban, moved into new pioneering regions with them, intermarried with them, went on war parties with them and became Ibans themselves often enough.2 The Lugats also allied themselves with the Iban and were absorbed by them. The Serus were a branch living on the Krian who had, according to Iban folk history, put up a good fight against Iban encroachment on their territory (Pollard and Banks 1935:406), but had retired to form a tiny ethnic minority in Iban territory in the Krian region. They became extinct as an ethnic group, many of their members having joined coastal Malay communities, but survived as a tiny community for a surprising length of time.3 The Seduans, Segalangs, Banyoks and Bliuns were branches which had moved to the Rejang region and set up longhouse living close to the Melanau, by whom they seem to have eventually been absorbed.4 The Sian and

1. The Kanowits had established an ethnic image, albeit a negative one, with the Sarawak government through their involvement with piratical Skrang Sea Dayaks from the Kanowit river (Keppel 1853:177) and with the murder of Fox and Steele at Kanowit Fort in 1859 (Baring-Gould and Bampfyle 1909:223-231).

2. An interesting example of this change of identity is described in the case of a gang of Rejang Ibans who went headhunting in the Limbang in the 1890s. They were apprehended as their leader was readily identified by his complete Bukitan body tattoo (Ricketts S.G. July 1 1898:138-9).

3. The Seru provide an example of how an ethnic group can cling to existence as an entity with minimal numbers. Charles Brooke (1866, Vol.2:335) pronounced them all but extinct, with only 30 or 40 doors in small communities. Deshon (S.G. Nov. 1 1882) reported the existence of one village of around 12 doors near Kabong, on the Kalaka. Bailey (1901:48) claimed that after the depredations of cholera they were reduced to one village of 18 men, 11 women and 4 children. The last individual claiming Seru identity died in 1954 (Chin 1980:21).

4. The Segalang were the warlike followers of the major enemy of the Sarawak regime in the time of James Brooke, Serif Massahore. After his eventual defeat it may not have been politic to admit to the ethnic label Segalang (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:223-224, 265). Tutun Kaboy (1969) reported that there were no living people claiming descent from the Bliun, and their folk histories were forgotten although the old house posts and fruit trees of their village survived.
Lisum staunchly maintain an ethnic identity in the Rejang region, as do the Ukits, after many migrations and changes of lifeways (Sandin 1985). In the Apo Kayan region, the Lisum were known as Punan Lisum and were identified with other nomadic Punan groups (Elshout 1926:243). The diversity of ethnic labels, modes of living and affiliations of these formerly related groups can be attributed ultimately to their response to the intrusions of the Iban.

One group which had an interesting relationship with the Iban were the Maloh. In their home in the upper Kapuas region of West Kalimantan they are a small and fragmented ethnic minority (King 1985:31-49). They were attacked at home by Iban groups migrating through their territory into the Rejang territories or by Ulu Ai dissidents pushed into the borderlands by government reprisal raids. However they also developed relationships with the Iban by providing a service. They were expert silver and bronze workers and supplied Ibans with much of their metal finery, while they also traded intricate beadwork clothing with the Ibans in their vicinity. Maloh metalworkers could evidently travel through Iban lands with impunity, and a few accompanied the Ibans on their migrations.¹ There was a Maloh longhouse on the Kanowit for a while (Bampfylde S.G. May 1 1888:67, Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:18) and some travelled north as far as the Baram (Haddon 1901:356).

Classification of the Maloh has differed according to the perspective from which they were seen. From the Sarawak side they appeared to be closely related to the Iban and have even been classified as an Ibanic group. Dutch writers looking from the West Kalimantan side initially categorised them as Pari, indicating their affinity with the central Borneo people and emphasizing their differences from groups lower down the Kapuas.²

Who Invented the Iban?

Certain policies of the Brooke government ensured the distinctive identity of the Iban in the course of their migrations during colonial times. Special laws applied to them, lands were allocated to them and they were

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1. St John (1863, Vol.1:44) recorded that they could walk through Saribas and Skrang villages in safety and were never molested. In 1865 Beccari (1904:175) met Maloh metalworkers working in a Kantu' village in West Kalimantan.

2. King (1979, 1985:35-41) has discussed the various attempts to classify the Maloh, with highly variable results.
Invention of the Iban

forbidden to live in the longhouses of other ethnic groups. Nevertheless the Sarawak government did not invent the Iban. They were already a distinctive group identified by their language, customs, beliefs and a sense of commonality embodied in their folk histories of migrations from a common homeland.

The Iban were not defined by their headhunting raids and aggression against other ethnic groups. In the disturbances in the Ulu Ai the Iban appear to have attacked and murdered as many fellow Iban as they did members of other ethnic groups, or possibly even more. The militaristic relations perceived by James Brooke to be at the core of Sea Dayak sub-group identifications did not last twenty years after his arrival in Sarawak.

Headhunting and warfare were endemic among other ethnic groups. The Kayans and Kenyahs of the upper Rejang, Baram and over the border in the Apo Kayan had a history of continuing assault and retribution when first contacted. The Muruts of the Trusan and Limbang were engaged in interminable feuds. These were classifiable by the government as frontier problems. There were murders in the bazaars, but these were classified as crime and punished accordingly. Headhunting among the Iban was of special significance to the government because it continually broke out among the people who were supposed to be willing recipients of the benefits of government. It was of significance to other ethnic groups because the Rajah was known to use Iban irregulars to quell dissidence, so there were frequently rumours that such raids were government backed. Iban aggression contributed to the perception by others of their ethnic unity, but it did not invent them.

In the early 19th century there was no such category as Iban. However their traditions of identity that have persisted until the present day suggest that self-definition is not simply a matter of labelling. Despite the absorption of many individuals whose personal origins were different, the concept of Ibanism is based in a homeland tradition. In this homeland were invented the laws, the ceremonies and traditions which gave the Iban their identity before they gave themselves a name. The Iban invented themselves.
CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY: THE EXPANSION OF CENTRAL BORNEO

From the 1840s to the 1870s much attention had been focused on the Sea Dayaks, their ethnic relations in West Kalimantan and their relationships with other lowland groups. In Sarawak the term Kayan and in Dutch Borneo the term Pari were blanket categories for largely unknown interior populations. In the 1880s the Sarawak government acquired the Baram and finally undertook explorations of the upper Rejang. Knowledge of intergroup relationships was developed through peacemaking negotiations and by the diplomacy required in the settlement of a stream of communities moving down from the far interior.

In Dutch Borneo, serious exploration of the far interior did not begin until Nieuwenhuis’s travels along the upper Kapuas, the Mahakam and into the Apo Kayan in the 1890s. The most northeasterly region of Kalimantan was not formally incorporated under Dutch control until around 1920, and the first visits to the interior people of this region date to around this time.

The picture that is presented of ethnic relations among the upriver peoples of both Sarawak and Dutch Borneo in the late 19th century is of lability. Strong groups which had come down from the far interior at different times, and who were still coming, were imposing their influence on pre-existing populations. At the same time, new regional identities were developing, incorporating communities of diverse origins. Some nomadic groups were adopting agriculture along with other cultural characteristics of agricultural peoples of their region.

The Rejang and Baram before 1880

Burns reported in 1849 that the Kayans, the dominant group of the upper Rejang, claimed to have migrated from the Kayan river. There were four Kayan chiefs on the Rejang. The head of the lower river lived just above the Pelagus rapids. The chief of the upper river was regarded as paramount by the other chiefs (Burns 1849:143-144). Kayans also lived in the upper regions of the Baram, and had reportedly recently made a foray down the Limbang to within forty miles of the capital, Brunei, driving the Muruts down before them (Burns 1849:140). There was a small community of Kayans also living on the Tubau, an
The Upper Rejang and Baram as known before 1880.
upper tributary of the Bintulu river.¹

St John (1863, Vol.1:120)² reported that the Kayans in the upper Baram had migrated across from the Balui, or upper Rejang, and were intermarrying with the Kenyahs of the upper Baram, so that the Kayans and Kenyahs of Baram were "gradually becoming one people". In the Limbang they had been attacking and terrorising the indigenous Murut populations, driving them out of the area, and in 1857 had formed an encampment outside the city of Brunei and kept the capital in some state of alarm (St John 1863, Vol.2:32-33). They held no allegiance to Brunei (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:257, Denison 1882:178). Despite their ravages on the Limbang, they did not colonise this area but apparently simply used it as a resource area to obtain heads and slaves, so that when it was finally acquired by Sarawak it had been heavily depopulated.³ There were large tracks cut through the jungle between the Baram and Limbang headwaters, lined with logs so that the Kayan war boats could be hauled across overland (de Crespigny 1858:343, St John 1863, Vol.2:48-49).

Charles Brooke’s so-called Kayan expedition up the Rejang in 1863 actually inflicted more damage on the people, houses, cemeteries and rice fields of the Punan, Kajaman and Sekapan people of the river than on those of the Kayans, although they travelled to above the Bukun rapids. The expedition

1. This group was visited by Beccari in 1865, making his description one of the earlier observations of Kayans in their home village, although it was not published until 1904 (Beccari 1904:267-283).

2. St John first visited the Kayans of the Baram by steamer in 1851. A report of this excursion was published as a journal article under the pen name "S" (1851). This material was later incorporated into his Life in the Forests of the Far East (1863).

3. De Crespigny visited the Limbang in 1857, seeing the relics of villages destroyed by the Kayans and the remains of the massive Kayan encampments. The Bisayas of the lower river he described as very poor (de Crespigny 1858:342-343). St John (1863, Vol.2:48) described the events on the river as follows, "The Kayans first of all attacked the Tabuns, who lived on the Madalam, and drove them away; they then attacked the Muruts on the main river, and these being all disunited, were destroyed piecemeal, each village caring only for itself. There is now not an inhabitant on the upper Limbang except among the mountains close to its sources." After the Limbang was actually acquired by Sarawak in 1890, the Resident reported that the Tabuns around the Madalam were numerically small, smallpox having exacerbated the depletion caused by the Kayans. Adang Muruts were reportedly numerous at the source of the river (Ricketts S.G. April 1 1891:59).
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passed the houses of Punan who had departed to live on the Tatau river to escape the incursions of the Sea Dayaks into the region from the Kanowit and Katibas tributaries (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:231-300). A couple of years later houses of Kajaman, Sekapan, Punan and Kayan were found mixed together at the mouth of the Belaga river, presumably banded together to recover from the devastation. The Kayan chief Tama Dian was in residence further downriver (Beccari 1904:302-306).

When St John visited the Kayans near the mouth of the Tutoh tributary of Baram in 1851, he reported that the Kenyahs who lived further upriver were the original inhabitants of the region. The inhabitants of the Tinjar he called "Subub" or Sebop. However he did not actually investigate this river (St John 1863, Vol.1:117, 120). He did not mention the people living downriver to the Kayans on the main Baram. In 1876 Brooke Low, a Sarawak officer, visited the Baram and listed the names of the various peoples found there at that time. These included various groups considered to be indigenous, the Kayans and a series of Kenyah communities. There was evidently communication between the indigenous communities and their counterparts on the Rejang. At this time none of the Kenyah communities bore the names of parent groups in the Apo Kayan. Intergroup tensions had been temporarily suspended to combat a greater menace, smallpox.

In the 1870s, before the Baram was included as part of Sarawak, there were reports of intergroup warfare instigated by the incursions of the Kayans into the area and the inability or unwillingness of the Brunei government to protect the Kenyah inhabitants (eg. Sinclair S.G. Aug.1 1871). Evidently St

1. These longhouse dwelling Rejang Punan now call themselves Punan Bah after the name of one of their villages, to distinguish themselves from the nomadic Punan. Their ethnic relationships have been discussed in some detail in Nicolaisen (1977-8).

2. By this time the Kayan chief living immediately above the Pelagus rapids, as reported by Burns, had been forced to move further upriver as a result of attacks by the Katibas Sea Dayaks (Brooke 1966, Vol.2:268).

3. In the Tinjar he named the Berawan and Sebop, in the Tutoh region the Long Kiput, Tanjong, Batu Blah, Long Pata and Treng. The Tanjong were, in fact, from the group of the same name on the Rejang and were living with the Long Kiput. He referred to "Oyong Ngau's followers", the Kayan, on the lower Baram, although he also mentioned the Long Wat as a group living in the same region. In the middle Baram were the Long Akah, Long Julan, Long Tikan, Long Bulukun, Long Ulai, Long Sibatu and Long Meloyang, while in the upper Baram were the Long Muri, Long Pelutan and Long Alap (Brooke Low S.G. July 17 1876:3-5, Aug. 15 1876:4-6).
John's prediction of these groups quietly becoming one people was not to be. What exactly was happening is not quite clear, as the region where these activities were taking place was outside colonial control. Nevertheless, various Kenyah groups left the Baram region (Pearse S.G. Oct.7 1878:64). Some, including Sebops from Tinjar, applied officially to come into Sarawak territory and were accommodated on the Belaga river (de Crespigny S.G. Oct 7 1878:67, Gueritz S.G. Nov.13 1878:72-73, de Crespigny S.G. Feb.19 1879:13).\(^1\) Kenyah groups also moved down from the Belepe, the Plieran and other tributaries of the upper Rejang (de Crespigny S.G. July 19 1879:48). Some of these Kenyah bore sub-group names with the prefix Lepu, a form of nomenclature which generally indicated recent migration from a home on the central plateaus.\(^2\)

The Belaga was occupied by two very small minority groups, the Bah Mali and the Seping. The latter had moved down from the Seping tributary of the Rejang where it appears they had been pushed out by other invading Kenyah groups and by smallpox (de Crespigny S.G. June 1 1882:44). The Sarawak authorities thought the immigrant Kenyahs had provided great benefit to the Seping and Bah Mali on the Belaga as they taught them how to grow rice more effectively and improved their general welfare (Gueritz S.G. June 1 1881:49). However there were more than hints that the Seping, the Bah Mali and the Kajaman of the Rejang near the Belaga mouth were severely displeased at this Kenyah influx to the region.\(^3\)

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1. It is, perhaps, significant for the conduct of affairs at this time that the Belaga, although a tributary of the Rejang, was not administered from the Rejang itself but from Bintulu. It was reached by a fairly difficult journey which involved travelling overland from the Tubau. Consequently the government had little knowledge of the effects of their policies on the population of the main Rejang.

2. For example, there was a series of incidents in which Lepu Anan Kenyah who had already moved to the Belaga were spreading rumours to prevent the immigration of Lepu Aga Kenyah from the Belepe (de Crespigny S.G. Feb.19 1879:13).

3. The initial response of the Sepings was to move far upriver (Gueritz S.G. July 20 1877:64). When they proved reluctant to follow the government order to return to their old homes they were branded "the bad characters of Belaga". Meanwhile the Kajamans were misrepresenting themselves as the Rajah's representatives in order to escort the Kenyahs out of the Belaga (Gueritz S.G. Nov.13 1878:72). The Kajamans continued to harass the immigrants, firing at them with blowpipes from behind trees (de Crespigny S.G. Feb.19 1879:13, de Crespigny S.G. July 19 1879:48).
MAP 14

The Upper Rejang Tributaries

Communities of the Upper Rejang in the 1880s
- mainly from Brooke Low's diaries of 1882 and 1883, as published in the Sarawak Gazette.
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The Baram and Rejang after 1880

A steady influx of Kenyahs, including Apo Kayan groups like the Lepu Tau, continued into the Belaga in the 1880s (de Crespigny S.G. May 2 1881:30, de Crespigny S.G. Oct. 1 1881:6-7, de Crespigny S.G. June 1 1882:40-45). Continuing acts of protest by the indigenes were in vain. ¹ However it was merely a temporary place of residence for most, who gradually moved across to the Tinjar when the Baram region was acquired by Sarawak. The Seping and Bah Mali apparently moved back and forth between the Belaga and the Tinjar at various times.

In the early 1880s, Brooke Low travelled to the uppermost tributaries of the Rejang for reconnaissance and peacemaking activities, and to organise the building of the Belaga fort. This was done with the assistance of every ethnic group on the river in late 1883 (Brooke Low S.G. April 1 1884:30-33, May 1 1884:41-42). He recorded in detail the inhabitants of the various settlements up the river, from the Tanjongs who were hanging on near Kapit despite the massive incursions of Sea Dayaks into the area, through the region around Belaga where the Kayans and various indigenous people of the river lived interspersed, to the upper tributaries. Between Kapit and Belaga were scattered the small houses of the Sian, Lugat, Lisum and Bukitan people, mostly clustered near the government station or near the longhouses of other groups well disposed towards them. These were also incomers to the region, being the relics of groups driven out from the Baleh region by troubles in the past, the victims of both Iban and Kayan or Bahau incursions (Brooke Low S.G. July 1 1882:52-54, Aug. 1 1882:62-65, Sept 1 1882:72-73, Oct. 1 1882:81-83, Nov. 1 1882:93-96).²

The invasion of the Kayans into the upper Rejang was a somewhat different process from the incursions of the Iban into new territories. The groups such as Sekapan, Kajaman and Lahanan retained an identity of their own, despite aristocratic intermarriage with the immigrant Kayan. They

¹. The Sepings murdered some Sea Dayaks who were gutta collecting in their river as a further protest against intrusion (Gueritz S.G. Sept. 1 1881:70). The Bah Mali just made threats (de Crespigny S.G. June 1 1882:42). The Kajamans requested that the Resident expel the Kenyahs from the Belaga for felling their camphor trees to clear padi fields (Brooke Low S.G. Nov. 1 1882:96). The Kajamans resorted to failing to maintain the pathways in the region for fear of the Kenyahs (Brooke Low S.G. May 1 1884:43).

². Brooke Low's diaries of 1882, 1883 and 1884 have been reprinted with some omissions, regularisations of spelling and notes by Maxwell (1987).
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retained separate longhouses and the indigenous groups had their own headmen. Brooke Low reported the names of groups which had formerly lived in various parts of the river, but had become extinct, at least as named entities. He also mentioned groups that he claimed were non-Kayan indigenous people of the river, which were considered to be Kayan a hundred years later.\(^1\) While some groups evidently had mechanisms for retaining a separate identity, others did not.

In the uppermost tributaries of the Rejang, Brooke Low encountered an assortment of Kayan and Kenyah groups living in close proximity. On the Belepe he encountered what he called a "regular Kenyah town" of six longhouses (Brooke Low S.G. May 1 1884:43). Some had evidently come down from the plateau region, although certain groups had recently come across from the Baram. There was a movement from this area to the Belaga and many had already left.\(^2\) The migrations of the central Borneo people were not a simple unidirectional flow downriver. They involved some dislocation and opportunities for changes of identity. Brooke Low’s purpose on this trip was to conduct the first of the multi-ethnic peacemakings to settle intergroup warfare.

\(^1\) For example a group called Bakan reportedly occupied the region around the Pelagus rapids. Remnants of this group lived on the Muka river. Further up was the former territory of the Lepu Wun, of whom nothing was known (Brooke Low S.G. July 1 1882:53). The Punans reported that the most powerful people around the mouth of the Belaga were called Antu Jalan, and that these had now returned in the form of the white men (Brooke Low S.G. May 1 1884:41). These walking ghosts have the ring of apocryphal beings, but Maxwell (1987:70) has suggested that the name could be a mistranscription for Atu Julan, Kajaman for "the nine hills." Brooke Low claimed that the Uma Apun and Uma Kahe were not Kayan, but aboriginal groups of the river (Brooke Low S.G. Oct 1 1882:81). According to Maxwell’s researches in 1986 the Uma Apun and Uma Kahe, both depleted groups living in mixed communities, were considered to be Kayan (Maxwell 1987:67).

\(^2\) The Lepu Linau and Lepu Sawa had come from Baram. The immediate origins of the Lepu Jingan were not clarified. There were Sebops and Lirongs present. Sebops were living on the Tinjar in 1851, and it is unclear whether the groups encountered by Brooke Low were latecomers migrating down from the central plateaus or had been driven back by events in the Baram region. There were reportedly Kelabits who must have come from the Baram region (Brooke Low S.G. May 1 1884:42-44). Uma Time and others were arranging to bring some of their fellows down from the Apo Kayan (Brooke Low S.G. June 2 1884:51). Some Badang Kenyah were also living in the upper Rejang tributaries (S.G. Sept 1 1884:94). These were one of the last groups to come down into the Baram region. They were described by Hose (1927:177) as "a warlike tribe of Kenyahs whose hand, like that of Ishmael, seemed to be against every man's, and whose raids struck terror into neighbouring tribes." The Badang, or some of them, returned to the Apo Kayan around the turn of the century (Jongejans 1922:178, Elshout 1926:158). Some later moved back to the Linau tributary of the upper Rejang.
The Baram and tributaries

Ethnic groups of the Baram region in the 1880s

: from Daubeny S.G. Dec 1 1887:198-201, June 1 1888:78-79

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in the Rejang and Baram ulu.

When the Sarawak government took over the Baram there had been some degree of depopulation in the mid-river region. A government fort was built at Claudetown, now called Marudi, and efforts were made to encourage people who had moved into the far hinterland to recolonise this area of river. Raiding and attacks by Kenyah groups from the Bulungan, or Apo Kayan, region hastened the movement downriver, while the government actively encouraged the movement of Apo Kayan Kenyahs into the region provided they were prepared to keep the peace.¹ The major opponent of the colonial government of the region was a Sebop, Tama Long, who changed his name to Aban Jau, on the Tinjar. He was converted to a supporter of the regime, and like other powerful chiefs of the region, such as the Kenyah chief Tama Bulan, exerted an influence over other ethnic groups in the suppression of warfare and headhunting.²

There were continuing old feuds between groups of the Baram region.³ However the process of immigration set up new tensions which were dealt with by a series of peacemakings on the Tinjar and the Baram. A particularly grand multi-ethnic occasion was held in 1899 with rowdy sham fights, competitions, speeches, rowing races, tuba fishing and feasts (Haddon 1901:401-412).

Relations among the central Borneo people of the upper Rejang, Baram and the Apo Kayan over the border were probably just as bloody as those among the Iban of the Ulu Ai. However the peacemaking activities of Brooke

¹ Much of the negotiation was carried out by messengers and the messages sometimes became confused. De Crespigny (S.G. June 2 1884:56) presented a list of tribes begging admission to Baram provided they were not attacked. These were the Belabits, Long Liats, Panutongs, Long Mudoh, Aban Luhats, Lajings, Long Madohs, Simars and Batang Apos. The identity of most of these is a mystery.

² The story of Aban Jau's relationship with the government is told by Charles Hose (1927:48-58), who even included a tribute in verse. Aban Jau's funeral was evidently the first occasion on which the government organized for an old head to be borrowed as a substitute for a headhunting raid. This policy was much used to reduce the occasions for headhunting on the Baram. It is intriguing that the contemporary accounts in the Sarawak Gazette of Tama Long/Aban Jau's early misdeeds refer to him as a Kayan chief. This is presumably simply based on the assumption that trouble in the Baram region was all being caused by Kayans.

³ The first ongoing dispute that the Resident of Baram had to deal with was between the Long Wats and the Long Patas, two of the original indigenous groups of the river (de Crespigny S.G. April 2 1883:36, May 1 1883:49). A feud of several generations then had to be resolved between the Long Wats and the Long Kiputs (S.G. Nov.2 1885:105).
Chapter 4

Low and Charles Hose were ultimately more effective than Charles Brooke’s punitive assaults on the Ulu Ai Iban. Whether this is mainly attributable to better administrative technique or to the different social organization of the people concerned is probably an unresolvable question. These peacemaking activities extended over the border into Dutch Borneo.¹

On the Baram, as on the upper Rejang tributaries, population movements and fear of attack had caused members of different groups to cluster together in mixed villages. These villages were made up of longhouses which each contained the members of one ethnic group, and each house had its own leadership. While proximity and intermarriage caused the extinction of some ethnic entities, there were many cases in which different groups lived in immediate proximity for many years. These mixed villages on the Baram persisted long after the threats and disruptions which had instigated this mode of living had ceased.²

Constructions of Identity on the Rejang and Baram

The ethnic picture of the Rejang and Baram as it was represented in the 1880s and 1890s is of a whole range of small ethnic groups being infiltrated and surrounded by two major ethnic conglomerates moving down from the interior of the country.³ Groups such as the Kajaman and the Sekapan, or the various indigenous Baram groups such as the Long Kiput or Berawan, consisted of small communities of only a few longhouses or villages. They had no senior chiefs with any authority over other than their own small collection of people. If these groups had a commonality of history or culture, it was not reflected in their

¹. Various chiefs of the Apo Kayan had as their proudest possessions, gifts or letters from the Rajah of Sarawak, delivered by Charles Hose at peacemaking ceremonies in Sarawak or by Malay speaking emissaries who travelled over the border in order to read the letters to their recipients (Tehupei ori 1906:106, 128, 142).

². Pollard and Banks (1930-37) give a description, accompanied by a detailed map, of the ethnic arrangements on the Baram and Tinjar in the 1930s.

³. Rousseau (1990:331-339) has summarised the details of these migrations from historic accounts and from the stories of the peoples themselves. However he presents the story in such a way that it seems as if small self-contained groups each had their own individual history of migration. The complex inter-relationships between groups, and the constructions of identity of these groups, are made little of in his account. This reflects the way that migration stories are used as validators of identity, rather than indicating the complexity of identity relationships which developed during the migratory process.
MAP 16

Ethnic Groups of the Baram in the 1930s

From Pollard and Banks (1930-37)
nomenclature or any form of power relations between them. Some of these groups had names which were prefixed with the word Long, such as Long Wat or Long Kiput. These names were simple geographical identifiers indicating where they lived, or where they had lived relatively recently, the term "Long" simply indicating the junction of a river identified by the second part of the name. These were the people who were dubbed the Klemantans. The affiliations of these groups were fluid. Some were becoming more closely associated with the coastal people, Malay or Melanau, while others were becoming encompassed in a network of identity in the central Borneo complex. The ethnic status of many of these small identity groups had, by the turn of the century, become a product of recent events rather than a signifier of their origins or long term history.

The people who were called Kenyah were diverse, particularly in the Baram basin. The terms Lepu Pu'un and Lepu Buau were used to differentiate the supposedly original inhabitants of the Baram region from the later immigrants. However these terms, and the term Klemantan, were applied somewhat differently by different writers. Definitely Lepu Buau were the groups which had come from the Apo Kayan region, by whatever route, in the 19th and 20th centuries. These moved into the upper Tinjar and Baram, upriver of the Kayan and Klemantan groups (Pollard and Banks 1930-37, Metcalf 1974).

The term Lepu Pu'un Kenyah has been used to differentiate those Kenyah who were in the upper Baram at colonial contact, but who had a history of immigration from the Rejang region, from the Lepu Buau and from the Klemantans (Hose 1894, Roth 1896, Vol.1:37-38, Pollard and Banks 1935). The term Lepu Umbo has been used for this group by Metcalf (1974:31), although

1. This term was evidently proposed by Haddon (1901:321). Hose and McDougall (1912, Vol.1:30) used it as one of the principal groups of the island and included in it all the groups which they considered to be early immigrants to the island, such as the Land Dayaks and the Ngaju. In this form it is, perhaps, less than useful but it has some descriptive value when restricted to the relatively recent history of the Baram and Rejang.

2. From the Baram groups listed by Hose (1894:157), the Melanau, Narom, Dalis, Kadayan, Orang Bukit and Miri had developed a coastal orientation and some had adopted Islam. The Long Kiput, Batu Blah, Berawan and Long Pata were part of the interaction of central Borneo and were regarded as Kenyah. On the Rejang, the Kajaman, Sekapan, Lahanan, Punan Bah, Seping and Bah Male, known collectively as Kajang, were integrated into the central Borneo sphere of interaction, while the Kanowit and Tanjong were regarded as upriver Melanau. However these categories were variable and capable of reinterpretation according to time and circumstance (Rousseau 1972, 1974, de Martinoir 1974, Nicolaisen 1977-8).
this appellation does not seem to appear in the earlier literature. Lepu Pu’un has also been used to include the original people of the region, that is, the Klemantans (Douglas 1911a:75-76, Metcalf 1976:93). In fact, among some groups of the upper Baram, the distinctions are not particularly clear as earlier immigrant Kenyah and original groups had mingled and intermarried. Certain communities such as the Long Sibatu or Long Ulai were not simply categorised.1

The Kenyah groups who had migrated down from the Apo Kayan region in the late 19th century bore sub-group names, mostly commencing with Lepu but sometimes with Uma, which identified them with a former location or parent community in the Apo Kayan. This nomenclature has remained remarkably stable and communities are still identified this way. The Kenyahs who were already in residence at the head of the Baram at colonial contact were divided into communities named with the prefix Long. These were local names and were not long term identifiers (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:67).

On the Tinjar, the Berawan and their close associates such as the Lelak, and the various Sebop groups were all categorized by Hose as Klemantan. Many of the Sebop had come down from the upper tributaries of the Rejang in the late 19th century, and they had traditions of earlier occupation of the Usun Apau plateau, with particular associations with the Luar tributary of the Plieran (Arnold 1956-7, Gockel 1974). Metcalf has defined them, in contradistinction to the Berawan, as "truly Kenyah" (Metcalf 1976:102). Their language, unlike that of the Berawan, is Kenyah (Würm 1981-3). However Hose clearly saw their culture and society as distinct from that of the new immigrants from the Apo Kayan and from the older Kenyah immigrants of the upper Baram.2

1. Even Hose himself, with his intimacy with the Baram, was not entirely unequivocal with his categorisations. In a list of tribes of Borneo published in Roth (1896, Vol.1:37-38) he has ascribed the Long Wats of the Baram to the Sebop group, while ascribing the Taballau, a group generally regarded as Sebop, to a group including the Kajaman of the Rejang. In another article (Hose 1894:157) he assigned the Long Wats to the Kayan.

2. In the 1870s and early 1880s, when Aban Jau was defying both the Sultan of Brunei and the Sarawak government, some Sebops were living in the Tinjar and some were still in the upper Balui tributaries. There are various reports of Berawan and some Sebop groups renouncing their associations with Aban Jau and wanting to come under Sarawak government (Gueritz S.G. Aug.25 1877:65, de Crespigny S.G. Oct.7 1878:67, Gueritz S.G. Nov.13 1878:73, de Crespigny S.G. Dec.1 1882:102). Although the Sarawak authorities specifically announced at one stage that Aban Jau did not and never had held authority over the Berawan (Daubeny S.G. Nov.2 1885:109), the effect of his emphatic leadership was to bring these groups closer together for a time.
The mingling, intermarriages and mixing of communities which occurred as a result of the movements and countermovements of the 19th century changed affiliations, and even identifications, among individuals and communities. Ethnic categorization became difficult in some cases. However named groups continued to exist and ratified their existence in the maintenance of aspects of custom and language. Among the groups designated as Kenyah, there was a tendency to regard the powerful Kenyah groups of the Apo Kayan as a benchmark of authentic Kenyah culture, and traditions of origin from the plateau regions were an important signifier of association with this cultural heritage.

The Kayan posed no such problems of identity, being perceived as a homogeneous group with a single language and a unified set of cultural values (Hose and McDougall, Vol.1, 1912:63). In Sarawak, the groups on the Baram and on the Bintulu had relatively recent histories of migration from the Rejang. They claimed their name was derived from the Kayan river, and that they had been the inhabitants of the Apo Kayan region before the Kenyah moved in. Thus their migrations downriver predated those of the Kenyah, or at least the Lepu Buau. The Kayan recognised among themselves smaller units of identity, each usually with the prefix Uma. These names referred to a single house in some former location, but had persisted to the extent that there could be several houses bearing that name (Daubeny S.G. Dec.1 1887:200, Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:63-64). By the later 19th century they were not creating new names for groups which formed by the splitting of houses, but such a process must have occurred in the past, as proliferation of these sub-group names would indicate.

It is notable that when the colonial authorities in Sarawak actually encountered the Kayans in their home territory, they found a people who were rather different to the image that their reputation had sent before them. The events surrounding the murder of Fox and Steele on the Rejang had perhaps made the Rajah and his officers inclined to believe tales told to them by the Sea Dayaks. There were also reports of brutality and torture, the sacrifice of slaves and the dismemberment of the bodies of dead enemies (Brooke 1866, Vol.2:270-273, Brooke Low S.G. Sept.1 1882:73, Hose 1894:165, Furness 1902:3). Their raids on the Baram and Limbang had been devastating.¹ The

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¹ St John (1863, Vol.1:98) wrote "there is little doubt that this slave acquiring and head-hunting people are destroying the interior population." Hose (1894:159) reported that Kayans on the Baram "almost exterminated the smaller tribes and made slaves of the weaker ones."
image was of a people fierce, cruel and murderous. 

In fact, the human sacrifice of slaves by methods that Europeans found bizarre and repugnant, especially at the funerals of high ranking individuals, had been reported from all regions of the island and a range of ethnic groups. Such stories were told of the downriver people of Sarawak, such as the Melanau and Bisaya, although such practices had ceased before the arrival of colonial government (St John 1863, Vol.1:46-47, de Crespigny 1876:35, Crocker 1881:200, Denison 1882:182, Newington 1961:104-105).

The massive raids on the Limbang were attested by the depopulation of the area. Some Murut groups never recovered and some sub-groups gradually became extinct. Others were only slowly cajoled to return to the lower reaches of the river. The physical evidence of the routes made for the transport of war boats over the watershed was there to see. The Muruts provided slaves for the powerful Kayan chiefs and their families. The emphatic social stratification which has been noted as a striking characteristic of the Kayan (Rousseau 1979) was fuelled by these captive workers who freed the leaders to negotiate and fight. It seems that the Kayan negotiated with the people with whom they shared territory, no doubt after some initial displays of their might, but reserved their most devastating forays for the people over the watershed. They thus insinuated themselves into new territory, established some form of control over the indigenes of the region and enhanced their stratified social structure. By the time the Sarawak authorities visited their territory they were being threatened in turn by the Kenyah of Apo Kayan, so they may have been quite willing to accept the authority of the Rajah to preserve the status quo. The government representatives on the Rejang and Baram found the Kayans to be amenable to the strictures of government and willing to co-operate in peacemaking.

The period immediately before colonial contact can therefore be seen as one in which the Kayan were establishing their identity in Sarawak, using warfare and their system of social stratification to assist them in claiming territory and the loyalty of the indigenes. In the course of consolidating their identity as a whole, they also stabilised the identities of their sub-groups, using such identifiers to apportion the control over different sections of their recently acquired domains. The effectiveness of Kayan influence over the region is

1. "But as long as headhunting is considered an honourable pursuit, and the acquisition of Murut slaves enables the chiefs to live without labour, it will be impossible to put a stop to their forays." (St John 1863, Vol.1:114)
attested by the use of the Kayan language as the language of communication between all groups in the area, even between non-Kayan groups which do not have a language in common.¹

**Dutch Encounters with the central Borneo people**

Following the disappearance and reported murder in 1825 of the first person to attempt to explore the far interior of Dutch Borneo, a military person called Georg Müller, the innermost regions of Dutch Borneo remained unvisited until the end of the 19th century. The lists of ethnic names produced by Weddik (1849) and von Dewall (1855) were based on minimal contact. The exciting adventures of Carl Bock (1985) around 1880 were conducted among the Modang of the Telen and Klinjau tributaries of the middle Mahakam and the Tring of the main river. He crossed the watershed to the upper Barito in an area which was accessible, even at that time, by steamer.²

In the lower areas of some of the eastern rivers were groups which had a history of migration from the Apo Kayan region. In the Berau and lower Bulungan were groups identified by outsiders as Segai. These claimed relationship with the Modang groups of the Telen and Klinjau tributaries of the Mahakam, but were also their perpetual enemies in mutual headhunting raids (Weddik 1849:97, 124, von Dewall 1855:447-449). On the Berau the Segai were reported to be completely independent of the authority of the local Sultan (Gallois 1856:252-253). The Modang chiefs had a closer relationship to the Sultan of Kutai and some of their chiefs had nominally embraced Islam, although this did not extend to their followers (Bock 1985:232). Weddik (1849:136) reported that several Modang groups lived in the upper Mahakam, under the Bahau but separate. There were Long Wai Modang on the main river,

¹ The introduction of Bahasa Malaysia as the official common language of the people has had to be enforced through the education system and has still not infiltrated all of the adult population of the upriver regions of Sarawak.

² Despite Bock's apparent conversion of an early pleasure cruise into a jungle adventure in his book, his writings on the Modang are the most detailed descriptive writings about these people, his illustrations are vivid and his collections are in the Museum of Mankind in London. There has been very little else written about the middle Mahakam people.
but he may also have been referring to the Long Glat.¹

In the 1890s the most important explorations to date were the journeys undertaken by A.W. Nieuwenhuis (1900, 1904). He described a continuum of cultural interaction which extended from the Mendalam tributary of the upper Kapuas in the west across the watershed to the Mahakam. The people as a whole were called Bahau, a category which contained many sub-groups. All these people claimed an origin in the Apo Kayan region, having arrived in the Mahakam at different times and by different routes. As with the Kayan of Sarawak, many of the Bahau sub-groups were named with the prefix Uma, the second part of the name indicating a place of origin for the group.² The Kayans of the Mendalam and the Mahakam were perceived as a group clearly located within the category Bahau. The common language of the region, used by all groups for intercommunication even if they had a different first language, was called Busang (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:37).³

On the Mendalam, the Kayan people lived quite separately from the Embaloh people of the immediate vicinity, to the extent that Nieuwenhuis lived three months with the Mendalam Kayan and wrote extensively about them but felt inadequately informed about the Embaloh to be able to write anything about them at all. He noted that the two groups did not intermarry and had negligible intercommunication (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:77). The Kayans of the Mendalam had more contact with Malays and had more dealings with the bazaars than the Bahau of the Mahakam, but they maintained intercommunication and a sense of identity.

The immigrants to the Mahakam had dispossessed previous inhabitants of their territory and pushed them downriver and into the upper reaches of the

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1. The Long Glat and Segai had traditions of formerly living in the Apo Kayan with the Kayan (Elshout 1926:183). Lumholz (1920, Vol.2:425) identified the Segai, or Uma Gaai, of the lower Bulungan as a Kayan group, although somewhat different to the other Kayans in language. Rousseau (1990:25) states, "The Long Glat are a component of the Segai-Modang, whose language is Kayanic; however it is distinct phonologically and lexically. Due to their close association with the Busang, their language has been heavily transformed."

2. For example, the Kayans of the Mendalam belonged to the sub-groups Uma Aging, Uma Suling and Uma Pagong (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:32).

3. Busang is a Kayan dialect, as are the other Bahau languages of the region. The differences between them are small (Rousseau 1990:15-16). Most people of the region were able to speak multiple languages, although it was possible to manage with only Busang (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:96).
Ethnic Groups of the Mahakam in the late 19th and early 20th century

: from Tromp (1889), Nieuwenhuis (1904), Lumholz (1920), Knappert (1905) and Bock (1985)
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Barito basin. Inscribed stones were present at various locations on the upper Mahakam, while utensils and jars belonging to these earlier inhabitants had been found by Kayans clearing forest on the Blu'u tributary (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:267). These Kayans, the only group of the Mahakam which actually used the name Kayan despite the linguistic and cultural affinities of other Bahau groups, lived in one large village. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:267) reported that their slaves had been acquired from the tribes earlier inhabiting the region, but that even those slaves born in the tribe kept themselves apart from the actual Kayans. They had, however, left a linguistic and cultural heritage with the group.

The Bahau groups visited by Nieuwenhuis in the Mendalam and upper Mahakam regions were the Kayan, Uma Suling, Saputan, Bongan, Penihing and Long Glat. He encountered but did not really get to know the nomadic Punan and Bukats (or Ukits). The Penihing had reportedly moved to the Mahakam from the upper Kapuas, where a vestige still resided. Nieuwenhuis posed the possibility of a relationship with the Tamans (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:27). A slightly later explorer, Lumholz, visited the villages of the Saputan and the Penyahbong. These were formerly nomadic groups which were adopting a sedentary existence and becoming incorporated into the Bahau milieu (Lumholz

1. There were still memories of the ethnic names for these previous inhabitants: Pin Mejai, Ne Kham, Pin Buot, Pin Kunjong, Ten Nean, Pera Teran, Ne Barang and Pin Bawan (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:267). Knappert (1905:592-593) names the original tribes as Pin Kuat, Pin Seke, Pin Kunjong and Pin Dehong.

2. The language of the Mahakam Kayan is "a mixture of Kayan and Duhoi Ot Danum" (Würm 1981-83). Sellato (1981:28) and Rousseau (1990:15, 25) have attributed this transformation to the influence of their slaves, to whom they ascribe the ethnic name Pin. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:280) described a secondary bone disposal procedure for the chiefly dead of the Long Blu'u Kayan. The adoption of a mortuary procedure for the high ranking dead by a dominant group from the culture of its slaves seems inherently unlikely and suggests that the process of ethnic integration and Kayanization may have been somewhat more complex than the mere subjugation of one group by another. This community has remained coherent and survived as a single village until recent years (Sellato 1980:43, 1981:28).

3. These people have been relatively uninvestigated until the recent researches of Sellato. He has identified five sub-groups of the Penihing, or Aoheng as they call themselves, derived from a mixture of nomads from the Mahakam and the Kapuas, autochthonous Pin and immigrants from Apo Kayan. Although of diverse origins, they consider themselves to be of one tribe and have a single language (Sellato 1980:43, 1989). He believes that they consolidated their identity from their diverse origins as a defence against the strength of the invading Batang Lupars, or Iban, and the Kayan (Sellato 1981:28-29).
Lumholz also reported the existence of minority groups of only a few doors living within the actual longhouse of another group.²

Below the upper rapids, on the middle Mahakam, there was an assortment of small ethnic groups living in close proximity, many within villages dominated by the Long Glat who had held supremacy in the river until about 1850. They had since become somewhat fragmented under several chiefs (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:268). These villages differed from those of the upper Mahakam in that they contained several separate longhouses, each occupied by a separate ethnic group with its own headman, speaking its own language.³ This arrangement also held for Long Glat villages above the rapids. In Long Tepai the Long Glats co-existed with Uma Tuan and Uma Tepai (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:133).

The groups of the middle Mahakam also had origin stories of journeys from the Apo Kayan, but some of the groups were probably original groups of the river whose Ot Danum type of culture had been changed by incorporation

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1. The Saputans are part of the Penihing linguistic group, but claim to have originally had a different language (Sellato 1980:43). Sellato (1981:29) has suggested the possibility that this group may have absorbed some peoples of negrito racial type. Penyahbong was a term for nomadic groups calling themselves Kereho and Hovongan who had allied themselves with the Aoheng and Saputan against the Ot Danum. There has been a gradual adoption of agriculture among them and the Bukat (Sellato 1989a). They were known to the peoples of southern Kalimantan as Olo Ot (Lumholz 1920, Vol.2:342-343, Sellato 1989a:109).

2. In the Uma Suling house of Long Pahangei were living eight doors of Uma Palo, reported to have been living with the tribe for a hundred years and five doors of Uma Tepai (Lumholz 1920 Vol.1:223). When a large festival was held by the Uma Suling, the Uma Palo conducted their own, much shorter, separate celebration (p.228).

3. The groups of the Mahakam mainstream were the Tring, Huang-Ana, Huang-Dali, Uma Luhat, Uma Mehak, Huang-Sirau, Long Wai, Long Boh, Uma Laham, Uma Wak, Long Asa and a mixed village of Uma Mehak and Uma Tuan. In the village of Long Deho lived the Long Glat, Uma Tuan, Bato Pala and Uma Wak. On the tributaries were the Uma Temha, Mahakam and Jinawang together, the Uma Lutan and Uma Teliba. There were various nomadic Punan groups in the region. The Long Bila were a Bahau group of the Tawang, a tributary of the Belayan (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:33-34). Lumholz (1920, Vol.2:439) reported settlements of Uma Tepai, Uma Lokui and Bato Pala associated with the Long Glat settlement of Long Tuyo. These minority groups spoke languages different to Long Glat.
into the social milieu of the invaders. The Long Glat reportedly had many slaves from the original inhabitants of the river, of Ot Danum stock, who became incorporated into the Bahau (Nieuwenhuis 1904:Vol.2:36). The Tunjung, a group related to the original inhabitants of the Mahakam rather than the incoming Bahau, lived in the hill country at some distance from the main river (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:46-47). There was one group of Kenyah in the Mahakam region, the Uma Time who lived near the Long Bila on the Tawang tributary of the Belayan (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:48-50). Some of the chiefs of middle Mahakam Bahau groups had adopted Islam (Bock 1985:136, Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:36). Malays, Buginese, Bakumpai from the Barito and Ot Danum had also moved into the region (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:35).

Even more than on the upper river, the inhabitants of the middle Mahakam were developing an identity composed of many elements of diverse origin. The large scale identity Bahau can be seen to have formed as a regional integration, with various levels of smaller scale identity being retained within it, even as the populations of individual villages became more mixed into very recent times.

1. Tromp (1889:285) reported that of the middle Mahakam groups, only the Sirau, Boh, Mahakam and Jinawai did not have traditions of an origin in the Apo Kayan. Knappert (1905:593) reported that the Boh and Mahakam groups survived only as a few doors in the houses of other ethnic groups. The Jinawai group had completely died out. The Sirau survived as a community and claimed an origin in the Apo Kayan. Sellato has expressed doubts about whether some of the Bahau who claim to have migrated from the Apo Kayan are actually Kayanized groups of autochthonous Pin origin (Rousseau 1990:333).

2. The Tunjung, as well as the Benuaq and Bentian of the downriver regions, were groups with a culture and language similar to that of the Dayaks of Southeast Kalimantan. The Benuaq were seen to have much in common with the Luangan of the Barito tributaries. The Bentian were essentially the same as the Benuaq but had less contact with the Sultan of Kutai (Knappert 1905:624-626). The Tunjungs were closely related to the family of the Sultan of Kutai. All these groups were considered to be autochthonous (Knappert 1905:592).

3. Knappert (1905:596) reported that these Kenyah comprised Uma Time as well as Uma Bem.

4. Sellato (1980:40-42) has indicated a difference between the Bahau groups who are also known as Busang and certain other Bahau of the middle river whose language is somewhat different and who consider themselves to be different. As well as the Long Glat and the Uma Suling, the Bahau-Busang comprise the Uma Pala, Uma Tepai, Uma Luhat, Uma Lekue, Uma Tuan, Uma Sam and Bang Kelau, a series of groups with a long history of wars, fusions and secessions. (Sellato 1981:27). The Bahau-bate, or non-Busang Bahau, include the Laham, Long Hubung, Hoang Tering, Hoang Anah, Hoang Dalii, Hoang Sirau, Hoang Telibah, Hoang Hurei and Hoang Latah (Rousseau 1990:15).
Chapter 4

The Kayans of the Mendalam had a tradition of migration from the Rejang region (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:27) as did the Uma Suling of the Mahakam (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol 2:266). In the late 19th century there were trading contacts maintained between the Bahau of the upper Mahakam and the Kapuas region (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:227) and between the Mahakam Kayans and their ethnic relations on the Rejang (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:229-230). Bahau groups came from the upper Mahakam to Kapit on the Rejang to trade at the bazaar (eg. de Rozario S.G. Nov.1 1890:144). Contact between Sarawak and the Mahakam has decreased, however, and the younger people of these regions know little about each other (Rousseau 1990:263). Their relations have become culture historic, and their regional identifications more relevant to modern concepts of identity.

The Apo Kayan: cultural heartland for the Kenyah

The Apo Kayan itself was finally investigated around the turn of the century (Nieuwenhuis 1904, van Walchren 1907, Tehupeiorij 1906). Most of the inhabitants were Kenyah, divided into a number of sub-groups which claimed to have separated from a common stock at various times in the past. There was one small Kayan sub-group, the Uma Lekan, living in the Apo Kayan as the sole survivors of the former Kayan occupation of the area (Habbema 1917:304, Elshout 1926:183). The Kenyah sub-groups were named, each with the prefix Lepu or Uma. As with Kayan sub-group names, these referred to a single community which had lived at some time on the upper Kayan, the Iwan tributary or the Pujungan tributary of the Bahau. This identification was related to relatively recent events in the region.

The Uma Time had formerly held some form of supremacy over the other Kenyah tribes of the Apo Kayan. By the time of colonial contact they had been displaced by the Lepu Tau and the Lepu Tau chiefs were regarded as the

1. The Penihings were referred to in reports in the Sarawak Gazette as "Pieng Kayans". It was on one of these visits that the headhunting incident occurred which sparked off the Iban raid on the Mahakam in 1885 (eg. S.G. April 1 1885:31, June 1 1885:56, Sept.1 1885:82, Oct.1 1885:94). Brooke Low (S.G. Nov.1 1882:95) encountered a Long Glat party, including a healer, in an Uma Bawang house on the upper Balui.

2. The main concern of the Dutch seems to have been some anxiety about the amount of communication which had developed between the British in Sarawak and the Apo Kayan, and fears of monopolisation of trade in jungle produce from the region by British North Borneo (Engelhard 1897:460, Habbema 1917:475).
Ethnic Groups of the Apo Kayan and Bahau and Pujungan Rivers in the Early 20th Century

from Nieuwenhuis (1904), Tehupeiorij (1906), van Walchren (1907), Habbema (1917) and Elshout (1926).
senior chiefs of the Apo Kayan. The Apo Kayan had had a recent history of conflict between the various Kenyah groups and there was a particular enmity between the groups of the Kayan river and those of the Pujungan (Habbema 1917:312, Elshout 1926:184). The folk histories of the various Kenyah groups of the Apo Kayan told of a somewhat confusing series of recent movements around the upriver areas, community splittings and conflict. They claimed to have displaced the Kayans from the region, but their own origins were embedded in relatively recent events on the Iwan and Pujungan rivers. Elshout (1926:183) postulated a possible origin for the group in the region of the upper Baram, but there was much movement in both directions between the Apo Kayan and the upper Baram and Rejang during colonial times.

In the first decade of this century the Dutch put a civil and military post in the Apo Kayan. This was located at Long Nawang, straight across the river from the major settlement of the Lepu Tau Kenyah. The supremacy of the Lepu Tau was now firmly preserved. Not that the Dutch military actually did anything to the Kenyah, but their presence freed the Lepu Tau from the necessity to maintain their position through headhunting, warfare and slave raiding on either their Kenyah brethren or on other central Borneo groups. These savage headhunters of the Apo Kayan were living demurely under they eye of colonial government. Their culture became something of a benchmark for central Borneo. The Apo Kayan area had been a symbol of cultural origin for the many groups which chose to trace their background to it. In its protected condition it

1. The Uma Time, or "metimai" were the only Kenyah group mentioned specifically by von Dewall (1855:432), indicating that they were known by name in the lower river regions. They were dispersed as a result of their conflict with other groups. One branch was living in the tributaries of the upper Rejang in the 1880s (Brooke Low S.G. June 2 1884:51). Another, as already mentioned, lived on a tributary of the Belayan (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:48-49). Another stayed in the Apo Kayan and became absorbed by the Uma Tukong. The group in the upper Rejang eventually returned to the Apo Kayan (Elshout 1926:182). Some reportedly had a longhouse in the Lepu Tau village of Long Uru and another at Uma Bem Boh, while there was a group in the Lebusan tributary of the Boh (Habbema 1917:305).

2. Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:76) reported that the Bahau of the Mahakam, especially the Kayan and Long Glat, used to undertake journeys to the Apo Kayan when it was under the control of the Uma Time. However the more recent struggles between the Kenyah groups had made them fearful of visiting the area. Since it had become more peaceful under the influence of the Lepu Tau they were hoping to re-open communications. Jongejans (1922:182), on his journey in the Apo Kayan, met a Lepu Tepu chief who had never been to Tanjong Seilor to trade for fear of the Uma Alim of Pujungan and the Uma Kulits of the lower river, despite the fact that these hostilities were well in the past.
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was capable of developing further into an area of special cultural status.

Since the turn of the century there have been significant, and accelerating, movements of Kenyah downriver from the Apo Kayan into Sarawak, the Mahakam tributaries and the lower Kayan river (Sellato 1981:30, Rousseau 1990:337-339). Their identification has remained separate to that of the earlier emigrants from the region. The sub-group names of emigrant groups from Apo Kayan confirm their position as the most recent emigrants from this region of special status in central Borneo.

Boundary Shifts in Central Borneo

In the plateaus and upper valleys to the north of the Kayan and Kenyah regions there was an ethnic boundary with the Kelabitic or Murut-Kelabit groups. This was not investigated during the 19th century because of its remote and difficult location. Kelabits came to the notice of the authorities on the Baram when they came downriver to visit the government station or when there were reports from the hinterland of mutual assaults with the Baram Kenyah (eg. de Crespigny S.G. June 2 1884:55, S.G. July 1 1884:75, S.G. Nov.2 1885). There were some Kelabit living on the upper Rejang tributaries with the Kenyah there, causing the Kelabit to be initially referred to as a Kenyah group (Brooke Low S.G. May 1 1884:43, S.G. Sept. 1 1884:94). Around 1890 there were efforts made to encourage some of them to move from the far interior into the upper Baram region, which they did (Hose S.G. Oct.10 1890:137). Hose considered them to be a group with much in common with the Klemantans of the Baram. They asserted that they had been driven out of ancestral lands in the lower country by the incursions of the Kayans into the Baram (Hose S.G. Dec.1 1890:160, Hose 1894:157).

Visits to the heart of the Kelabit country were brief and rare, for peacemaking purposes (S.G. June 1 1889:78-79, Douglas 1912). The area, far from being an upland retreat for refugees from the lower rivers, was an area of settled occupation where the inhabitants practised irrigated rice agriculture and

1. Knappert (1905:605) reported a village of Kenyah at kampong Marah on the Telen, among the Modang communities of the river. These he identified as a group split from the Kenyah of the upper Belayan (Knappert 1905:596). An expedition of 1925 was informed by these people that although others called them Kenyah, they were in fact Kayan, originating from several villages in the Kayan river in what had become Kenyah country. They had been on the Telen for several generations (Endert 1927:154). These may have been Uma Lekan Kayan (Rousseau 1990:318-319), one of the few groups whose identity was sometimes confused between Kayan and Kenyah.
Rivers of the northern central regions

Ethnic groups related to the Kelabit

: information on Kalimantan from Jongejans (1922) and Schneeberger (1979).
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benefited from the ownership of salt springs. They marked their ownership of the land with various forms of monumental stone construction (Banks 1930-37a, Harrisson 1958a, 1958b, 1973, 1974).

The inhabitants of the Trusan and Limbang rivers were designated as Muruts, a Brunei term used undiscriminatingly for mountain dwellers, either of the Kelabitic group or for the Murut-Tagal group of Sabah. In the borderland region between Sarawak, Sabah and Kalimantan this terminological confusion has led to ethnographic confusion as well. The Muruts of the Trusan were considered to be essentially the same people as the Kelabits, although only in the uppermost region of the river did they practise irrigated agriculture (Pollard 1930-37a:148). In the Limbang, the Adangs and Tabuns were considered to be part of the same larger group. The Muruts of the Limbang and the Trusan were prone to continuing feuds between houses of members of the same ethnic group.

While the Tabuns were seen as a relic of the Murut population of the Limbang, their own stories identified them as a relic of a once large and powerful tribe, the Treng, who had occupied the headwaters of Baram and Limbang before the Kayan invasions (Moulton 1912, Adams 1917). Another branch of the Treng had intermarried with and become absorbed by the Long Pata, a Lepu Pu'un group of the Tutoh tributary of the Baram (Moulton 1912:94, Pollard and Banks 1930-37:398). The Tabuns themselves were reduced practically out of existence this century (Newington 1961:107, Harrisson 1957-8:293). The Trengs had been traditional enemies of a group on the Tinjar called the Meting, who moved to the Belait river in Brunei and intermarried with the

1. On the western side of Borneo the border between Sarawak and British North Borneo roughly divided the Muruts into their two ethnolinguistic groupings. Some Murut-Kelabit living in Sabah were known as Lun Daye while a small community of Murut-Tagal living on the Sarawak side were known as Tagal (Pollard 1930-37a:140). In the far north of East Kalimantan, the Putuks, a Murut-Kelabit group, of the Sesayap watershed were differentiated from the Tinggalan, a Murut-Tagal group, of the Sembakung river (Jongejans 1922:87).

2. St John (1863, Vol.2:159) described an occasion on which two Tabuns were pursued by a party of Trusan Muruts right beside his residence at the British Consulate in Brunei. Outstation reports from the early days of Sarawak government in the Trusan and Limbang are filled with accounts of Murut feuds, while the major misdemeanour of the Bisayas on the lower river appears to have been buffalo rustling. In the late 1880s some Sea Dayaks had found their way to the upper Limbang region, married into Tabun households, and were increasing the inter-ethnic tensions there. They were ejected from the Limbang (S.G. Aug.1 1888:96, Ricketts S.G. Feb.1 1889:31, Ricketts S.G. June 2 1890:82, Ricketts S.G. April 1 1891:59, Ricketts S.G. Oct.1 1891:154)
local people there (Adams 1917, Hughes-Hallett 1981). Some of the Meting were also absorbed by the Berawan of Long Teru on the lower Tinjar (Harrisson 1957-8:293-294).

On the eastern side of the watershed, the Kenyah had moved down from the Apo Kayan into the upper Bahau region, absorbing or pushing out the existing population. On the Pujungan a group called the Pua claimed to be the original inhabitants of the area, although they had adopted the language and customs of the invading Uma Alim Kenyah (van Walchren 1907: 794-795, Jongejans 1922:198). The Lepu Maut Kenyah had become dominant on the Bahau. The Nyibun, or Libun, earlier inhabitants of the region, were being absorbed by the Lepu Maut and Lepu Ke Kenyah. The Sabans were living in small scattered villages in the region (Jongejans 1922:199).

In the Bahau region there were also permanent relics of peoples driven from the area by the Kenyah invaders, in the form of stone mortuary urns for secondary disposal of the bones of the dead. These had reportedly been built by a group called the Murik, or Ngorik (Jongejans 1922:218, 224, Pfeffer 1963:237). The only relics of these people in the area were a few isolated villages of people called Berau, or Merau (van Walchren 1907:819, Schneeberger 1979:31, 38, Pfeffer 1963:213-214).

A branch of the Murik migrated to the upper Baram where they retained a group identity although they were regarded as a Kenyah group (Daubeny S.G.

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1. In 1878 it was reported that Tama Long/Aban Jau's Sebops had been headhunting in the upper Belait among "their old enemies the Tarings" (Gueritz S.G. Nov.13 1878:73). While this may illustrate the perpetuation of old rivalries on the Tinjar, it adds some confusion about the identities of the older groups of the region.

2. Earlier this century the Nyibun carried out their own distinctive mortuary ceremonies, which resembled those of the Kelabit more than the Kenyah (Jongejans 1922:216-218, Schneeberger 1979:41). A somewhat later visitor to the region observed these secondary burial rites being undertaken by a group calling itself Lepu Ke (Pfeffer 1963:156, 212). The Nyibun had been driven out of the area altogether for a time, into the Tidong country, but they had returned (Jongejans 1922:216). They are therefore not mentioned at all in van Walchren's (1907) account of the region.

3. According to Schneeberger (1979:31) the Berau are identical to the Saban of earlier Dutch reports.
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June 1 1888:79).¹ Jongejans (1922:216) reported that the Nyibun had much contact with the English territories. Their main contact appears to have been headhunting raids to harass the emigrant Muriks on the Baram (S.G. July 1 1884:77, Daubeny S.G. June 1 1888:78, Hose S.G. Oct.1 1889:144).

As on the Rejang, the Baram and the Mahakam there was, in these northern regions, an expanding ethnic boundary caused by the changing affiliations of peoples incorporated into the social interaction of the migrating peoples of central Borneo. As in those other areas, certain groups retained different levels of identity and affiliation. Older relationships were disrupted as, for example, former connections between Murut-Kelabit groups and the original groups of the Baram were severed by the intrusion of stronger and more aggressive groups. Ethnic identities were altered by the setting up of new boundaries.

The nature of the boundaries continues to change. Rousseau (1990:18-19) has included the Murut-Kelabit among the peoples he classifies as central Borneo groups. Boundaries between them and the neighbouring Kayan and Kenyah groups were based on language, culture, mode of subsistence as well as simple geographical separation. Increasing interaction during the 19th and 20th centuries and the abandonment of certain cultural practices with the adoption of Christianity make these boundaries less significant. In the sociopolitical sphere, they are included among the Orang Ulu in Sarawak. Changes to the lifeways of the coastal people made the difference between the people of the interior and the people of the lowlands more significant than their internal differences. An ethnic division still exists, but it has changed its meaning.

Constructions of Identity in Central Borneo and Beyond

As with the Iban, the nature of ethnic categories among the central Borneo people can be seen to be different, depending on the direction from which they were viewed. In Sarawak, the Kayan were seen as a coherent group with a clearly defined language and culture. The Kenyah were seen as a diverse conglomerate of groups of varied history, language and culture. In East Kalimantan, the Kayan-Bahau group was a large and diverse conglomerate which continued to accumulate member groups from various backgrounds. The

1. Douglas (1911b:146) described them as "an extraordinary conglomeration of Kenyah, Kalabit and Kayan." In the course of their migrations they had lived closely with the Kayan, been almost obliterated by smallpox and attacked by Kenyahs from the Apo Kayan.
Kenyah, on the other hand, were a clearly defined group living in a defined and circumscribed area in the Apo Kayan and upper Bahau. The nature of the group was defined by the nature of the interactions at its boundaries.

Within these larger categories, sub-group identification was based on an association with place and with event. The event was the leaving of the region identified as their homeland, the Apo Kayan or, in the case of some Sarawak Kenyah groups, the Usun Apau plateau. The place was often not the homeland itself, but some early place of residence of the sub-group after the initial move: a place where the community defined itself as a group. Because of the continual crossing of sub-group boundaries, by marriage, enslavement or absorption of communities, the homeland of origin of the group was not necessarily the place of origin of all its people. Perhaps some form of awareness of this divergence between metaphorical and literal origins of the members of a community allowed small ethnic groups whose language and customs suggested a more local basis to claim a part of the heritage of migration from the central plateaus. Somewhere within their community there must have been individuals whose histories could define a tradition for the group.

Folk histories may contain many remembered facts, but they are a selection from the multitudinous individual histories of the members of a group. They serve to validate identity by locating it within the appropriate origin traditions. Their function is symbolic. It is impossible to attempt to estimate where, for example, the Kenyahs lived 300 years ago. The whole concept of the Kenyahs is one which has developed through the interlinked histories of a diversity of peoples who have formed a common value system. The concept of an ethnic group only becomes permanent when, for reasons of bureaucratic organization, somebody decides to conduct a census.¹

In dealing with the expansion of the Iban and the migrations of the central Borneo people, I have made only passing reference to any effects these two large complexes of people may have had on each other. While the Iban and the central Borneo groups had their clashes, they apparently avoided actually competing for territory. Both parties moved into regions of low population density occupied by people with little political or ethnic coherence, absorbing and incorporating communities, or forcing groups to move away. They divided

¹ Sellato (1981:40-41) says of the upper Mahakam, "La situation ethnique est en évolution permanente." Continuing migrations of seceding communities into villages occupied by other ethnic groups has maintained a process of constant re-evaluation of identity in this area.
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up large areas of territory between them. Both conglomerates became diversified by their interactions with other peoples and by changes to life and economy, but at no point was their any ethnic confusion between them. Differences in their social organization, and in the emphatic social values which supported this organization, may have made processes of integration difficult.\textsuperscript{1} Perhaps more important, each group had a sense of identity based very firmly in a homeland tradition. Cultural values were not only different, they had emanated from geographically different areas which, by their very existence as real places, anchored those values to a tangible source.

Each group managed to solidify the large scale identity of the other by opposition. Government policies, and misinterpretation of government policies, had their effect as well. The Kenyah of the Apo Kayan claimed that the incursions of Iban into the area in the late 19th century increased Kenyah solidarity by forcing them to unite against a common enemy (Elshout 1926:184). The rumours that Iban raiding parties into East Kalimantan were sponsored by the White Rajah as a preliminary to taking over the area contributed to this consolidation. The unoccupied state of the Baleh in early colonial times was reportedly caused by earlier struggles between the Kayans and the Iban in this area. Not until it was under the control of Sarawak did the Iban presume to occupy it.

The large scale movements of the Iban from the Kapuas and those of the Kayan and Kenyah from the central plateaus can be seen as vital processes in the development of ethnic boundaries. These movements have a fairly fixed dimension in time, suggesting some critical factor precipitating processes of change. Expansion of population in areas of plentiful food production, isolated from some of the more devastating diseases, and surrounded by areas of low population density which encouraged expansion rather than intensification of production may be a simplistic suggestion, but one which may have some merit as a starting point.

Once colonial government had become established in reality rather than merely in notion over all regions, changes in ethnic identity were inhibited. Headhunting and intergroup warfare were suppressed. People were identified

\textsuperscript{1} Richards (1959:15) claims that in the 19th century there were what he called "dynastic marriages" between ruling families of the Iban on the Batang Lupar and the Kayans of the upper Rejang. If this was so, the parties concerned emphatically adopted the identity of one group or the other.
and labelled. A process continued of not only labelling, but categorising, although there was never complete agreement about the categories. New identity groups were no longer being created, although some small identity groups became extinct. Some of the labels were changed. The Land Dayaks of Sarawak, for example, preferred to be called Bidayuh, a term formerly only used by some groups of the Sadong river (Geddes 1954:6). The Muruts of the Trusan and Limbang regions call themselves Lun Bawang, differentiating themselves from the Kelabits. The mid-river people of the Rejang call themselves Kajang, a term with some flexibility of use as various minority groups of the river have attempted to establish their place in relation to the Kayans upriver and the Iban downriver (de Martinoir 1974, Nicolaisen 1977-8). All the non-Iban upriver people of Sarawak have adopted some form of politically motivated group identity under the term Orang Ulu.

Migratory movements have continued, and some have been instigated by government. The Iban continued to spread through the tributaries of little known regions of Sarawak, Brunei and even Sabah. Kayans have continued to move down the Rejang and establish new settlements in between the villages of the older established residents of the river. The upper Rejang tributaries that were occupied by an assortment of Kenyah groups in the 1870s and 1880s became deserted as these groups all moved to regions further down, except for small groups of nomadic Punan (Arnold 1959, Jayl Langub 1974). However, Kenyah from Indonesian Borneo have moved into the Linau tributary. Large numbers of Kenyah from Apo Kayan moved downriver into lower reaches of the Mahakam and the Bulungan, fitting into spaces between the existing populations. There has been government sponsored movement of communities downriver in Kalimantan to bring them closer to government services and control.

The Kayan, Kenyah and Iban ethnic groups all expanded their geographical boundaries. However the processes occurring at boundaries were different, as illustrated by some figures from the 1980 census in Sarawak (Hong 1987:2). Out of a total population for Sarawak of 1,233,103, there were 368,208 Ibans, 13,368 Kayan and 15,557 Kenyah. The Iban as a group have continued to absorb people into their identity without compromise. The upriver invaders preserve a historical identity, based on their exploits of the 19th century.

Some writers on ethnic relations in Borneo (eg. Babcock 1974) have argued that because ethnic categories in Sarawak were impermanent and confusing, this implies that the people themselves had very little sense of ethnic
identity. However it is clear that people have had a sense of "them" and "us", a sense of similarity and difference, a sense of belonging and not belonging. Expressions of identity are not based on a quasi-biological model, with bounded categories arranged in a hierarchical tree. Nor are they immutable over time. There are degrees of inclusion into and exclusion from various categories, which may intersect in different ways. Differences and boundaries are perhaps perceived more clearly than similarities over large territorial areas. Peoples with common histories and traditions can become separated by geography and the politics of intergroup relations until they lose sight of each other. Contacts may be maintained in certain directions and lost in others. Large groups with common cultural origins may have different types of interactions with others at widely separated boundaries.

There are differences between ethnic history, ethnic categorization and ethnic identification. The last is the least constrained by taxonomic structures and the most important to understanding the behaviour of human groups. In the examination of art and material culture in the following chapters I intend to examine the contributions of each of these aspects of ethnicity to art systems and group expression.

1. Harrisson (1957-8), in a somewhat chaotic article, demonstrated with a jumble of miscellaneous examples that ethnic identification in Borneo exists, despite not obeying taxonomic principles or being based in strict historical interpretation. King (1979:2-9) has provided a detailed exposition of subjective categorization by the Maloh which demonstrates various levels of identity awareness.
Dayak Art

Catalogues of exhibitions of art or material culture from the islands of Southeast Asia commonly contain a descriptive segment about the art of the Dayaks (eg. Avé nd, Schoffel nd:117-119, Barbier 1977:49-52, Sumnik-Dekovich 1985, Hersey 1991:42-54, Taylor and Aragon 1991:147-169). These descriptions imply some uniformity of style and philosophy for art systems across the whole island. While certain ethnic specialities may be mentioned, it is assumed that there is something called Dayak art.¹

The motifs and stylistic elements which many Dayak groups utilise in their art mean that many objects from Borneo can be recognized readily as Dayak art. The multiple variations on dragon and hornbill motifs, the depictions of anthropomorphic creatures with monstrous faces and enlarged genitals, the use of fields of foliate scrolls of varying levels of abstraction and the use of certain repeating geometric motifs are found in the art of many Dayak groups. In more general material culture terms, certain forms of dress, weapons and tools were widespread among Dayak groups. Some of the peoples in all regions of the island formerly lived in longhouses of various designs. Tattooing was once widespread.

Certain complexes of art styles and material culture traits can be defined in very broad terms. These complexes or zones correspond approximately to broad ethnolinguistic complexes, although the borders of these zones vary in the sharpness of their definition. Processes of interaction occurring at different borders within a zone have also led to degrees of internal variability.

The complexes so defined are as follows. The southeastern complex encompasses all the Dayak peoples of the southward flowing rivers, the Melawi and Mandai rivers in West Kalimantan and the lower Mahakam. This corresponds roughly to the broadest interpretation of the Ngaju or Barito ethnolinguistic complex. The central Borneo complex is defined as a broad band of interior peoples extending from Sarawak and the most northerly parts of West Kalimantan across through East Kalimantan. This approximately follows Rousseau's (1990) definition. In common with a modern fashion for long

¹ Hein's (1890) monograph which investigated the influence of ancient mainland Southeast Asian forms on Dayak art also took this general approach, not exploring any differences between the art of various Dayak groups.
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hyphenated ethnic titles, it could be called a Kayan-Kenyah-Kajang-Bahau-Modang complex. In contrast to Rousseau's scheme, the Murut-Kelabit groups are excluded from this and separated into a group called the stone monument builders of the north central regions.¹ The Ibanic complex includes the Iban of Sarawak and all those people of the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan who fall into the Ibanic ethnolinguistic category. The Land Dayak complex includes all those groups classified as Bidayuh in Sarawak and the closely related peoples of northwestern West Kalimantan, including the Kendayan groups. The Sabah complex includes all the ethnic groups based in Sabah, including Dusun or Kadazan and Murut-Tagal.

The Southeastern Complex

A large area of southeastern Kalimantan is occupied by various branches of the Ngaju and Ot Danum people. The Ma'anyan, Luangan and Dusun people occupy the Barito region, the Benuaq and Tunjung groups the lower Mahakam. In the westerly part of this region there are also groups which speak Malayic dialects, but which share certain cultural characteristics with the other peoples of this complex.²

The most conspicuous of the artistic endeavours of these people were associated with the most conspicuous aspects of their ritual behaviour, the commemoration of the dead.³ Their funerary art included large and elaborate

1. This is not, in fact, a contradiction of Rousseau's inclusion of these people in the modern ethnic and sociopolitical complex of central Borneo, but an acknowledgement of some significant differences in their art and material culture in earlier times.

2. These include such groups as the Limbai, Melahui, Payak, Tebidah, Kebahan and others of the Melawi region of West Kalimantan (Sellato 1989a:17, 1986, 1987). The peoples of the Kotawaringin and Pembuang regions in the west of Kalimantan Tengah also speak Malayic dialects (Würm 1981-83), although they have been described as part of the Ngaju cultural complex (eg. Mallinckrodt 1925).

3. The conduct of secondary death rituals, or ṭiwah, among these peoples has perhaps been the most extensively documented aspect of their culture, leading to discussion of cosmologies and afterlife beliefs (eg. Schärer 1946, 1963). While various writers have described the conduct of ceremonies, Grabowsky (1889) and te Wechel (1915) concentrated more than some others on the associated material culture. Mallinckrodt (1925) detailed some of the regional differences in the conduct of secondary ceremonies, called ayah on the Kotawaringin and daro among the Ot Danum. More modern studies by Miles (1964, 1965) on the Ngaju, Hudson (1966) on the Ma'anyan, Massing (1981) on the Benuaq and Weinstock (1983) on the Luangan have documented regional and temporal variations to the tradition.
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grave structures for the secondarily deposited remains of the dead. In some cases the second funeral involved cremation of the remains, which had been stored for some time. This, along with a pantheon of deities and certain concepts relating to the upper and lower worlds, has led to the conclusion that these people absorbed many concepts from Hinduism in earlier centuries. This gave their ritual life a syncretic expression which made it distinctive from that in other parts of Borneo.

The mortuary structures, or sandong, were only one component of monumental complexes which were erected in the course of secondary funerary ceremonial. The whole complex included various types of monumental pole: sanggaran, pantar or tora and sapundu. Carved anthropomorphic figures associated with the complex were known as hampatong. Some illustrations show the complex located close to dwelling houses, as part of the public architecture of the village. In other cases they were apparently located in nearby forest.

[PLATES 20 - 24]

No inventory has been taken of the detailed distribution of this complex of structures, either singly or in their various combinations. Prints from the 19th century show examples of the full complex from Ngaju villages in the Pulaupetak, at that time considered the point nearest to Banjarmasin where real Dayak culture, undiluted by the effects of Islam, could be encountered.

[PLATES 20B, 23A] In the west and north, Molengraaff's expedition of the early 1890s came across a village with the complete complex in a tributary of the Melawi (Molengraaff 1900:341) [PLATE 24], and in several old villages on the Samba tributary of the Katingan (p.384, 404-405). The whole complex was encountered in regions deemed to be Ngaju and in regions deemed to be Ot Danum.

The complex did not appear in the same form over the whole region, and there were progressive changes over time which did not take place at the same rate over the area. Pantar poles had associations with headhunting ritual and in

1. Sanggaran were elaborate pole structures incorporating an old jar, a row of lances shaped like a fan and a hornbill carving on the top. Pantar or tora poles were very tall and simple, topped with a human skull, a carved hornbill, a crescent shaped carving or simply a bunch of leaves. They were associated with post-mortuary headhunting obligations. The sapundu was a sturdy pole used for tying up the sacrificial buffalo for the death feast. It was generally carved with a grotesque face and was sometimes topped with an anthropomorphic figure. Simplified, elaborated and hybridized forms of these monuments were also produced. The terms used for them varied slightly according to region and dialect.
some cases were topped with captured enemy skulls. [PLATE 22(9), 25] Early prints show these in downriver Ngaju regions, but later they were confined to upriver regions where warfare had continued for longer. Sanggaran and pantar were evidently not used by groups in the eastern part of the region, such as the Dusun, Luangan, Ma’anyan or Tunjung. Ten Cate (1922) published a regional study from the Melawi region of West Kalimantan, where all elements of the complex were present, but appeared to be used in different combinations as a form of local differentiation in the area.

The hampatong have something of a contradictory explanation, sometimes being described as slaves of the deceased and sometimes as a memorial to the deceased himself. Some writers claimed that in earlier days slaves of the dead were tied to the sapundu pole and tortured to death in order to accompany their masters to the afterworld. The hampatong first appeared in the downriver regions as substitutes for the sacrificed slaves and buffalo were slaughtered instead (Halewijn 1832:280, Schwaner 1853-4, Vol.1:184, Ullmann 1869:75-78, Perelaer 1870:243-250). [PLATE 26] As memories of slavery and sacrifice have faded, the figures have been transformed into representations of the actual deceased person. These hampatong have become ordinary, representing normal looking people wearing clothes and hats and carrying spears, guns or babies. [PLATE 27, 28] Sellato (1989b, fig. 457) illustrates a modern hampatong of a trendy young woman wearing a denim jacket, but such everyday hampatong were illustrated from the Kuala Kapuas region in the 19th century (Grabowsky 1889, Pl. X).

The rich and varied corpus of funerary anthropomorphic carving from this region did not, however, suddenly appear in response to a government prohibition on murder. There is a whole range of carved compositions, including both human and animal figures, which were employed in funerary contexts. All these types of figures have some alarming features either in the

1. There are naked squatting or seated figures with a large lotus flower ornament on their heads and a ring of intricately carved foliage around the post where they sit, and figures in rather odd compositions with animals on their heads, climbing up their backs or held in their hands. Some have very long protruding tongues. [PLATE 29] There are some quite elaborate compositions including multiple human and animal figures in a variety of poses. [PLATE 30] Found mainly in the upriver regions were carvings known as hampatong halimaung, peculiar feline figures in an erect seated posture. [PLATES 20B, 22(4), 31] The location of these feline carvings only in the more remote regions suggested that they were an antique form. There are a few known figures of truly bizarre form which have been presumed to represent mythical figures or deities. [PLATE 32]
depiction of the figure itself or in the composition. It seems that *hampatong* gradually became more benign.

The *hampatong* figures of the southeastern region have been much collected for museums and private collections, but unfortunately many are not well provenanced. The elaborations of design, durability and fineness of finish have meant that they are more highly represented in collections than the more ephemeral or roughly finished anthropomorphic carvings of other Borneo groups.

The bone depositories themselves, or *sandong*, were works of distinctive appearance on which a great deal of artistic endeavour was lavished. The most common Ngaju or Ot Danum type was a rectangular building on posts. The walls sometimes sloped outwards. It was equipped with a carved balustrade and lavish openwork carving along the roofline depicting foliate motifs or dragons. The whole could be carved and painted with similar motifs and sometimes human figures, or left plain with carved figures only on the support poles. Similar but smaller structures on a single post were also erected.¹ [PLATE 20, 21, 22(8), 23A, B, 24C, 33] There were regional and ethnic variations, particularly from the eastern and western borders of the region.²

New varieties of *sandong* appeared over time. Some were built on the ground rather than on posts, and were brightly painted with foliate designs rather than heavily carved. [PLATE 23C, 37A] Some modern bone depositories

1. The structures were divided into two categories, *sandong tulang* and *sandong raung*. The former term was used for depositories for cremated remains or washed and cleaned bones. The latter was used for the building used to store the coffins before the second funeral, and also for depositories where bodies in coffins were placed after the second funeral if cremation or bone cleaning had not been carried out.

2. From the Melawi region are illustrated *sandong* on a single post with the roof elaborated into the figure of a bird or dragon with sweeping lines. [PLATE 34A, B] Some *sandong* were built as a simple shed on posts, decorated only with the masks used at the funeral [PLATE 34C]. A type of long box on two tall posts was in use, mainly in the more easterly parts of the region. The Ngaju or Ot Danum groups often carved the posts with monstrous faces. [PLATE 21A, 35C] The Dusun and Luangan people of the Barito called it *kariring*, and left an open strip along the side so that the contents could be seen. [PLATE 22(5), 35] The Padju Epat Ma’anyan people of the Barito region had their own unique form of communal cremation ceremony and placed the remains in roofed box-like graves called *tambak* which each had identifying carvings, some in the form of a buffalo head. [PLATE 35B] In some areas a simple jar on a post contained the secondarily deposited remains of the dead. [PLATE 24B, C, 33C, 34A, 35A] The Tunjung and Benuaq people of the lower Mahakam produced elevated bone chests carved with *naga* heads and foliate designs along the sides. [PLATE 36]
consist of a jar placed on the ground under a shelter (Miles 1965:fig.1). Some are made of cement and tiles (Sellato 1989b:fig.432). Some were made as subterranean chambers (Lumholz 1920, Vol.2:362, Sellato 1989b:243). The "classic" sandong of the Ngaju of the Kapuas or Katingan may be an icon for the indigenous people of the region, but there have been many variations over time, region and ethnic group. A carved modern sandong in neo-traditionalist style in the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Rotterdam indicates that the object is one of those which have become a focus for ethnic pride. [PLATE 37B]

These permanent and monumental structures were not the only media through which the people of this region expressed their beliefs about death and the afterlife. Certain very distinctive painted boards were used by the Ngaju in the course of funerary festivities, depicting the tree of life motif, scenes from the afterworld or the journey of the souls to the afterworld by boat. The themes are common to the eschatological beliefs of many Dayak groups, and many other islands of the region, but the style of depiction used on Ngaju tiwah boards is highly distinctive, with elaborate and intricate compositions filled with spidery figures.\(^1\) [PLATE 38A, B, 39B] Such themes and designs were also depicted on fine bicoloured heirloom mats plaited mainly by the Ot Danum people\(^2\) [PLATE 39A], and on bamboo containers with fine and intricately incised designs. [PLATE 39C] Both bicoloured mats and bamboo containers with incised designs were widely produced in Borneo, but in all other regions they generally had repeating motifs of abstract or conventionalised form. The element of pictorial narrative is unique to the art of the southeast.

The southeast region was an area of demographic stability during the colonial period. While the location of specific villages along the rivers was fluid, there were no significant migratory movements which set up areas of major territorial dispute. This may, in fact, partly explain the rather fuzzy ethnic categorisation of the region, particularly in the large expanse to the west of the Barito. Headhunting and warfare between the groups of the uppermost Barito and Kapuas and the people of the Mahakam was evidently the only outright

\(^1\) The intricately painted boards were evidently a speciality of the Ngaju, but the motif of a spirit boat appeared in simpler form, as model boats for ritual purposes, among other groups of the region. [PLATE 38C]

\(^2\) There is a very fine example of this type of mat in the collection of the Australian National Gallery (1985.1741), illustrated in Maxwell (1990:250).
indigenous conflict involving the southeastern ethnic complex at that time.\(^1\)

The arts of warfare and weaponry are therefore not a conspicuous aspect of the art and material culture of the southeastern region, although there are various antique items in museum collections which indicate that they once had some unique features. The Ngaju people possessed certain weapons which were no longer in use for warfare, but which were reserved for ceremonial use at *tiwah* feasts. These were the *buno*, a form of lance with curled barbs and the *dohong*, a double edged sword or dagger. These latter came in a variety of forms, including obviously non-functional varieties which had presumably been produced for purely ritual purpose. Others appear to be simple functional weapons which had become venerated for their antiquity. [PLATE 40] The Dayaks of the southeast had abandoned this distinctive weapon of their own in favour of the *mandau* from central Borneo.\(^2\) The practical weapon they shared with their central Borneo neighbours while the distinctive item was removed to a ritual role.

Other forms of antique chopping sword have been collected from the southeast, including a form of two edged sword of asymmetrical balance which superficially resembles a *mandau* but does not have its unique form of blade. [PLATE 3B, 40D] Such old weapons were sometimes made of locally smelted iron, an industry which itself became extinct with the import of cheap iron from overseas.\(^3\) Collections of weapons from the southeast also contain many swords and daggers of forms found in other parts of the Southeast Asian archipelago and transported around the coastal regions by continuing seagoing contacts. Shields rapidly disappeared from the equipment of the Dayak of the southeast, but there are some very distinctive old shields in museum collections. They are large wooden shields of hexagonal form, angled to the mid-line, which are the most overwhelmingly common type found in Borneo as a whole. Painted designs of faces or spreadeagled anthropomorphic figures represent the same

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1. The effect of the Banjarmasin War with the Dutch during the 1850s and 1860s may have ultimately had the effect of repressing martial display as an identifying characteristic rather than encouraging it.

2. The terms *mandau*, *parang ilang* and *malat* are simply variations in terminology for the same item, the cutting sword with asymmetrical blade from central Borneo.

3. Iron ore of good quality was found at Tumbang Mantikei on the Samba tributary of the Katingan and even distant tribes acquired their supplies from there (Lumholz 1920, Vol.2:322). Locally made iron used in sword blades was called *besi mantikei*.
basic motifs as are found on the shields of central Borneo.

Both the faces and the spreadeagled figures were painted in a less intricate style to those of central Borneo, without the complex interlace background which is characteristic of the latter. A common colour scheme was a simple narrow black outline for the motif with the natural wood showing through on the inside and a red background outside the motif, giving a very light toned effect compared to the elaborations in black of the central Borneo shields. [PLATE 41A, B] These represent small but recognizable differences in style between shields of similar design from the different regions.

There are some elements of design which were unique to the southeast. The monster face design could be split down the mid-line and inverted on one side. [PLATE 3, 41C] This peculiar disarticulated representation is not found in central Borneo, but almost identical shields have been collected from Sulawesi (Juynboll 1909, Vol.2:257, Hein 1890:75). The trick of splitting and inverting half of the design is also seen on spreadeagled figures. [PLATE 41D] Anthropomorphic figures painted in the same spindly style as the figures from the tiwah boards are also unique to the southeast. [PLATE 41D, 42A]

The Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden has one shield from the southeast carved all over in relief in brightly coloured stylised foliate designs. [PLATE 42B] This, it is claimed, is a feast shield not a war shield (Juynboll 1909, Vol.2:266) but whether such hybrids of the symbols of pagan inland warfare and coastal Islamic taste were ever really used to any great degree is unclear.

War clothing from the southeast is also something largely confined to old museum collections. War jackets of coarse yarn were produced by a twining technique and painted in black with geometric designs. These jackets were open at the front and laced together at the sides, with short fringed sleeves. [PLATE 3B, 11B, 42C] The technique of manufacture is not recorded ethnographically for any Borneo group. Narrow tabards covered in rows of shell discs are also found in museum collections and depicted as a form of war clothing. [PLATE 10A] Barkcloth was used for practical clothing in the southeast, and may also have served for this purpose. However the accoutrements of war had been removed from the sphere of ethnic definition early in colonial times and there is little information about local or regional distinctiveness in the southeast.

In ceremonial costume, the most distinctive feature of the southeast region is the use of masks. Masks from the region are recognizable in having basically anthropomorphic features with additional monstrous elements such as
bared teeth and fangs and strange baggy eyes. Weird animal masks with multiple added wooden projections are also represented. [PLATE 43]

The musical instruments in use for ceremonial occasions were, as with most groups around the periphery of the island, drums and gongs. [PLATE 38A] A variety of types of stringed instruments were used, mostly of types originating outside the island.

Great changes occurred in the area of personal presentation. Tattooing, once practised by Ngaju men, became localized to the Ot Danum regions of the interior and then eventually disappeared.1 The most conspicuous feature is the extensive covering of the chest and arms in a swirling, tree-like design made up from a network of little blocks. [PLATE 44] As with some aspects of funerary art, the Ot Danum area was a repository for forgotten traditions which were once also common to the Ngaju areas.

In general clothing and presentation, there was a continuing trend towards a coastal Malay/Javanese style of dress. In the earliest accounts both men and women are described as having distended earlobes like many other Borneo people, set with large wooden discs which were sometimes inlaid with metal plates (Müller 1839-44:412). This fashion rapidly disappeared. Necklaces with very long narrow agate beads and set with gold, either worked or in nuggets, were collected from the region, the gold being locally washed. [PLATE 2, 45B] Necklaces made from a series of crescent shaped plates of brass or even gold have been collected and illustrated. [PLATE 45C] These resemble jewellery from Sumatra more than that used by other Borneo groups. Antique beaded necklaces exist, but these were not replaced by a passion for figurative beadwork as in other parts of Borneo. Women used to wear rattan strips dyed red and black around their hips, like Iban or Land Dayak women, but this fashion vanished. [PLATE 11C, 45A] Notable features of women's costume of the southeast were the enormous hats, like umbrellas, worn by Dayak and Banjarese ladies alike and much depicted in old prints. [PLATE 10B, 45A] Sarongs and blouses made of imported fabric replaced native made clothing for

1. Beeckman (1973:43), in the early 18th century, described Ngaju men seen in the vicinity of Banjarmasin as being painted blue, indicating the extent if not the design of their tattoos. The works of Schwancer (1853-4, Vol.2:frontispiece) and Müller (1839-44:412-413, Pl.50, Pl.51) both contain prints depicting Ngaju men with extensive body tattooing, somewhat reinterpreted by the artist. There are some surviving photographs of Ot Danum body tattoos, enough to give a general impression but not enough for any form of regional analysis.
women, while cotton trousers and jackets replaced loincloths and barkcloth jackets for men.

In terms of craft skills, ironworking was formerly practised in the inland areas and old weapons were made from locally smelted iron. Imports replaced local iron for ordinary uses while the adoption of the *mandau* or *parang ilang* meant that regions further to the north were favoured for this special iron working skill. Pottery making was a market oriented town craft in this region with no remembered tradition of village made pottery. Basketry was widely practised for the manufacture of fine mats, containers, carry baskets and hats. Apart from the highly notable figurative or narrative mats, the designs employed were generally an assortment of abstract spiral and geometric designs such as are encountered all over the island, although in the southeast there were some very finely made and intricate versions of these designs. Engraved bamboo containers, such as have been made by all Dayak groups, were made in this region employing a range of foliate and geometric designs. There do exist some readily recognizable antique containers of the Ngaju on which the designs were carved in relief rather than engraved. They were decorated with elaborate floral and foliate motifs and stained red. [PLATE 46A] These do not seem to have been made into the present century.

Weaving was practised by the Dayaks in some parts of the area, but was a disappearing craft. The Banjarese, like Malays from other regions, produced *ikat* and brocade cloth but these were not emulated by the Dayaks. Müller (1839-44:386) described one village on the Barito where the manufacture of simple *ikat* jackets was a highly localized skill. Ngaju women had *ikat* skirts among their heirlooms, but the skill was not universal within colonial times and was presumably lost when imported fabrics became readily available.¹ [PLATE 2, 11A] Elaborate *ikat* cloths were only produced by Dayaks on the lower Mahakam. These Kutai *ikats* are distinctively hard and shiny, being made from *lemba* fibre, a flax-like material, and have purely abstract geometric motifs. [PLATE 46B] Such examples

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¹ According to the catalogue of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (Juynboll 1909, Vol.2:375) they have three examples of *ikat* dyed cloth woven from *lemba* fibre (942/2, 942/41, 942/42) which were used to enclose the area used at a *tiwah* feast. These are very narrow, but between 7 and 46 metres long. Presumably this would indicate that this craft skill was once associated with matters of ritual significance. I have not seen these items or seen them illustrated.
as survive are rare.¹ Barkcloth was made for use in rough and ready work jackets for wearing in the fields because of its durability, but was not utilised for any form of prestige or ceremonial clothing. The production of textiles by twining is a craft skill which has been completely lost and nothing is known about its localisation.

The people of the southeast generally did not adopt the practice of Dayak peoples further north of living in enormous longhouses which encompassed an entire village. [PLATE 47A] In some inland areas there were smaller elevated longhouse structures with a number of apartments while in the downriver areas there are many illustrations and descriptions of complexes of houses within a fortified enclosure together with their funerary monuments. [PLATE 23B, C, 25A, 26B] In the Kotawaringin region there were separate family houses with upward curving roofs like those of parts of Sumatra. [PLATE 47B] Extravagant forms of carved, painted or applied decoration were not a feature of domestic architecture anywhere in the region.

This area of Borneo has been subject to many outside influences over a long period. Javanese and Buginese immigrants brought in not only their cultural influences but their contacts. The practice of Islam was increasing in this area and communities of Malays moved further into upriver regions. Colonial influence and Protestant Christian missions affected local ethnic dynamics as well as more general areas of cultural practice. In an area where the marketplace caused a rapid diminution of craft skills and the people adopted the appearance and presentation of immigrants from other islands, the most locally distinctive aspect of their art and material culture was expressed through their funerary ritual. The recognition in 1980 of Kaharingan, or the traditional religious practice of the region, as an official Indonesian religion was a formalization of its significance to ethnic identity (Weinstock 1983:11-12).

In terms of motif, the most distinctive feature of the art of the southeastern complex is the use of pictorial narrative, especially associated with the afterlife or the journey to it. Humanoid figures depicted with animals is also a motif unique to the region. The motifs of naga or water snake and garuda or bird are employed in various contexts as symbols of the lower and upper worlds, but also as symbols of male and female on such diverse items as decorations for

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¹ One particularly elaborate example of Benuaq ikat in the collection of the Australian National Gallery (1985.386) has rows of anthropomorphic motifs in a complex geometric field (Maxwell 1990:53). The production of traditional Kutai ikat has been revived in the Benuaq village of Tanjung Isuy in response to interest from visiting overseas tourists (Muller 1991:107).
a bridal bed, coffins and paddles. The decorative elements of floral and foliate motifs have been widely employed. The *hampatong* could be defined as the most universally distributed type artifact, while the other forms of funerary monument could be seen as a sufficient but not necessary component for assigning a group to this complex, as these are not universally distributed through the region.

Certain type artifacts, such as the *dohong* and *buno*, twined war jackets, shields with half the design inverted, necklaces of long agate beads or crescent shaped plates and shell decorated tabards disappeared from ordinary use, although some were preserved by use in the community’s most distinctive ritual.

**The Central Borneo Complex**

The many ethnic groups which inhabit a large area of central Borneo from the Mahakam river in East Kalimantan to the tributaries of the upper Kapuas in West Kalimantan, northwards through the tributaries and upper waters of the Rejang and Baram in Sarawak, and across the plateaus of central East Kalimantan to the Kayan or Bulungan river, form a large ethnic complex with many social features in common. They produced a complex of art and material culture which contains many elements unique to Borneo. The area has been seen as the region of Borneo least infiltrated by influences from outside the island, at least within the period of historic records.

The art of this region is perceived as conservative, as it employs a limited range of motifs which appear on a whole range of objects, from grave houses to beadwork designs to tattoo patterns. There are certain rules as to how these motifs may be deployed within society. It is also a prolific art, as decoration appears on all manner of objects large and small, important or trivial, symbolic or practical. There is a great deal of similarity in the art styles of all groups in the complex. The intricacies of the differences are the subject of another chapter. This section will very briefly outline the similarities.

The most distinctive motif of central Borneo is that called *aso* after its identification by the Kayans as a mythical dog. Other groups have identified it as a *naga*, a dragon, a prawn or a scorpion. It can appear in a range of forms, depending partly on the medium in which it is depicted, sometimes looking very much like a dog or a dragon and sometimes abstracted into an almost featureless anemone-like form. It can even have two heads. Despite the diversity of forms and attributions, it has to be regarded as a single motif. There are no clear divisions as the variations grade into one another. [PLATE 48, 49]
Central Borneo Complex
Another important central Borneo motif is that of the spreadeagled anthropomorphic figure. It is depicted in a number of ways by central Borneo people and has become incorporated into the symbols of social hierarchy among those central Borneo people who are most emphatically socially stratified. It can be carved in relief on house posts or mortuary structures, painted on shields or walls, worked into beadwork patches on baby carriers or hats, delicately carved on hornbill beak earrings or appliquéed onto clothing or hats. [PLATE 50, 51]

The face is the other most important motif of central Borneo art. It can exist in various recognisable types. There is a grotesque and monstrous visage with bared teeth and fangs. There is a more benign heart shaped representation, concave when depicted in three dimensions, sometimes rather simian in appearance. Some modern central Borneo art depicts a plain and expressionless face surrounded by a crown of projecting curved tendrils. As with the other motifs the face can be carved in relief where it appears on graves, house posts or masks, or rendered in two dimensions by painting, beadwork, embroidery or appliqué. It also has a role in defining the bearer’s social identity. [PLATE 50A, 52]

The motif of hornbill heads, usually in very simplified and stylised form, appears in many contexts. Sometimes these are difficult to distinguish from *aso* heads. [PLATE 53] Recent central Borneo art can include some more naturalistic forms such as human figures depicted in modern or traditional clothes and various animals shown in a relatively naturalistic style, in contrast to the highly stylised depictions of earlier central Borneo art. Compositions, whether or not they include naturalistic figures, tend to be interlaced in a network of complex abstract patterning which includes hooks, spirals and interlace designs, as well as segments of geometric motifs such as lozenges or angular spirals. Objects as large as a grave house or as small as a knife handle can be covered in a riot of complex interlacing decoration.

The central Borneo complex can therefore be defined in terms of a limited series of motifs employed and a distinctive style of depiction. The same motifs and the same basic style are reproduced on a whole range of objects and in different techniques. It would be hard to isolate a particular domain of life

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1. This is, in fact, a widespread motif in the art of the Southeast Asian archipelago and probably one of some antiquity. It occurs in Sarawak in archaeological contexts, carved in relief in the famous rock at Santubong of unknown antiquity, and painted on the walls of the Kain Hitam mortuary cave at Niah.
where artistic enterprise is concentrated.

Funerary art is concentrated on the large and decorative grave houses of the nobility, called salong, in which encoffined corpses were placed permanently high above the ground. There is no tradition of narrative art associated with funerals. The salong were located apart from the villages, usually on high ground overlooking the river, and as such form very distinctive territorial markers for the benefit of river travellers. Some groups, particularly in Sarawak, practised secondary redeposition of bones and erected their own distinctive forms of bone depository in the form of carved poles called klerieng. [PLATE 50A, 54]

Anthropomorphic figure sculpture was not associated especially with funerals nor with the commemoration of individuals. Terrifying figures with enlarged genitalia, sometimes brandishing weapons, were erected on paths outside villages and outside communal buildings to frighten away evil influences or formed part of public structures associated with community ritual. The figure carving tended to be more roughly made and less diverse in composition than that of the southeast and very little has found its way into museum collections. [PLATE 55]

The central area was one of continual inter-group competition, with consequent territorial dispute and warfare. The accoutrements of war form a notable part of the identifying accessories of males in this region, with the central Borneo war kit gradually becoming a kind of identifying badge for Dayak men from many regions and ethnic origins. The parang ilang was a weapon of unique design. It has an unusual blade which is asymmetrical in cross-section, one side being slightly concave and the other convex with a single sharp edge. It is a chopping weapon, and thus frequently categorised as a headhunting sword although they were used for a huge variety of mundane tasks in the jungle and the fields. Good specimens were prestige items and could be used as gifts or for the payment of fines. [PLATE 56A]

Spears tended to be plain and functional items with leaf shaped iron blades. The spear point frequently formed part of a blowpipe, but these were more hunting weapons than weapons of warfare among most groups. The bamboo quivers for the poisoned arrows were often more elaborate items however, having carved wooden handles, sometimes also wooden lids and occasionally decorated with engraved designs. [PLATE 56C]

The shields of central Borneo were large hexagonal wooden pieces angled to the mid-line. Museum collections abound with specimens with painted
designs, and some set with rows of tufts of human hair. These were the exceptional display pieces and the more usual type was a robust version simply painted red. The most common motif for the front of a painted shield was a monstrous face, sometimes attached to an attenuated body in squatting position. Additional decoration included anthropomorphic figures, *aso* or hornbill heads, all set in a complex interlacing design. [PLATE 50B, 52B, 53A, 56B, 57]

The standard war attire of central Borneo consisted of a skin cape, often set in front with a large pearl shell, and a robust plaited rattan cap covered in skin, tufts of hair, or set with beadwork panels and adorned with hornbill or argus pheasant feathers. When accompanied by a painted shield and a *parang ilang* brandished in menacing pose, a man was turned into the prototype of a central Borneo warrior. [PLATE 15B, 57]

In personal presentation the peoples of central Borneo had a number of features in common which differentiated them from people living closer to the coast. Perhaps the most readily noted was mutilation and distention of the earlobes. In the case of women the ears were often made to hang in loops to below the shoulders. The lobes of the men were less dramatically distended, but they also cut a large hole in the upper shell of the ear to insert ornaments made from animal teeth. [PLATE 58, 59, 60] Like many other Dayak peoples, they formerly filed and blackened their teeth. This was later replaced with a fashion for inserting metal plates over the front teeth. A form of body mutilation practised extensively by the central Borneo men was perforation of the penis, an operation performed at puberty to allow the insertion of a metal bar or *palang*.¹

Both men and women tattooed their bodies. The tattoo designs were very different for men and women, but the overall system of design for each was similar all over the region. Women were very heavily tattooed in a network of fine and dense intricate patterns over their arms from the elbows to the fingertips and over their legs from their thighs to the toes. [PLATE 61] The men, on the other hand, were much more sparing in their tattoos, employing isolated motifs such as rosettes or *aso* designs on strategic points such as the shoulder, the chest or the thighs. [PLATE 62]

¹ This custom was first reported by Mr Dalton (1831:53) for the Dayaks of Kutai, along with cannibalism and sundry other exotic oddities. However it was confirmed by Burns (1849:149) and St John (1863, Vol.1:123) for the Kayans of Sarawak and the procedure carried out on adolescent boys of the Mendalam Kayan described in some detail by Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.1:69-69). It was not considered a ritual necessity.
Traditional dress for women was a long skirt hung from the hips that was split either at one side or the back to the upper thigh to show the extensive tattooing. Heavy, but simple, earrings helped to distend the earlobes while bead necklaces and girdles, and ivory or metal bracelets were much favoured. [PLATE 58, 59, 61A] Festive attire involved elaborations of this basic form of dress with skirts and jackets decorated in various ways and a proliferation of jewellery. [PLATE 4, 5] Elaborate ear ornaments, many carved from hornbill beak, were the preserve of men. [PLATE 60]

Colourful beadwork produced by knotting in a diagonal pattern became a notable characteristic of the central Borneo groups. It was used for jewellery, and for adornment of headbands, hats, jackets and skirts. It was also used to decorate household items such as baskets and baby carriers. [PLATE 5, 49B, C, 51B, C, 52C, 58B] The baby carriers themselves, of wood or plaited rattan and decorated with carving or beadwork were a type artifact of the central Borneo region. Such items were not used in other areas of Borneo. [PLATE 49B]

The central Borneo people were makers of masks which were used on such occasions as harvest feasts and for shamanistic rituals. There were a range of types and regional stylistic variations, but they commonly had a monstrous humanoid face with fangs and bared teeth and large, elaborate and decorative ears. Masks with pig faces were also characteristic of the central area. [PLATE 63]

The central Borneo groups had gongs and drums, like the sub-coastal people, but these were not used for their music. Bronze gongs imported from the coastal regions were used as prestige wealth, and were only beaten in cases of fire or alarm, as were the enormous drums which hung on the longhouse verandahs. The instruments of performance and dancing were the kledi or keluri and the sape. Variants on the kledi are found all over Borneo. It consists of a gourd set with a series of bamboo pipes into which vibrating reeds have been carved. The sape is a form of guitar or lute, unusual in design as the back is open and it has no attached resonating board. It is unique to the central Borneo region and was evidently considered a prestige instrument as there are many examples with fine carved or painted decoration. [PLATE 64A] Jew's harps, bamboo flutes and bamboo harps were instruments commonly found among many Dayak groups and used in central Borneo. [PLATE 64B, C]

In terms of craft skills, the central area was a region where certain specialised skills were on the decline in the late 19th century when Europeans first visited the area, as some central areas had become more accessible to trade.
goods from the coastal regions. Processes of pacification on the lower rivers aided this opening up of the interior before the European explorers and officials actually set foot in the far interior themselves. Weaving, for example, was carried out by some central groups but only those in remote locations. There is no trace of the craft of *ikat* dyeing having ever been carried out in the central area. The people of the far interior reputedly dug their own iron ore and smelted the iron and steel for their tools and weapons. Fine smithing, especially for highly decorative *parang* blades, continued to be carried out but using European steel as the raw material. The manufacture of pottery was carried out in only a few locations by the end of the 19th century. The ware produced consisted of handmade paddle beaten utility pots for cooking, blackened by the process of coating them with *damar* before firing to make them watertight.\(^1\) Imported glazed stoneware from China, especially in the form of large jars, had been in the interior for centuries, valued as prize heirlooms. Barkcloth jackets were still being made at the end of the 19th century. In some areas these were embroidered and painted with designs for use as significant ceremonial clothing.

The skills which thrived in the central areas were those associated with the production of decoration, including carving on a large and small scale, painting and beadwork. Techniques such as embroidery and appliqué became popular as a way of producing distinctive textile items with imported materials. Mats and baskets with bicoloured designs in abstract motifs are still widely made and sold in downriver bazaars. [PLATE 65] Bamboo carving was a highly elaborated skill and there are some distinctive styles. Pictorial or narrative designs were not employed on basketry or bamboo carving.

The agricultural peoples of central Borneo were longhouse dwellers and their longhouses were renowned for their sturdy construction on massive ironwood posts and their great length. Various forms of decoration were lavished on these constructions, particularly on the apartments of chiefs. The basic style of these decorations was similar to that employed on mortuary architecture, with carved posts, doors and beams, bright wall paintings and openwork decorations along the roofline. [PLATE 48A, E]

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1. Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:216-217) described the process of coating the pots in powdered resin before firing, so that some of the resin actually caught fire. According to Tillema (1989:189-191), the Kenyahs of the Apo Kayan coated them with resin immediately after firing. The pots photographed by Tillema (1989:189) appear to have a shiny surface, which is no longer, at least, the case with the pots collected by Nieuwenhuis.
Large Cultural Complexes

The various nomadic groups of the central Borneo region represent a divergent branch in terms of some aspects of material culture. They lacked the distinctive forms of housing, funerary architecture and public monuments such as carvings or poles. Because of their trading relations with agricultural people, many smaller items of material culture were shared between them. Mats, baskets and blowpipes made by nomads were used by agriculturists, while the nomads wore clothing, jewellery and beadwork made by the agriculturists and often used iron tools acquired from them (Hoffman 1986:32-34, Sellato 1989a:72-75, Rousseau 1990:233-239).

The central Borneo complex can be defined in terms of a constantly repeated set of motifs which are reproduced in different contexts and media. It can be categorised in terms of its monumental public art in the cemetery, the village and the dwelling place. It can be identified from its sheer proliferation, whereby practically any kind of object can be the basis for a riot of decoration using the standard vocabulary of motifs. Its most definitive type artifacts are decorated *parang ilang*, hexagonal shields painted with highly stylised human faces, decorated baby carriers, masks with large elaborate ears and items decorated with figurative beadwork.

The Stone Monument Builders of the Northern Central Plateaus

While the Murut-Kelabit people have been classified by Rousseau (1990) as a central Borneo people on the basis of their stratified social organization and their networks of relationship with the Kenyahs and Kayans, their material culture and some aspects of their subsistence had some different features. Like the Kajang of the Rejang and autochthonous groups of the Baram, they carried out elaborate secondary burial ceremonial for their high ranking dead.

The Murut-Kelabit people were the only peoples in the central area of Borneo to practise wet rice cultivation in irrigated fields with water control systems. Such systems were in use on the Kelabit plateau and upper Trusan valleys in Sarawak and in the upper Kerayan region in Kalimantan (O.F.R. S.G. Dec 1 1894:214, Pollard 1930-37a:148-149, Harrisson 1959a:71-84, Schneeberger 1979). The people of the lower Trusan and the Limbang were shifting cultivators of dry rice, like the Kayans and Kenyahs. Those who practised irrigated agriculture had a more stable and permanent relationship with their agricultural land than that of the shifting cultivators of the major rivers. Perhaps it was this relationship with the land which was the underlying inspiration for their construction of permanent memorials for the dead in conspicuous
North Central Complex
Large Cultural Complexes

Monuments of various types were constructed in stone, causing Harrisson to categorise them as a "megalithic" culture (Harrisson 1958a, 1958b, 1973).

The stone monuments took a variety of forms; urns and troughs for the deposition of the bones of the dead, dolmens, standing stones, seats and bridges. [PLATE 66] These were all built during the course of the communal secondary death feasts. There were also rock engravings, depicting anthropomorphic figures or abstract designs. [PLATE 67A, B] Not all their landscape altering monuments involved erecting objects of stone. They also cut huge clearings through large trees on prominent hilltops, and constructed irrigation works for rice growing (St John 1863, Vol.2:119, Pollard 1930-37b:226, Harrisson 1958b:698, Schneeberger 1979:39).

These people were probably the last group in Borneo to be contacted in their own territory by European representatives of government. By the time that their territories were visited their monument building activities were somewhat on the wane. Large stone urns and troughs were found in the upper Trusan, but the people acknowledged nothing of their construction or use (Banks 1930-37a:416) [PLATE 66B, C]. Harrisson (1958b:696-698) stated that the largest and most spectacular monuments on the Kelabit plateau were all claimed by the local people to have been built in much earlier times. In the upper Bahau river there were large stone urns covered by dolmens which had been built by the Muriks who had been driven away from the area (Jongejans 1922:218, Schneeberger 1979:140-142, Pfeffer 1963:237). There were even a few stone monuments in the Apo Kayan area, which the people could only identify as belonging to the time before the Kenyahs arrived there (Siervelt 1929, Whittier and Whittier 1974). Some of these were anthropomorphic carvings with similarities to Kelabit rock carvings, but also to the Kenyah or Kayan way of depicting figures. [PLATE 67C, D, E] Monument building ceased completely after the introduction of Protestant Christian missionaries to the area (Harrisson 1958b:699).

There are a number of features which distinguish the material culture of these people from that of the Kayan and Kenyah related groups. Their war kit was similar, but they had their own special kind of long curved sword with a two pronged handle called a parapat or pakayun. [PLATE 68] They adopted the
Chapter 5

**parang ilang**, producing some intermediate forms along the way.\(^1\)

Kelabit women bore distinctive zigzag tattoos on their legs while the men seemed to be little inclined to tattooing at all.\(^2\) The women were noted for the shortness of their plain coloured skirts.\(^3\) [**PLATE 69**] Some, but evidently, not all, women extended their earlobes. They were great hoarders of ancient beads. Murut or Kelabit women wore unique caps made from huge and ancient carnelian and bone beads. Necklaces and even jackets were made from assorted antique beads and treasured as heirlooms. [**PLATE 70**] Their favoured old beads were large carnelian, bone and plain blue glass beads, as opposed to the large millifiori beads cherished especially by the Kayan. While they adopted the figurative beadwork used by the other central groups, these antique items were ethnically distinctive. Kelabit men have worn animal teeth through their upper ears, but some earlier photographs indicate that this practice was formerly not universal.\(^4\) [**PLATE 68A, 70A, 71A**] A distinctive item of male attire was a long hairpin, either of metal or of bone with engraved or attached decorations. [**PLATE 71**]

In terms of craft skills, the men were formerly forgers of iron like the central Borneo people. [**PLATE 72A**] Production of simple functional paddle beaten pottery continued in some remote Murut areas in Sarawak longer than

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1. Pollard (1930-37a:147) reported that they obtained their **parang ilang** from other tribes, if possible. St John (1863, Vol.2:82) described Adang Murut men in the upper Limbang wearing padded war jackets covered with cowrie shells and helmets of the same material. This war costume therefore resembled that of Murut-Tagal groups in Sabah more than the Kayan or Kenyah type adopted by the Kelabits.

2. Trusan men could have some simple designs on their legs or simple circles on their chests (O.F.R. S.G. Dec 1 1894:214). These have not been reported by later writers. The women had some striped designs on their hands and lower arms (O.F.R. 1894:214, Pollard 1930-37b:224). In northern East Kalimantan, Jongejans (1922:69) recorded some simple striped designs on the arms of Putuk women.

3. St John (1863, Vol.2:105) protested "Their petticoats are of the shortest, sometimes not eight inches broad, and are scarcely decent."

4. Pollard (1930-37b) suggests that male ear adornment differentiated Trusan Muruts from Kelabits. The former wore wooden ear plugs, sometimes metal plated, while the latter wore copper rings and leopard's teeth in the upper ear.
Large Cultural Complexes

in other parts of central Borneo.¹ There are only the briefest of references to
former weaving skills among this group (O.F.R. S.G. Dec 1 1894:214, Harrisson
1949:101). Barkcloth clothing was formerly worn by these people and was still
being worn by members of this complex in remote parts of East Kalimantan this
century. [PLATE 72C] Unlike the other central Borneo groups, they do not
appear to have been great carvers, either on a large or small scale, although
they acquired similar skills to the Kenyah in the carving of deer antler and
hornbill beak. The Kelabits carved coffins in the form of animals. There is no
hint that they made masks. They made baskets and mats of similar type to those
of central Borneo. They engraved bamboo to make containers and distinctive
smoking pipes with wooden bowls, covered in fine and shallow curvilinear
designs. [PLATE 72B] They seem to have had a talent for fine bicoloured fibre
plaitwork to reinforce *parang* handles and cover bamboo containers. [PLATE
72C]

The Kelabitic people lived in longhouses which were rather more
communal in character than the horizontal apartment blocks of the other
central Borneo groups. They appear not to have had the traditions of exuberant
longhouse decoration, either in the form of painting, carving or openwork roof
decorations, of other central Borneo groups. In the realm of public art works,
the group identity and social identity of individuals was focused on funerary
monuments of a grand nature.

Type artifacts of the group include the *parapat*, caps, belts and jackets of
large and heavy old beads, engraved bamboo smoking pipes and the stone
monuments. Highly distinctive craft skills are few, although ironworking and
pottery were specialities. When painting, beadwork or carved earrings or *parang*
handles were produced, the motifs were those of the Kenyah. However the most
distinctive artifacts of the group do not involve the depiction of motifs.

The Ibanic Complex

The Iban of Sarawak are renowned for their ability to borrow art styles
or material culture from others and somehow make them their own. Over the
time since colonial contact, many aspects of their material culture have

¹ Pollard (1930-37a:147) reported that the Muruts of the *ulu* preferred their own pottery vessels
to metal containers which imparted a disagreeable flavour to rice. Morrisson (1957:265) has
photographed a woman hand modelling cooking pots, surrounded by sufficient examples of her
handiwork to indicate that this was still a well practised skill.
Ibanic Complex
changed. As a complex, they are best categorized by a series of type artifacts. The changes and adaptations of material culture in the Ibanic complex will be discussed in the next chapter, so only a basic outline will be given here.

The Ibanic peoples did not produce elaborate or monumental funerary art. The Saribas people produced a highly distinctive form of funerary monument, the sungkup, a small house-like structure with elaborately carved crossed roof gables. [PLATE 73A] This was a highly localised feature of cemeteries on the Saribas.

The Iban produced two very distinctive classes of carved artifact. For their feasts in honour of warfare, their Gawai Kenyalang, they carved effigies of hornbills which were placed on poles at the conclusion of the festivities. Certain elaborations of style, such as the extravagantly curled casque and foliate interlace decoration in openwork and relief make these highly recognizable. [PLATE74] The tuntun stick is a small item with the practical function of measuring the height of the trip wire in a pig trap. These were carved with small crouching figures, sometimes of simian appearance.¹ [PLATE 73B, C, D]

The Iban of Sarawak are the group whose name is most closely associated with headhunting. The accoutrements of war play a large part in their image. These changed dramatically over time however, with a gradual adoption of the war kit of the central Borneo people for martial display. A diversity of shield types was replaced by the wooden shield with elaborate face design and a range of jackets and headgear with the skin cloak and rattan cap of the central Borneo groups. [PLATE 75A] The traditional curved chopping sword of the Iban was called the niabor. [PLATE 75B]

The Iban formerly did not tattoo. The men adopted tattooing by borrowing designs from the Kayan and other inland groups, adapting them to larger and more lavish designs and applying them with a liberality not

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¹ These were not items of public display, but devices with a practical function and the supernatural capacity to entice game to the traps. Nonetheless they are a distinctive item. Rarely illustrated in earlier publications, they seem to have appeared relatively recently on the collector's market, perhaps indicating a declining importance to their owners (Heppell and Limbang Anak Melaka 1988, Schoffel nd:158-171). I was unable to find any of these objects, or any catalogue references to them, in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne or the Bacz collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. In the Hose collection of the Museum of Mankind, London I was able to find only one reference to a "wooden staff, pointed with carved figure at head" (1905-781) accompanied by a little sketch, but unidentified by name or ethnic group. This seems unusual as every collection from Borneo seems to contain several kenyalang figures. It must be assumed that formerly they were not readily parted with.
encountered in central Borneo. In so doing they produced a body presentation that was instantly identifiable. [PLATE 76] The women experimented with a few simple tattoo designs, but did not persist with the practice.

The Iban used masks on festive occasions, but these do not have either the distinctiveness or diversity of design of those of central Borneo or of the southeast. Simple in design, they are reported as being used for clowning around at festivals or for frightening the wits out of children (Heppell 1990:70). [PLATE 77A] The main musical instruments for public performance were, as with many other Borneo groups, drums and gongs. The Iban formerly had a diversity of unusual instruments, such as the ensuranai or fiddle and enkratong or harp, which disappeared over time (Shelford 1904:6-9,16, Maceda 1961-2:491-492). [PLATE 77B, C] Their engkerurai was similar to the Kayan kledi, but generally smaller.

The traditional costume of Iban women, while it has undergone variations and adaptations, was based around two distinctive items: short skirts of their own weaving, decorated with ikat or weft inlay techniques, and the unique rattan corsets covered with brass rings. There developed an increasing fashion among Iban women for various forms of silver jewellery and innovative forms of beadwork collars. [PLATE 78]

The craft skill most intimately associated with all the Ibanic groups is the craft of ikat dyeing, traditionally carried out on handspun cotton grown by the Iban themselves and woven on a backstrap loom. The patterns are very recognisable, with anthropomorphic or animal designs in an intricate maze of angular interlacing motifs. The colours were generally blue and red, with many of the motifs appearing in the natural white of the thread. As well as the women's skirts, this technique was used for jackets, shoulder cloths and for the pua cloths or blankets which play an important role in Iban ceremonies. [PLATE 79A] Other techniques were used to produce intricately decorated woven textiles, in the form of supplementary weft techniques such as pilih or floating weft and songkit or warp wrapping. These items were all made by the related Ibanic groups in west Kalimantan such as the Mualang, Kantu' and Ketungau as well as by the Iban of or from Sarawak. As such, they could be considered type artifacts for the whole Ibanic group.

Some inland Iban groups produced simple paddle beaten pottery of a rather similar type to that produced by central Borneo groups. This craft was extinct in sub-coastal areas at colonial contact, but survived in some remote areas into this century. [PLATE 79B] Iban smiths forged weapons and utensils,
but the smelting of iron is not recorded for this group as they had access to imported iron from earliest colonial times. They made basketry in the form of mats, baskets and broad brimmed hats with intricate curvilinear and geometric motifs, characteristic of much basketry from Borneo in general. [PLATE 80A, B] They carved bamboo containers with elaborate foliate designs and occasionally with fairly naturalistic creatures such as centipedes and lizards. [PLATE 80C]

The Iban were, and in many areas still are, longhouse dwellers but their migratory lifestyle meant that their houses were not so substantially built as those of the central Borneo people. [PLATE 14A] Carved decoration was not a feature of their houses, although some wall paintings are reported.

The most characteristic feature of the Ibanic material culture complex is its ability to change quite radically over time, while still presenting a distinctive and recognizable image. Skills in weaving and dyeing distinguish the Ibanic groups from all others in their region of Borneo. Type artifacts include the *pua* cloth, *ikat* dyed clothing, the carved *kenyalang* figure, the *tuntun* stick and women’s brass corsets. The *sungkap* is a type artifact for one particular Iban region. The *niabor* sword was a type artifact which disappeared, while certain forms of tattoo pattern, such as the throat tattoo, were type designs which were relatively recently adopted.

The motifs used in Iban art varied according to the particular craft utilised. In tattoo patterns and painted shield designs they used the motifs of central Borneo from whence the styles were directly borrowed. Older shields, some bamboo carvings and some decorative items like carved weaving shuttles displayed foliate interlace designs similar to those of all the sub-coastal groups in contact with Malay culture. The weaving showed an intricate and instantly recognisable series of geometric designs which could incorporate anthropomorphic figures or animals, especially crocodiles. Animal figures were sometimes found on carved bamboo containers. The Iban show better than any other group that the adoption of styles, designs or artifacts from other groups need not annul the identifiers of ethnic boundaries.

**The Land Dayak Complex**

The peoples of Sarawak and West Kalimantan designated broadly as Land Dayak, Bidayuh or Kendayan, have had long association with Malays and their culture. The varying degree of association of different branches contributed to the internal diversity of this complex. While not considered to be
Land Dayak Complex
as prolific in their artistic output as some of the more extroverted societies of Borneo, their material culture had some special features.

Their funeral ceremonies, sometimes burial or sometimes immediate cremation, were carried out with some degree of furtiveness. In Sarawak there was no permanent memorialisation. In parts of west Kalimantan carved wooden images of the dead were erected, but usually in forest clearings rather than in a place where they would act as conspicuous territorial markers. In the Landak area figures were very distinctive, with articulated arms outstretched, dressed in simple clothes, with carved models of their jewellery and weapons. The anthropomorphic carvings made to protect rice fields or defend paths were generally very simple and roughly made. [PLATE 81]

Although not represented as warlike people, they had some distinctive artifacts of war. Their shields were ovoid and smaller than those of other Borneo groups. They were made of bark, sometimes covered in basketry, with a carved central wooden strip up the front. [PLATE 82A, B] Some very small shields with scalloped edges, foliate carving and sometimes with tin inlaid decoration are found in older museum collections from West Kalimantan. [PLATE 82C, D] There seems to be no ethnographic information about their use. They used a peculiar chopping weapon called a pandat which had a straight single edged blade set at an angle to the handle, which was all made from one piece of metal without a separate hand grip. A simple metal crossbar acted as a finger guard. An angled chopping tool with a carved knob-like handle was used by Malays and Melanaus along the west coast as an agricultural tool, but as a weapon of war the pandat was unique to this group. It looks and feels very unwieldy. [PLATE 83A, 84A] There were some elaborately carved spear handles, some with rings of anthropomorphic figures and bearing a barbed iron tip. [PLATE 83B, C, D]

Their musical instruments were generally similar to those of the Iban although some were simpler in form. The Land Dayak sigittuad was a less finely finished version of the Iban ensurunai (Shelford 1904:9-10). Their reed instrument, called a serubayi, was simpler than the kledi or engkerurai, having no gourd and only two pipes which were blown directly (Shelford 1904:34-36).¹ Masks and mask ceremonies are not described in early accounts of the Land Dayaks, although

¹. These instruments are not well represented in museum collections as they were not durable. The sigittuad was rapidly assembled and fell to pieces when the string was slackened.
Heppell (1990:69-70) claims that the Bukar Bidayuh have a masked festival.\(^1\)

The Land Dayaks did not tattoo at all, nor did they elongate their ears or carry out any form of body mutilation which distinguished them. Their clothing was simple and used much that was obtained at the bazaars. The most conspicuous items of adornment of Bidayuh women and girls were large sets of heavy brass bracelets and leglets which were so constricting that they actually deformed the muscles of the calf. [PLATE 84B, 86C]

In the Sadong areas of Sarawak and in West Kalimantan women had a distinctive form of beadwork hat which was worn on festive occasions, consisting of a tall truncated cone which was set with coloured beads in a vertical striped design. Sometimes these hats had a flat conical top, giving them the appearance of a tall mushroom. [PLATE 86B, C] Old beads in the form of necklaces were valued by these people and necklaces with old glass beads interspersed with large animal teeth arranged point upwards were worn by men. Such necklaces seem to have survived the 19th century only in museum collections and old photographs. [PLATE 85C, 87A, D] Early descriptions of Land Dayaks in both Sarawak and West Kalimantan mention the wearing of necklaces made from human teeth. [PLATE 87B] Bidayuh women from the upper Sarawak river wore a particularly awkward and restrictive corset made from a sheet of bark, sometimes reinforced with vertical strips of metal.

The Kendayan peoples of West Kalimantan had many features of dress in common with the Bidayuh, some Malay items and a few unique artifacts. [PLATE 85A, B] Groups such as the Menyuki of the Landak region had an unusual form of dancing costume for women, which included hats surrounded by hanging bead strings and set with unusual silver ornaments. These, and silver neck ornaments, were made by Chinese silversmiths, but were supposedly based on old Dayak designs. [PLATE 85B, 88]

The Bidayuh did not weave. They formerly wore barkcloth clothing or, in Sarawak, women wore skirts made by Iban weavers. [PLATE 81C, 89A] Some of the Kendayan people of West Kalimantan wove material from lemba fibre (Schadee 1896:62-64). Like most Dayak groups they could forge weapons and utensils but they did not smelt iron. They plaited baskets, mats and hats and seemed to have a particular talent for making very fine and tightly plaited

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1. A Bidayuh mask, consisting of a simply depicted grinning face with fangs, is illustrated in AhBeng (1991:49).
Large Cultural Complexes

striped baskets in a range of sizes, from large ones for carrying baskets to tiny ones for sirih pouches. Large sunhats were plaited in fancy bicoloured designs, or made from flat sheets of leaf or bark and painted with elaborate foliate designs. [PLATE 89B, C] They carved bamboo containers and smoking pipes with fine foliate and floral designs. [PLATE 89D] Knotted figurative beadwork is rare, although not completely unknown. [PLATE 86A]

They lived in longhouses, but these were neither so long nor so regular in design as those of the neighbouring Iban. Their dwellings were relatively unadorned. However, in most Land Dayak villages there was a structure, the pangah, which identified the village inhabitants. This was called the head house by English writers as it contained the captured skulls belonging to the village, but it also served as a meeting house, guest house and sleeping quarters for unmarried men. It was a circular building with a conical roof, and a village could have one, several or sometimes none. [PLATE 90]

The head house was a type artifact of the Bidayuh of Sarawak and parts of West Kalimantan. Other type artifacts are the pandat, the unique form of ovoid shield, vertical striped beadwork hats, engraved bamboo smoking pipes and necklaces strung with animal teeth point upwards or human teeth. The bracelets and leglets worn by the women are not really type artifacts in themselves as they were imported items and sometimes worn by other groups. It is the manner of their wearing which makes them typically Bidayuh. Motifs employed in basketry and on engraved bamboo containers include very common types of geometric ornament and floral and foliate designs.

The distinguishing aspects of the Land Dayak complex lie more in the existence of specific type artifacts than in the use of distinctive motifs or styles. This, and the lack of spectacular or monumental public art, makes the presentation of the group somewhat unassertive.

The Sabah Complex

This very untidy classification covers a range of people living in the northern part of Borneo with different ethnic labels and languages. Much of their material culture is more closely related to that of some groups in the southern Philippines than to the material culture of other Borneo groups. The Dusuns were seen as people who had absorbed all sorts of ideas from outside Borneo, such as how to grow rice in irrigated fields prepared with an animal drawn plough or how to grow vegetables in Chinese style garden plots. Recent immigrants such as the Ilanun and Bajau brought in exotic concepts from Sulu and
MAP 25

Sabah Complex
the Philippines. The Murut-Tagal people live in thinly populated remote interior areas, some groups in close proximity to Murut-Kelabit groups.

Neither the Dusuns nor the Muruts had a tradition of elaborate and distinctive funerary architecture. Simple structures such as posts, marking stones or grave shelters are described, although some coastal Dusun did build elaborately painted grave houses. B. and T. Harrisson (1971:133-148) described what they perceived as the relics of a megalithic tradition among the Dusuns of the western region of Sabah, but it had become attenuated to a series of upright stones marking property boundaries. Their original function was largely forgotten. There seems to be no tradition of elaborate carving.

The war kit of both Dusuns and Muruts had some characteristic features. They used round shields of wood or basketry and their own form of chopping sword called the gayung. This looked rather like a parang ilang but did not have the assymetrical blade. Their war jackets were of barkcloth or coarse woven fibre, as were their hats, and were sometimes decorated with shells. [PLATE 91, 94D] Certain items found in northern Borneo were derived from the southern Philippines and used by immigrant groups like the Ilanun, such as shields with a curved outline and central boss, the heavy kampilan sword and leaf shaped Sulu knives. [PLATE 91D, 92]

There are no illustrations of tattoo designs from this region and no surviving tattoo stencils. However, St John (1863, Vol.1:258) described Dusun men from the interior with simple bands tattooed from their shoulders down over their abdomens, or a band down each arm. If tattooing ever was common among them, it had all but died out by the time of colonial contact.

Traditional clothing and ornaments were diverse over the region. Formerly Dusun men and women adorned themselves in heavy coils of brass wire around their necks and bodies. The fashion survived as a local variant for women into this century. [PLATE 93A, 94A] For women, simple skirts adorned with a few rattan rings around the waist were elaborated in some areas into skirts, girdles of brass rings, coin belts and blouses festooned with silver buttons. [PLATE 93B, C] Some Murut men were singularly unadorned. [PLATE 94D] Dusun men from some lowland regions adopted a very extravagant form of festive dress, with decorative headcloths and jackets with slashed sleeves covered in silver buttons, imitating some of the more elaborate styles of dress of the coastal immigrants from the Sulu islands or the Philippines. [PLATE 94B, C] Antique beads were favoured by some far interior Murut groups. [PLATE 95] The men mostly did not wear tiger cat’s teeth in their ears, although some
fine examples with carved horn tops have been collected from the Tinggalan in the far north of East Kalimantan. [PLATE 95A, C] This little known region, close to the Tidong area, may have produced some unique elaborations. [PLATE 95D]

The peoples of Sabah seem to have used a very diverse assortment of musical instruments, some similar to those of other Borneo groups and some, particularly stringed instruments, related to those of the Philippines. [PLATE 96] Mixed orchestras were evidently a speciality. The only masks from the region were simple and unadorned coconut shells with eye and mouth holes cut into them.

In terms of craft skills, Dusun women were weavers and produced some very simple *ikat* designs for clothes as well as jackets with needle woven or weft inlaid decoration. [PLATE 97A] The Bajau had their own style of woven cloth in simple geometric designs (Alman 1959-60a). The Muruts of the remote hinterland produced barkcloth clothing. As with most Borneo people basketry mats, hats and baskets were produced with geometric and interlocking designs. Hats were a particular speciality, with a range of shapes and decorative designs. [PLATE 94B, C, P7B] Some pottery making skills survived into this century as local village specialities among Bajau and Dusun communities. The hand modelled pottery was smoothed on the outside, with some carinated outlines and vessels of elaborate form. The style was similar among Dusun and Bajau (Alman 1959-60b, c). The decorative skills like carving, painting or beadwork do not appear to have been practised to any great degree. Beadwork has been adopted by the modern Rungus Dusun for the production of a new form of distinctive jewellery.

Those who lived closer to the coast lived in separate family dwellings, while the people of the hinterland were longhouse dwellers. Conspicuous forms of architectural decoration were not a feature.

With a coastal population greatly exposed to outside influences and marketplace economics and a very small interior population living in remote locations where there were no major territorial disputes, the peoples of Sabah do not seem to have developed a unifying identifying image. There was a diversity of presentation across the region and few large territorial markers. While they produced some distinctive artifacts, like the Land Dayaks, there is no distinctive tradition of motif or design.
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The People in Between

These broad areas do not neatly encompass all the peoples of Borneo, nor are the borders between different regions always starkly drawn. Some areas have not been well investigated ethnographically. Active processes occurring at ethnic boundaries have meant that the affiliations of some groups have changed. Certain sub-groups within the larger complexes have divergent features in their art and material culture.

The coastal Melanau in Sarawak have been described by Leach (1950) as a para-Malay group. A proportion are Muslim, and this was the situation at early colonial contact. They have some unique features in their art and material culture.

The pagan branches of this group formerly practised secondary disposal of the remains of their dead, redepositing the remains in carved poles like the mid-river people of the Rejang (Jamuh 1950a, Brodie 1954-5). Few of these survive. They were sea fishermen and used broad boats of unique design which could be beached in the wildest surf. The most distinctive pieces of their ritual art also relate to their relationship with boats.

To cure illness, they carved small images, called *bilum*, from soft wood and set them afloat in miniature boats. These images have a unique style of depiction, with long straight noses and narrow pointy mouths. They are often cut all over with notches. [PLATE 98A, B, 99A] The same style was deployed for somewhat larger figures of more substantial wood representing various deities. These were often covered in scales or entangled with creatures such as sea snakes. [PLATE 98C] Tiny figures of similar form were carved from bone to act as fishing charms. Such figures were also used in surrogate burial rites for individuals who had drowned at sea (Jamuh 1950b). Other carvings used for ritual purposes included dragons or crocodiles, or figures which looked like hybrids of the two. [PLATE 99B, C]

The Melanau were the only group in Borneo which practised head moulding on babies to flatten the forehead. This was done to a minimal degree, but there was a special apparatus employed for the purpose. [PLATE 100]

Many groups were absorbed into Malay or para-Malay identity as a result of the migratory movements of the 19th century. The material culture of many of these groups is little known. The few unique artifacts of the Melanau are a reminder of the constantly changing patterns.

The Maloh of West Kalimantan are a group whose geographical position left them enclosed between the Iban from Sarawak and the Kayan from central
Borneo. They had some features of material culture common to each, some
unique features and an unusual position as skilled craftsmen who catered for
the needs of societies other then their own.

They deposited their encoffined dead in raised mortuary huts, like the
Kayan, but these varied in design. An open hut with a raised platform and
crossed roof gables has been recorded, but there are other variants. [PLATE
101] These could be guarded by what one might call minimalist
anthropomorphic figures which were supposedly formerly set with the skulls of
the victims of post-mortuary headhunting expeditions.

The traditional festive dress of the women consisted of folded
headcloths, with skirts and jackets decorated heavily with shells. [PLATE 102A]
They became adept at knotted beadwork, using some of the motifs of the
central Borneo people. Skirts and jackets with beadwork and shell designs
became a signature of the group. [PLATE 103B] These were traded with the
Iban, so that composite items of Iban *ikat* and Maloh beadwork were worn by
members of both groups. 1

There is little information about the fighting kit of the men. However, a
photograph in Roth (1896: Vol.1:14), identified as a Maloh warrior, shows a man
in the standard outfit of central Borneo, complete with shield covered in tufts of
human hair and skin jacket. [PLATE 102B]

They had a couple of unique forms of musical instrument which
differentiated them from both their Iban and Kayan neighbours. The *blikan*
was a form of guitar, hollowed from the front and equipped with a sound board,
which was also used by some Iban although they claimed it was of Maloh origin
(Shelford 1904:12-13). [PLATE 103C] They also had a rectangular wooden
drum, used for sounding alarms, very different to the cylindrical drums of other
groups.

The special craft skill of the Maloh, already noted, was their ability in
fine metalwork in silver and brass. 2 They made the distinctive brass and rattan
corsets for Iban women, but these were not worn by Maloh women. They also

1. A rather fine example is illustrated in Chin (1980:53), identified as an Iban jacket from the
collection of the Sarawak Museum (348).

2. It has been noted (Enthoven 1901:60, 64, 68) that the Maloh had many old brass cannons in
their longhouses, but rarely any gunpowder. Presumably these ancestral relics provided the raw
material for their craft.
Large Cultural Complexes

made small items such as tweezers for the depilation considered essential by young Kayan men and women. Some of these had elaborate cutout designs of interlaced aso in Kayan style. [PLATE 103A] The silver ear plugs worn by Maloh women did not owe their design to either of these groups. These craftsmen were working for their customers and produced distinctive artifacts for each group, and for themselves.

There are other regions where the material culture of groups living on the boundaries of the large zones has been little investigated. The Melawi region of West Kalimantan, the lower Mahakam or the so-called Tidong region in northern East Kalimantan might all provide information about how material culture traits travel across ethnic boundaries.

The Significance of Material Culture Zones

In the modern world of national and ethnic politics these large cultural complexes reflect something of ethnic identity. In Sarawak the modern ethnic terms Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu correspond to the Ibanic, Land Dayak and central Borneo groups described above, with the Murut-Kelabit people also included in the Orang Ulu category. In Kalimantan the central Borneo peoples retain traditions which render them distinctive as a group. The formalisation of the Kaharingan religion within the Indonesian state gives the people of the southeast a distinguishing feature within a modern political milieu. However these are much larger scale conceptions of identity than have existed in the village societies of the past. In the process of development of this larger scale identity, there has been a certain amount of homogenisation of the distinguishing elements of material culture variability within the large groups. There has also been a selection of particular attributes of material culture to represent large cultural zones.

It is apparent when trying to describe and define these cultural zones that such a definition requires a rather complex comparative process. There are type artifacts which are exclusively associated with each group, but not necessarily produced or used by every single sub-group within it. There are certain craft skills which are specialisations of each group, but these skills may be localised or specialised within the larger group. Styles of specific artifacts may vary considerably over the geographic range of a complex. The use of motif and style has a subtle and elaborate pattern of variation. Finally there is a very generalised conception of where the greatest concentration of distinctive artistic endeavour is displayed by each group, from funerary art to body adornment to
the prolific ornamentation of almost every type of object in daily use.

The existence of large zones testifies to the existence of something which can be called tradition. At a broad level the tradition signifies a form of ethnic categorization, but it does not indicate how that tradition actually articulates with ethnic identity. Certain traits which were considered, during the 19th and 20th centuries, to typify a group and to be an essential component of its identity were formerly representative of events occurring at boundaries. For example, objects which are taken to be indicators of Hindu influence within the funerary art of the Ngaju are representative of boundary interactions with outsiders of previous centuries. Their enclosure in inland areas is consequent upon the formation of new boundaries with more recently arrived outside influences. The existence of large brown glazed stoneware jars emblazoned with dragons in longhouses in central Borneo testifies to earlier trading interactions with the inhabitants of the Chinese mainland, and possibly a series of later interactions within Borneo as the jars found their way to the far interior. If the motifs on those jars are a source for the design of the *aso* motif, then they have been transformed from a signifier of outside contact to an icon of the interior people, supposedly least influenced by subsequent encounters with outside cultures.

In the next two chapters I will return to the case studies to investigate how the accelerated processes of ethnic interaction caused by the major migrations were expressed and signified in changes to art and material culture. The combined effects of tradition and current identification processes can alter the material presentation of small minority groups and large ethnic conglomerates.
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CHAPTER 6: THE IBAN: PEOPLE-CULTURE RELATIONSHIPS

Innovation and Ethnic Distinctiveness

As detailed in Chapter 3, the various branches of the Iban have had a varied history since the time of first colonial contact. Some groups migrated over large areas, recruiting new members from other groups with which they came into contact. Others remained in traditional heartlands of their culture. By the 20th century, some groups of Iban were living in a socio-economic environment very different to that of their forebears, while others of the far interior were carrying out a traditional agricultural subsistence.

The mobility of individuals was high, particularly among young males. As headhunting expeditions were gradually controlled and war expeditions on behalf of the Rajah decreased, young men changed the motivation for their travels to a variety of explorations for economic gain. Young Iban males returning to their communities were fully aware of how other peoples lived, dressed and expressed themselves. The women, while considered to be influential within their society, tended to remain in their communities and be involved with community concerns.

There was a considerable amount of change to the art, material culture and personal presentation of various Iban groups over this period. A sense of ethnic identity remained strong, however, and this is signified in a number of ways. The degree of change is different in different domains of life, certain areas remaining important for ethnic signification, even when specifics of style or presentation have changed.

Warfare and Headhunting: the projection of the Iban male

The Sea Dayaks dressed up for headhunting and warfare. Apart from the necessity for recognising friend and foe, the ritualisation of headhunting meant it was a grand occasion for which one was properly turned out. In the early days, the different groups had certain distinctive features of war costume which identified them, in the way they tied their highly elaborate headcloths, the style and method of tying of their very long loincloths and the cut of their outer
jackets.\(^1\) James Brooke noted that Saribas and Skrang warriors had peculiar methods of cutting their hair, in order to accommodate their unusual headgear (Keppel 1847:225). It was claimed that it was even possible to identify an approaching canoe in the dark by the rhythm of the paddles.\(^2\) [PLATE 1, 16, 18, 104-108]

Camouflage was evidently not a feature of Sea Dayak war costume. Scarlet jackets made from imported cloth and scarlet headcloths embroidered with cowrie shells were noted (Low 1848:179-180, Mundy 1848, Vol.1:236, St John 1863, Vol.1:42, Brooke 1866, Vol.1:125). Their main protective clothing for battle was a cotton jacket padded with kapok, which could repel sword cuts and blowpipe darts. [PLATE 6] An unusual type of armour was made by sewing large fish scales to jackets and caps made of barkcloth.\(^3\) [PLATE 109] The natural armour of the pangolin, or scaly anteater, could also be used for protective clothing. Ikat jackets, woven and dyed by Iban women, were worn for all occasions and were a distinctive ethnic identifier. They wore headcloths, like the Malays, but added their own particular touches by adorning them with rows of buttons, beads, spangles or fringes.

Among the variety of exotic apparel worn by men, particularly on dress occasions, one feature was indicated to James Brooke as being of significance for identification. Men who wore large numbers of small earrings were untrustworthy and dangerous, as they were undoubtedly from the Saribas or

\(^1\) The details of these signifiers of the Sea Dayak sub-tribes are not well recorded, although old photographs show different styles of tying loincloths and very elaborate types of headcloth. Brooke Low (Roth ed. 1893:36-42) detailed some preferences of different sub-groups for varieties of loincloth, headcloth, ornaments and even hair styles. The Saribas and Skrang were recorded by the early writers as the most extravagantly and colourfully presented of the Sea Dayak men. Some Batang Lupars evidently adopted the wearing of plaid shoulder cloths of imported fabric, as worn by young Kayan or Bahau men of the Mahakam. The Balau, by contrast, were noted to be “a plain and simple people: they never decorate their persons fantastically...” (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:236). Identifying features of the sub-tribes had their function in war during the early days of the Brooke regime. Charles Brooke reported, after some confusion during one of his assaults on the upper Skrang in 1856, “The Pangeran fortunately could recognise the Dyak tribes, and well knew their craft, and different costumes.” (Brooke 1866, Vol.1:195)

\(^2\) “Each tribe of the Dyaks has peculiar strokes in which it delights, so that in the dark a Sarebas or Sakarran boat could tell whether an approaching one was of Lundu, of the Balows, or a Malay.” (Low 1848:223)

\(^3\) Fish scale armour and barkcloth tabards covered in shell discs are also both mentioned by van Lijnden (1851:604) as war costume for Dayaks in West Kalimantan.
Chapter 6

Skrang. These, known as grunjong, were in fact worn by various interior Iban groups on the Rejag, the Batang Lupar and by immigrant Iban and by Kantu' in West Kalimantan (van Lijnden 1851:593).1 One variety, with small cowrie shells attached, was a speciality of the Ulu Ai and Engkari (Shelford 1905:20) and the Kantu'. Highly elaborated ear ornaments with multiple flat brass rings, or rings with numerous metal pendants on chains, langgu tingga and kenawieng, were also worn by interior Iban groups (Shelford 1905:23-24). The long teardrop type of earrings favoured by photographers were cast in stone moulds by the Dayaks themselves.2 The association of earrings with Iban troublemakers continued for some time, and reports of strangers acting suspiciously in odd places were regarded more seriously if the intruders had been noted to be wearing grunjong.3 [PLATE 6, 13, 18A, 105-106, 108, 110-111]

Iban men were very partial to wearing an array of bracelets, including large shell bracelets and dark wooden bracelets of triangular cross-section, frequently inlaid with tin plates. Like other interior Dayak groups, the men wore sets of leglets just below the knee. A specifically Sea Dayak variation involved the use of brass for these ornaments, either in the form of simple lengths of wire or rattan circles covered in wire rings.4 [PLATE 112] Photographs show Iban men, as well as women, appropriating some of the

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1. Almost all the early reports indicate that this form of adornment was an absolute indicator for the Saribas and Skrang (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:225, Mundy 1848, Vol.1:236, Marryat 1848:79, Low 1848:178, Beccari 1904:46). This presumably implies that it differentiated them from their enemies of the day, the Sibuyau, Undup and Balau.

2. This strangely neglected piece of information is recorded only in the accession registers for the Hose collection in the Museum of Mankind, London, which has examples of both the earrings langgu langing (1900-718) and the moulds (1900-961). They came from Ibanos on the Baram. This type of earring is not recorded by Shelford (1905) in the Brooke Low collection of the Sarawak Museum, suggesting the possibility that these were a regional speciality of immigrants to the Baram. The register of the Hose collection records many specific names for variations on the different types of Iban earrings.

3. Boyle (1865:95) was most impressed with the "miscellaneous objects" he saw hanging from the earrings of an Iban of the Kanowit region. He described the assemblage as "a large brass ring, from which depended, by long chains of brass, two boar's tusks, one alligator's tooth, the upper part of a rhinoceros hornbill's beak scraped pink and yellow, three smaller brass rings, and two little bells." Evidently, while remaining ethnically distinctive, the objects could display considerable individual creativity on the part of their owners.

4. The former were reportedly introduced to the Sea Dayaks by the Maloh. The latter, called engkrimu were worn mainly by the Skrang and Lemanak groups according to Brooke Low (Shelford 1905:46-47). They were also collected from West Kalimantan.
jewellery of Malay ladies by wearing necklaces of large silver Malay buttons. Necklaces of human teeth, mainly a speciality of the Land Dayaks, were known (Low 1848:179, Pfeiffer 1856:59). [PLATE 18B]

   The adornments of the men changed over time. Instead of cascades of rings in their ears, Iban men began to slightly extend their earlobes and wear a simple heavy metal spiral in the lobe like the Kayans and other upper Rejang people. Some rare examples exist of a form of double spiral ear ornament which the Sea Dayaks adopted from the Bukitans, but this did not become popular (Shelford 1905:17). [PLATE 111C] Some men also adopted the Kayan habit of perforating the penis to insert the *palang*.¹ Iban men gradually gave up the practice of filing and blackening their teeth, but there was a fashion, for a time, of inserting brass plugs in the front teeth.²

   War costume underwent a great transformation as actual warfare was gradually suppressed and war costume became part of public display. There was a significant movement to adopt some of the more spectacular aspects of the war costume of central Borneo. Animal skin war capes, decorated with beadwork or a large shell disc in front and a war cap made of plaited rattan with an inset beadwork panel, covered in tufts of hair, became a form of standard war costume. Padded jackets were no longer required when there were no poisoned darts or sword cuts to repel. [PLATE 75A, 113A, 121C] Both the costume and the spectacular war dances which were performed in it were learned from the Kayan. Presumably some exchange of goods was involved. A photograph of a Kayan warrior illustrated in Roth shows him wearing an *ikat* jacket under his skin cloak.³ [PLATE 113B]

   The weapons of the Sea Dayaks consisted of a chopping sword and spears. Some were iron tipped, even barbed, but most were simple wooden spears for throwing. Some early writers specifically indicated that they did not use the *sumpitan* or blowpipe (eg. Mundy 1848, Vol.1:236). However, in

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¹. Brooke Low (Roth ed. 1893:45), in describing the adoption by the Iban of this Kayan device, referred to it with forced nautical jollity as "the spritsail yard in the penis." Tillema (1930-31:205) reported that for the Iban of the Kapuas Lakes region of West Kalimantan, a certain form of tattoo on the loins indicated that a man was wearing a penis pin. The assertion is untested, but indicates an association between two novel forms of insignia of Iban masculinity.

². Gomes (1911:38-39) gives a graphic description of this painful process.

³. An alternative explanation is that the picture is misidentified, and actually represents an Iban in Kayan style war kit.
skirmishes with Sea Dayaks of the interior, the *sumpitan* was employed (eg. Low 1848:211).\(^1\)

The traditional Sea Dayak cutting weapon was called the *niabor*, a single edged instrument with a curved blade and an elaborate foliate finger guard worked from the metal of the blade itself. The blade was symmetrical in cross section and generally undecorated. The handle was carved from bone or antler, decorated in foliate designs, and had a long narrow projection from the handgrip. The wooden sheath was bound with rattan and generally undecorated. Like all indigenous bladed weapons from Borneo, it was a chopping weapon rather than a stabbing weapon. Such weapons have been collected from west Kalimantan, as well as from Sarawak.\(^2\) [PLATE 75B, 114]

The Iban abandoned the *niabor* and adopted the *parang ilang* of the central Borneo people. This is of some significance, because it involved more than a change in decorative form. The asymmetrical blade of the *parang ilang*, which had to be made in right and left handed versions, had certain difficulties of handling for the inexperienced user. Probably because of this, intermediate variants were developed which employed aspects of the decoration of the *ilang*, while retaining a symmetrical blade in different forms.\(^3\) [PLATE 115-117]

The *niabor* and the various hybrid forms rapidly disappeared and are

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1. The Sea Dayaks seem mainly to have employed the *sumpitan* as a weapon for defending a longhouse or position from attack by mobile forces. However, in the many accounts in the Sarawak Gazette of jungle clashes between Iban forest product seekers and Ukits, the greatest complaint of the Iban was that the Ukits used the blowpipe to attack them unseen and in silence from the jungle. This they regarded as highly unsporting.

2. Van Lijnden (1851:603) reported that on the Kapuas the Dayaks below Sintang used an angled *parang* (the Land Dayak *pandat*), while above Sintang and on the Melawi they used a curved *parang*, the best of which were made by the Kayan. However his description does not make it clear whether they were all *parang ilang*. The Kantu' used a *parang* like an infantry sabre with a round brass handgrip. This sounds like the *parang pedang*.

3. The *langgai tinggang* was essentially a *niabor* set with the handle of a *parang ilang*. The *jimpul*, which appeared in the later part of the 19th century, had an *ilang* handle and a curved blade which widened at the tip. The blade was generally plain apart from a rudimentary finger guard and two grooves running along it. The *bayu* resembled a *parang ilang* in appearance, but had a symmetrical blade sharpened along both edges. The *tilang kamarau*, invented early this century, also seems to have been a hybrid of the *ilang* and *langgai tinggang* (Shelford 1901:222-224, Banks 1930-37b:231-232). From West Kalimantan has been collected a type with the general form of a *jimpul*, but with the curved blade decorated with brass pegs and cutout work in the style of a *parang ilang*. 

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now represented only in museum collections.\(^1\) It has been suggested that the niabor itself may have been derived from the weapons of the Ilanun and Balanini pirates with whom the Sea Dayaks were collaborating in the early 19th century (Banks 1930-37b:231). The most commonly represented weapon of these groups in museum collections is the kampilan, a huge and heavy bladed weapon of very different design. [PLATE 92B] Long curved swords with metal handles with a cross finger guard have been collected from the Iban and appear in full dress photographs. This was the duku or parang pedang, also used by Malays, the blade often of foreign manufacture.\(^2\) [PLATE 118]

The shield is an item of battle equipment which displays a combination of utility features and style. Some early forms were relatively small, mostly oval but could be hexagonal. There were simple wooden varieties with painted foliate designs, or basketry versions with a carved central rib. Examples from Sarawak are represented in museum collections, but have been rarely photographed or described. [PLATE 119]

The large wooden hexagonal variety was more common and continued in use. Some bore painted designs with decorative foliate and floral designs, or abstract interlacing patterns. Others included among this adornment a pair of large circles indicative of eyes. A set of such shields, probably models for the collector rather than original articles, is among the Bacz collection in Vienna, indicating that such designs were in use by the interior people from the Batang Lupar as well as in more coastal regions. Ulu Ai Ibans on the Rejang and the Batang Lupar used the classic central Borneo shield with a highly elaborated face design, usually with two smaller faces at either end, and set with rows of tufts of human hair.\(^3\) [PLATE 75, 120-121]

There is no information as to whether specific shield designs had ever

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1. It is notable that in Sandin's (1967a) collection of Iban oral tradition, whenever the term for a headhunting sword is required, either in a mythological or folk historical context, the term niabor (or nyabor) is used. This emphasizes its identifying role as the traditional weapon of the Sea Dayaks.

2. According to Brooke Low (Roth ed. 1893:52), these were particularly favoured by the Undup and Balau, who decorated the hilt and sheath with silverwork.

3. It is interesting that there is a photograph of Penghulu Munan carrying a shield of this type. [PLATE 121C] He was a famous and influential Saribas Iban penghulu who carried out many raids against refractory Ibans on behalf of the government around the turn of the century. It was not only a symbol of the unruly headhunting groups, but of the invincible government forces who were determined to defeat them.

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been used to differentiate the Sea Dayak sub-groups. The most common type of shield for all interior Dayak groups was a plain wooden shield, generally painted red, heavily reinforced with rattan so that it would not split under a sword cut. These are simply functional and not ethnically distinctive. [PLATE 118]

Oval wooden or basketry shields and large wooden shields with foliate designs are notably absent from the Iban war kit of the 20th century. The central Borneo shield with a highly elaborated face design, preferably set with rows of tufts of human hair, became a universal indicator of Dayak masculinity among Ibans and central Borneo people alike.

The enormous war canoes of the Sea Dayaks were considered to be a highly distinctive feature. Hewn from the trunk of a single tree with boards and matting for protection against incoming missiles, they could carry large numbers of men on raiding expeditions from the rivers out to sea and around the coasts. Those of the Balau were supposedly the most distinctive, with tall elaborately carved stern pieces (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:236). The canoes of this group of the lower rivers were also larger and heavier than those of the groups which had to negotiate rapids and shallow water in the upper rivers (Brooke 1866, Vol.1:107). Among the other Sea Dayak groups the canoes were plain, or painted with designs, but recognisable for their sheer size and seaworthiness (Marryat 1848:63-64, Low 1848:217, Keppel 1853:132).1 [PLATE 122] Those groups which crossed from one river to another in the course of their adventures built canoes which could be disassembled and carried or stored for later use (Low 1848:221, McDougall 1854:82-83, St John 1863, Vol.1:81). Canoes combined extreme utility and style.

The variations in war kit and presentation of Iban men in the 19th century relate partly to sub-group identification, operated upon by certain factors. Some geographic variants relate to different practices of warfare in different regions. Small manoeuvrable shields and throwing spears were presumably more suited to warfare from boats than the large wooden shields and *sumpitan* of jungle warfare. The former disappeared early with the abolition

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1. Low (1848:217) described Sea Dayak war boats as "fancifully painted, and sometimes decorated with a dragon, or some other monstrous figure-head; and painted on a board at the stern are frequently human figures in indelicate positions."
of Sea Dayak "piracy". The Kayan style war kit and personal presentation of the Dayaks of the Rejang and upper Batang Lupar distinguished them from other Iban initially, but eventually became a standard for Iban men from all regions. The extravagant ear adornments which proclaimed the identity of the most aggressive and extroverted of the Sea Dayaks disappeared, but a general extravagance of style was a noted feature of Iban men generally as the group asserted its dominance.

Changes to the various components of male dress and equipment occurred at different times. Small shields and the niabor were the first to go out of use and elaborately decorated parang ilang are seen in early photographs. Fancy headcloths or earrings could be retained after the adoption of hairy shields and skin capes. [PLATE 123]

The Sea Dayaks were perceived by Europeans as intelligent and inquisitive. They were interested in new ideas and willing to try their hand at artistic forms learned from others. They were interested in things technological. An item frequently described to indicate the ingenuity of the

1. Hose and McDougall (1912, Vol.1:166) refer to the shield of plaited bamboo strips with a central wooden strip as a type formerly used but now discarded.

2. Charles Brooke (1866, Vol.1:302-303) described in some detail the war costume, complete with feathered hat, skin cloak and parang ilang with beaded sword belt, of a man "of the Malanau race" (presumably a member of one of the ethnic groups of the middle or upper Rejang) who joined him on one of his attacks on the interior of the Saribas. He noted that his costume was "absurd among Dayaks", indicating that such fashions were not yet extant among his Skrang, Saribas, Undup and Balau companions.

3. Boyle (1865:200) described the son of an Undup chief in the following fulsome terms. "From the elbow to the knuckles both his arms were covered with rings of brass, and above the joint were two broad armlets of snowy shell, which contrasted admirably with his yellow-brown skin. But the marvel and the glory of his array hung behind. To the end of his chowat was attached a long network of agate beads and bugles which jangled musically whenever he moved. Round his neck were strings of bright beads, and his knees were encircled by brazen wire. A profusion of dyed scalps fluttered from the parang by his side, and in walking before us through the sunny glades of the jungle, his brazen gauntlets flashing in the light, and his beads of agate tinkling behind, he presented the very ideal of a barbaric dandy." In a less extravagant vein, Gomes (1911:36) stated "Love of finery is inherent in the young Dyak. The old men are often very shabbily dressed, but the young are more particular." Ida Pfeiffer (1856:59) also commented on the love of finery of the Sea Dayak men of the interior, finding it "somewhat singular" that they wore so much jewellery and headgear with so few clothes.

4. St John (1863, Vol.1:41) was surprised to discover the walls of the apartment of a Skrang chief decorated with representations of horses, knights in armour and ships. He had copied them in charcoal, lime, red ochre and yellow earth from copies of the Illustrated London News.
Ibans was the Saribas fire piston. This was not used anywhere else in Borneo and the knowledge of its use was presumably acquired from outsiders. This willingness to incorporate ideas from outside may be one of the reasons that Iban culture was perceived as immigrant, and an origin for the Ibans themselves sought outside Borneo.

As communities moved into new locations in close proximity to other ethnic groups and Iban men from all regions travelled all over the country and beyond, they adopted certain attributes of male assertiveness from other ethnic groups. It is notable that the traits adopted were from powerful and aggressive peoples. Sub-group identification was subsumed to identification within a wider sphere of assertive, independent, non-Muslim indigenous Bornean male society.

**Tattooing: a changing masculine signifier**

When first contacted by Europeans, the Sea Dayaks did not tattoo their bodies (eg. Mundy 1848, Vol.1:19). In fact, they are reported as scorning those who did carry out this practice, regarding such people as too cowardly to go out without a disguise.2

Around the 1890s there was a sudden enthusiasm for tattooing among Iban men. They borrowed the designs from other ethnic groups and applied them with some degree of eclecticism. Photographs of tattooed Iban men from that experimental period show a miscellany of designs applied in haphazard

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1. Unlike other Dayak groups which made fire by means of various types of simple friction devices, the Ibans used a lead cylinder with a close fitting piston. Tinder material was placed inside the cylinder, and the piston rapidly depressed and withdrawn, generating sufficient heat to set the tinder smouldering. The devices themselves were cast in moulds by the Iban (Skertchly 1890:445-448, Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:198-199).

2. Boyle (1865:77) wrote, in relation to the elaborate tattooing of the Kanowits of the Rejang, "Both Malays and Dayaks consider tattooing to be a sign of cowardice, for, they say, a brave man requires no adventitious aid to make him terrible, and in fact the Kennowits are not highly esteemed for courage." He also claimed that "several Englishmen in Sarawak who have served at sea, and whose arms are covered with hearts and anchors and broad-arrows, submit to much friendly teasing from the natives in consequence." (Boyle 1965:223) Low (1848:365) indicated that the Sea Dayaks of Sibu, on the lower Rejang, had some small stars and rosettes tattooed on their shoulders and backs. He attributed this to contact by these particular Dayaks with the Kayans. Brooke Low (cited in Roth 1896, Vol.2:83-84) with his knowledge of the Rejang in the 1880s, reported that the Iban tattooed very little, although some men were beginning to use a few designs.
They borrowed the aso head design of the Kayan and elaborated it into a range of fanciful forms. This design was used very sparingly by Kayan men of note on their thighs or arms. With the Iban it was enlarged and transformed, in some cases into a scorpion design, and applied to the legs, arms, shoulders or back. [PLATE 124C] The Kayans and some of the mid-river people used star or rosette designs, usually discreetly applied to the points of the shoulders. Iban men spangled them up and down their backs.

The Bukitan people had a very close association with the Iban and many actually joined the ranks of the Ulu Ai Iban. Bukitan men were very extensively tattooed in a highly recognisable way, as the designs appeared in natural skin colour against a blue background. One particular feature of the Bukitan tattoo was a design on the throat, which was borrowed and adapted by the Iban who produced it in blue on a natural skin background (Hose and Shelford 1906:85). This particular design, which was referred to as a frog design, became the tattoo signature of the Iban. [PLATE 125] However the Iban did not adopt the rest of the elaborate tattoo patterning of this group. Many Bukitans may have become Ibans, but Ibans did not wish to be mistaken for Bukitans.

Kayan men who had taken part in headhunting expeditions tattooed the backs of their fingers and particularly their thumbs. This was also taken up by the Iban, with the same significance. Reports of Ibans having their hands tattooed were always of some concern to outstation officers in Sarawak.

Tattooing found particular favour on the Rejang and other Ulu Ai areas, and was used by Batang Lupar people in West Kalimantan, contrasting them with the original Ibanic people of the region who did not take up the fashion to any degree.  

1. Hose and Shelford (1906:85), in their detailed analysis of the current state of the art of tattoo in Borneo, are scathing of the efforts of the Sea Dayaks. "This wild and irresponsible system of tatu has been accompanied by an inevitable degradation of the designs." In relation to borrowed designs they designate them as "not an intelligent elaboration of the model, but a simplification and degradation or at best an elaboration without significance."

2. While tattooing is rarely mentioned as a characteristic of Ibanic peoples of the Kapuas region, Helbig (1982, Vol.1:159) noted that, in the 1930s, in one village on the Ketungau both the men and women were tattooed with garlands of star shaped patterns on the upper body. Women who had borne many children were the most richly tattooed. In one Kantu village the kepala was tattooed from head to foot (Helbig 1982, Vol.1:183).
identifiable tattoo styles in order to blend in less conspicuously with either the Melanau or central Borneo people, the Iban made themselves more conspicuous by becoming the most extravagantly tattooed people of the region.

The original haphazard use of designs rapidly evolved into a distinctive Iban signature. Large *aso* or scorpion designs covered the thighs and the upper arms, rows of rosettes or stars were arranged up and down the back, and the frog design on the throat removed all doubt that this was an Iban ensemble. [PLATE 77] The borrowing of designs was a conscious act which indicated that a young man had travelled. At one time, a man could only be tattooed while he was on *bejalai* (Freeman 1955:74). The process was an indelible mark of individual achievement.¹

Among the Iban women, who stayed at home, tattooing was never taken up to any great extent. In the late 19th century the only reference is to occasional small circles on the calves of the legs and the breasts (Hose and Shelford 1906:87). Photographs from the mid 20th century show young women with a narrow bracelet design of zigzags (eg. in Morrison 1957, 1962, Wong 1960). Women who were expert weavers occasionally had their fingers tattooed, reinforcing the connection which has been made between male headhunting and female weaving as significant Iban social attributes (eg. Gittinger 1979:219). These were short term fashions. They certainly never attempted anything like the elaborations of the central Borneo women.

**Female Presentation: conservatism and innovation**

The traditional clothing of Sea Dayak women had various highly distinctive features which differentiated them from others, but the various Iban sub-groups were differentiated only by details. They wore short woven skirts of native manufacture. Those for dress wear were intricately patterned using *ikat* or supplementary weft techniques. They had jackets and shoulder cloths decorated by similar techniques. [PLATE 16-17, 78A]

They adorned themselves with metal, ivory and shell bracelets and wore rattan hoops, stained red or black, around their waists. They sometimes wore brass leg rings, but unlike the Land Dayak women they did not leave them permanently attached to deform the leg muscles, but donned them on festive occasions.

¹ Despite the known history of tattooing as a recent innovation among the Iban, it must have been rapidly mythologised. Sandin (1980:90) cites a mythological origin for tattooing which occurred when a hero paid a visit to the afterworld twelve generations ago.
occasions. [PLATE 126A] Mushroom shaped metal ear studs, similar to those worn by Malay women, were worn by some women. PLATE 126B, C] The most readily identifiable item was the broad corset made from rattan hoops covered in rings of brass. Some varieties were removable and mainly worn on feast days, others were effectively a permanent installation. Belts of coins, chains and brass hoops with dangling ornaments were added on special occasions. A common accompaniment for festive days was a silver headdress, like a tiara, which was adapted from Malay festive costume. [PLATE 129A]

There were some variations on this otherwise fairly uniform presentation. Some examples have been collected of skirts and jackets decorated with designs made from cowrie shells. [PLATE 129B] These are sufficiently rare to suggest that they were declining in fashion by the 19th century, or perhaps never had been common. In some areas Iban women wore the distinctive shell and bead decorated skirts and jackets made by the Maloh. [PLATE 130]

A rare form of festive dress, but one found only among the Iban, utilised large numbers of heavy and ancient beads to make a garment. This was accompanied by a headdress composed of a wooden frame set with spikes, to which were attached various decorations. [PLATE 131] As the Iban were not renowned as collectors of antique beads, it must be assumed that these garments represent a reworking of the spoils of pillage among the Kayan, Bahau or Maloh. The raw materials were originally imported into Borneo, collected

1. The waist ornaments could be as simple as a few strands of dyed rattan [PLATE 108B] and there are some references to coils of brass wire (eg. Beccari 1904:44, Hornaday 1926:462). [PLATE 127] In most areas of Sarawak the corsets were made of continuous circles, with a striped design of dyed rattan rings up the front. A type with a large brass clasp in front is reported as having been formerly confined to the Ulu Ai and Engkari in Sarawak, and has also been collected in west Kalimantan (Shelford 1905:60). [PLATE 128A] The continuous loop variety was also worn in west Kalimantan, and a variation from that region has particularly large brass rings, each stamped with an individual design. [PLATE 128B]

2. This costume is depicted in Roth (1896, Vol.2, frontispiece) in a photograph by Lambert and Co. of the verandah of a Rejang Sea Dayak longhouse. The inhabitants sit formally, surrounded by examples of their material culture. Macdonald (1968:121-122) described the wearing of such costumes on an occasion on the Rejang in the 1950s. The costumes were presumably highly treasured antiques. The Rev. Mr Horsburgh described such a costume in the mid 19th century (cited in Edric Ong Liang Bin 1991:116). Boyle (1865:245) described and illustrated such an ensemble from the Skrang. However in this case the beads were simply arranged in an enormous mountain of strings rather than assembled into a garment. The somewhat bedraggled remains of such a headdress, from West Kalimantan, is in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. Such
and made into girdles or bracelets by the central Borneo people, then reassembled by the Iban into something unique and distinctive, but too rare to be called typical.

In the area of women’s festive clothing, a number of regional variations developed. In the Rejang and Baleh districts after the Second World War, women attired themselves in much the same way as they had when Europeans first arrived in Sarawak, with their patterned skirts, brass corsets, bracelets and anklets, with flowers in their hair (e.g. Macdonald 1968). On the Saribas and in the coastal regions they were more inclined to add various silver adornments, such as bracelets, earrings and tiaras with clouds of tinsel-like attachments, which could be bought from Chinese jewellers in the bazaars. Silver coins were used increasingly as ornaments, by men as well as women. Shell and brass bracelets gradually disappeared.

When modesty dictated that women no longer leave their breasts uncovered a bra was added to their costume, or in a more aesthetically pleasing variation, two crossed pieces of fabric over the breasts. Brocaded Malay cloth came increasingly into fashion in the downriver areas. The traditional style of corsets disappeared, although a narrower version, wound with silver instead of brass and fastened with a clasp so that it could be removed, was donned on outfits were photographed in the 1960s at a beauty contest on the Oya river, where it was asserted that the costumes were so heavy that the contestants could not travel by boat (Lim Poh Chiang 1989:118). Presumably the costumes had been brought from the interior when their owners moved across to the coastal rivers.

1. Silver sisir, or tiaras, were worn on the Saribas and some other downriver areas in the 19th century. A new style was reportedly designed by Mr F.R.O. Maxwell, a Sarawak officer, in response to a request from the local ladies (Roth 1896, Vol.1:4). Strangely enough, Mr Maxwell does not mention this among his reports on the pursuit of renegade headhunters in the Sarawak Gazette.

2. On various occasions the Sarawak Government attempted to recall various foreign coins that had previously been used as legal tender. They were always disappointed by the response from the Dayaks, who preferred to display them as heritable wealth rather than utilize them to stimulate the economy. "It is noticeable that although the Dyaks in the district have had ample warning of the change in currency, yet the majority have failed to take advantage of the Government's offer of exchange, preferring apparently to convert their old silver into belts and other ornaments." (Baring-Gould S.G. March 2 1905:64)
festive occasions. Skirts became decorated with more and more applied ornament in the form of coins, braid and fringes, so that the elaborately decorated fabric became irrelevant and less frequently used. Among certain downriver groups, such as the Sibuyau or Balau, Malay style clothing came more into favour. [PLATE 105A]

Certain beadwork items became part of Iban ethnic dress. These were not, however, copies of the beadwork worn by central Borneo women, but innovations in the form of large openwork collars and tabards which seem to have first appeared in the late 19th century. [PLATE 78B, 132A] One form of tabard had long strings hanging down the back with the design picked out using linear arrangements of beads. The technique is a beadwork analogue of *ikat* design and an Iban innovation. [PLATE 132B]

The so-called traditional or festive dress of Iban women was therefore not entirely uniform over the region and was certainly not unchanging. However, unlike the men, the women did not borrow from other Dayak groups. As the form of their dress and adornments changed, they maintained a difference from others. A Saribas woman dressed for a *Gawai Antu* in a skirt of gold threaded Malay brocade, festooned with silver belts, coins, bracelets and a tiara like a cloud may look nothing like her ancestors of the early 19th century, but there is no doubt of her ethnic identity. Even today, when it would undoubtedly be difficult to persuade an Iban woman to climb into a rattan and brasswork cage even for a photo opportunity, she would select items for display which were distinct from the traditional costume of others. The changes to costume tended to make the women even more distinct from the Bidayuh, whose own traditional costume formerly resembled that of the Iban women. In terms of personal presentation, Iban women continued to maintain boundaries which were being breached by Iban men, despite changes to certain particularities on their side of the boundary.

1. King (1991:166) has attributed a shift from brass to silver ornaments to an increase in the availability of the material to Maloh silversmiths in the late 19th century in the form of silver coins, and an increase in disposable wealth among the Ibans of the Saribas and Skrang as a result of cash crop production.

2. What is adopted nowadays by Bidayuh women as traditional costume for festive occasions is a rather specialised sub-set of their former traditional attire in the form of the costume of the priestesses. The headgear varies from region to region, maintaining differences between geographically separated Bidayuh groups (Edric Ong Liang Bin 1991:112).
Craft Skills: tradition, gender and social role

The main craft skill noted by the early observers was that of weaving. The patterned skirts of the women were worn by all the Sea Dayaks and by Land Dayaks, but it was claimed that they were produced by the Saribas and Skrang. The Sibuyau Sea Dayaks and Land Dayaks acquired them by trade (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:58, Low 1848:178, Keppel 1853:173). As these groups were in a situation of absolute hostility with Saribas and Skrang, this trade was carried out through the medium of the Malays. However the Malay mode of trade with the people of the First Division was seen by the authorities as something akin to extortion, in which a Malay official would insist on the recipients accepting the goods and then demand an excessive payment in rice or jungle produce. The Sarawak government eradicated these exercises of power (Keppel 1847, Vol.1:246, 247, 296-297). This in itself may have contributed to the maintenance of a boundary defined by clothing, as it appears that there was no objection by the Iban originally to other groups wearing certain items of their handiwork.\(^2\) [PLATE 133]

In fact, this weaving was not confined to the Saribas and Skrang, but was carried out by all the upriver groups and by Ibanic peoples of Kalimantan. The combination of techniques employed and the design systems used were a signature for the Ibanic group as a whole.\(^3\)

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1. Southeast Asian textiles, with their various techniques, diverse styles and multiple cultural influences have been much illustrated, described and exhibited. Iban weaving is regularly represented in such works. However, probably the best publications to show the range of works produced, rather than a few standard pua cloths, are those of Maxwell (1990) and Majlis (1984).

2. A National Geographic photograph in Smith (1911:113) shows women in Bidayuh style tall beaded hats and leg rings wearing patterned Iban style skirts. The photograph was reproduced in Mjöberg (1927, fig. 131), labelled as "Sea Dayak and Iban Women." Patterned Iban skirts were favoured by Bidayuh priestesses (Hewitt 1961-2, Pl.VI, Edric Ong Liang Bin 1991:112).

3. Despite assertions by early English colonials that it was the Saribas and Skrang who were the weavers, Belcher (1848:155) described a longhouse verandah of the Balau which was full of people "seated at their occupations, chiefly women, who were busy weaving their sarongs." The Undups were also noted as weavers, with their thread purchased from Chinese pedlars (Boyle 1865:207). Van Lijnden (1851:621) noted that the Dayak women of the Ketungau and upper Kapuas wove cloth with similar patterns to that of the Batang Lupars. An early explorer on the Kapuas (Anon 1856:118) observed the numerous looms in Dayak houses of the region, where the people grew their own cotton. Beccari (1904:174) visited the Kantu' region, where women were cleaning and spinning cotton in preparation for weaving. Tromp (1879:111-112) noted that the Rambai and Kantu' Dayaks made their characteristic short skirts and coloured jackets from woven cloth of their own manufacture, while the related Seberuang dressed as Malays and did not weave. Some
The process of weaving and *ikat* dyeing was shared with the Malays, but unlike Malay weaving, all Ibanic weaving was carried out on a simple backstrap loom without heddles. Large pieces, such as *pua* blankets were woven in strips and sewn together. [PLATE 79A] Cotton was collected, cleaned in a small hand operated gin and spun on a hand wheel similar to those in use for spinning cotton in India. The patterns were created using either warp *ikat* or supplementary weft techniques such as *songkit* or *pilih*. The items produced were various. *Pua* blankets were ritually important, both in the manufacture and in their use for defining space, or wrapping objects or human participants, in ceremonies. They do not seem to have ever been traded and are highly ethnically definitive.

Clothing included women’s skirts or *bedang*, shoulder cloths for men and women, long sleeved jackets and very elaborate decorated ends for loincloths. These latter were usually done in *songkit* or *pilih* technique. [PLATE 78, 126A, 127, 132A, 134, 138B] They also made plain black skirts for everyday wear, but these are never so copiously illustrated in art and craft publications. They had a particular technique for adding borders and badges to jackets which looks somewhat like embroidery, but involved adding weft inlaid decoration at strategic points while the cloth was still on the loom. [PLATE 135]

The designs on Iban cloths have been examined in some detail. However, taken as an entity, there is a very distinctive style which involves the use of elaborate interlocking geometric designs and spirals, sometimes inset with anthropomorphic or animal figures. Crocodiles and snakes are important motifs. [PLATE 136, 138A] Although the designs are invested with iconographic

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...Continued...

woven garments and cloths of the Mualang and Kantu’ are illustrated in Drake (1988). These are entirely similar to Iban items from Sarawak. Some Kantu' woven items are in the Furness-Hiller-Harrison collection in the University of Philadelphia (Anon. 1988). There are some fine woven items from the Kapuas region in the Baez collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, although these are not identified to ethnic group. In general, such items in collections or exhibitions have come from the Iban of Sarawak, or at least are identified as such.

1. *Songkit* is a supplementary weft wrapping technique in which the weft thread is wound individually around each warp thread. It produced intricate and clearly defined patterns. *Pua* cloths worked in *songkit* were the most ritually powerful and only made by the most experienced weavers. *Pilih* is a supplementary weft weaving technique with floating threads, mainly used for decorative bands on items of clothing.
meaning, at a purely formal level many motifs appear to be purely abstract. The code of interpretation is an entirely learned construct. [PLATE 137A] Their most notable characteristics are angularity, complex interlocking and infill patterns of multiple small dashes. The designs are not only readily distinguished from those on other Southeast Asian textiles, they also differ from designs on other types of Iban art.

Weaving continued to be the most important craft of the Iban, although there were certain changes. Very fine and intricate decorative ends for loincloths became rare items. The festive attire for men was made from fabric purchased in the marketplace. Beautiful ikat jackets became heirloom items for special occasions. The patterned skirts of the women became more intricate for a time as imported yarn replaced handspun cotton and highly elaborate patterns were produced with a finer weave. Some skirts employed colourful imported yarins in supplementary weft techniques with simple, blocky geometric designs. Other women's skirts were made using simple forms of floral brocade cloth derived from the Malays. [PLATE 138C]

Eventually labour intensive forms of decoration were gradually replaced by the use of more applied ornament, such as rows of silver coins or purchased braid. Gold threaded Malay cloth could even be adapted to an Iban style of festive clothing. The Mualang of West Kalimantan have preserved the traditional designs on skirts by embroidering them onto purchased cloth (Drake 1988:33).

The weaving of pua cloths, with their ritual significance, has survived the longest as a traditional craft skill. In general, traditional styles of design were preserved, although after the Second World War there were some cloths produced in a different style with discrete motifs on a plain ground, including human figures in modern dress (Munan 1989, fig. 39, Maxwell 1990:338, Datin Paduka Empiang Jabu 1991, Pl. 130, 131). The existence of pua with motifs

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1. Haddon and Start (1936) produced a catalogue of named motifs, but the formal characteristics of various identified motifs are sometimes very similar and the identities of motifs not intuitively discernible. [PLATE 137B, C, D, E] The catalogue of the Hose collection in the Museum of Mankind, London, has many annotations on the identity of various designs on Iban textiles.

2. Presumably much of this was actually purchased from Malays, although Iban women did learn to weave this style of fabric. However, the process is simpler on a Malay frame loom carrying the warp through heddles. Iban women continued to use the backstrap loom, producing the brocade designs by tying the warp threads to loom sticks (Munan 1989:66). Ethnic individuality of craft technique would seem to have won out over technological efficiency.

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derived from the designs on Indian trade cloths indicates that not even this ritually important branch of the craft was immune from the Iban capacity for borrowing and innovation (Maxwell 1990:233). However, Indian trade cloths were not produced by people with whom the Iban were in competition. Although items with significance in traditional religion, their importance in community life has meant that they have survived the conversion to Christianity.1

An attempt to preserve the skills of traditional weaving and ikat dyeing has resulted in the production of modern items such as bags, purses and tablemats with simple designs. While interesting commodities for tourists, they are a mere shadow of the former craft.

Some of the equipment used for textile production was itself unique to the Iban and was sufficiently valued in its own right to be decorated. Spinning wheels and weaving shuttles were sometimes carved with decorative designs. The bone points with spatulate handles which were used for intricate inlay work were incised with spiral and foliate designs and coloured. [PLATE 139, 140] The identification of weaving as an absolute of Iban society is completed by the fact that every woman was supposed to learn this craft, although only certain women gained the right to weave some of the more powerful designs. The oft-repeated assertion that in order for a couple to marry the man must procure a head and the woman must weave a blanket was undoubtedly a romantic ideal rather than a fact of social life, but nevertheless indicates the importance of the process to Iban social identity.

The Iban formerly produced simple paddle beaten hand moulded pottery in the form of globular cooking pots. [PLATE 79B] Some Iban pots are distinguishable from those produced by other ethnic groups in Borneo by their impressed floral patterns, produced by means of carved beaters. Even in the 19th century these were only produced in regions remote from the bazaars where imported metal cookware could be purchased. Although clearly not a craft skill valued in the same way that weaving was, some pottery was still being made in the Baleh region in the 1940s (Freeman 1957-8). As trade goods were readily available and men all went on bejalai, Freeman (1957-8:172) explains this survival in terms of the traditionalism of the women who were wholly

1. Datin Paduka Empiang Jabu (1991:82, Pl. 88) illustrates a pua which incorporates Christian symbolism into a traditional design.
involved with community concerns.

The Iban practised the art of diagonally knotted beadwork only to a limited degree, utilising relatively simple geometric designs. [PLATE 141] As earlier mentioned, their speciality in beadwork was in the production of beadwork collars and tabards of their own unique design, using open threaded techniques. The men liked to sport parang cords with colourful zigzag designs, like those of the central Borneo people. Beaded clothing worn by women was obtained from the Maloh.

In the case of another women’s craft, the form and design of basketry items remained very stable. While Iban basketry used similar motifs and systems of design to that used by other Borneo groups, they had certain recognisable specialty items. Their broad brimmed hats, for example, were plaited in bicoloured designs, some very intricate. In this they resemble the hats of some other groups of southern Borneo, but are differentiated from the distinctive non-woven hats of the central Borneo people or those of the Melanau. [PLATE 142] Their mats bore similar designs to those of other mat plaiters, but were perhaps not so elaborate in design as those of the specialty mat makers like the Punan. Their most distinctive baskets were the small decorative cylindrical baskets used for carrying padi seed, using both red and black dyed rattan, often equipped with a thin wooden strip around the top, and sometimes with the base worked into a series of points. [PLATE 80A, B] Such baskets were also made by Ibanic groups in west Kalimantan. An item was added to the repertoire in the form of small basketry caps worn by men and copied from those of central Borneo.

Men’s crafts followed a range of different patterns. Blacksmithing was the preserve of a craft specialist in each village.¹ Carving involved the production of a number of highly recognizable items, very stylised in form, although some small and relatively inconspicuous items could employ anthropomorphic figures in a range of lively postures. [PLATE 144] The crouched posture of the figures on tuntun sticks was repeated on figures adorning the boxes containing the magic items of a manang and on small figures

¹. Low (1848:209-210) claimed that there were only two people in a Sea Dayak village whose time was solely occupied by a profession or trade, the blacksmith and the manang or healer.
to repel sickness.\textsuperscript{1} [PLATE 73B, C, D] Decoration on large carved items, such as *kenyalang* figures, or small items such as *niabor* or knife handles used stylized foliate interlace designs. [PLATE 74, 114B] These designs were also used on engraved bamboo containers, which differentiated them from those of the central Borneo groups, as did the colouring of the designs in red rather than black, their use of bamboo rather than carved wooden lids and their lack of rattan plaitwork. However, borrowing and innovation were always permissible with these items. [PLATE 80C, 143] The novel practice of tattooing became a male speciality in the execution as well as the displaying.

**Living and Dying: the community environment**

Despite changes to economic life and the suppression of warfare, longhouse living remained a feature of Iban life. Iban longhouses were very large, so that generally a whole village was accommodated in a single structure, which consisted of a row of family apartments and a communal verandah area. That, at least, was how it was seen. Although large, these structures were not particularly durable and much of their construction was bamboo. [PLATE 14] Because of the migratory habits of the Iban, longhouses were periodically abandoned and new ones built in fresh locations. The ephemeral nature of Iban housing is emphasized in relations between the Brooke government and the interior headhunters, where longhouses were regularly burnt down as punishment for unruly communities. This was meant to be a form of caution rather than a devastating destruction of the community.

Carving is not reported as a feature of Iban longhouses, although paintings were sometimes found on the walls. Heppell (1991:36), however, implies that doors carved with crocodile and python designs are common.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} Van Lijnden (1851:600) mentioned specifically that the Ketungau Dayaks made small, roughly carved wooden figures to repel sickness. Heppell (1991) illustrates a few of these lesser known forms of Iban carving. According to him, an Iban characteristic in the depiction of small human effigies was the placement of their genitals on the post below the figure rather than in their proper anatomical position.

\textsuperscript{2} The example which he illustrates (Heppell 1991, Pl. 52), from the Sarawak Museum, is also illustrated by Sellato (1989b, Pl. 35) who has attributed it to the Bidayuh. Another example, carved with two entwined *aso* or snake motifs, is illustrated in Heppell and Maxwell (1990:43). According to Brooke Low (Roth ed. 1893:27), "Figures are sometimes carved or painted on the door - saurians among others, grotesque images of supernatural beings, and indecent caricatures of the human person."
Longhouse living has remained popular in the rural areas. Longhouses acquired modern amenities, but the basic style of living was retained. On the Saribas, longhouses became quite palatial with timber walls and glass windows even while longhouses of more traditional construction were still being occupied in the hinterland (eg. Pringle 1970: between pp.170-171).

There were no monumental structures in the immediate vicinity, or large carved figures protecting the local paths. Roughly carved figures or crocodiles built out of mud sometimes protected the rice fields (eg. Boyle 1865:205). Even the cemeteries did not contain large structures to permanently memorialise the dead. The only form of permanent funerary memorialisation was produced on the Saribas, where the graves of important people were marked with quite small but elaborately carved ironwood huts with very distinctive crossed extensions with foliate carving on the top. These were called sungkup. These have been interpreted as representing the mast rests on Malay boats, referring perhaps to the seagoing affinities of the Saribas people and the association of voyaging with personal prestige (Gill 1968a: 151).¹ They also resemble houses with crossed roof gables found in many parts of the archipelago, but not among the Iban. This might suggest a style brought in by Saribas travellers.²

The Balau evidently placed boards carved with dragons, snakes and foliate designs on graves (Heppell 1991:41).

Iban cemeteries were notoriously overgrown and neglected places which were never visited except to dispose of the most recent dead. Extravagant grave goods accompanied the dead, but the simple structures built there were temporary. Most of the dead were buried underground and their coffins were simple and hastily made. Manang or medicine men and certain old and distinguished individuals could opt to be left above ground on a form of

1. A magnificently carved Malay boat with such carved fixtures is illustrated in Ibrahim (1991, Pl. 36, 37).

2. A description of a Saribas cemetery in the Sarawak Gazette (May 1 1897:87) evoked a mixture of grandeur and desolation: "This grave-yard is remarkably rich in carved and ornamented wooden (bilian) tombstones, (sungkup), and although many of them must be very old yet they are still in capital preservation. One's footsteps must be guided with care, as jars of all sizes, some half buried in the humus, the accumulation of scores of years, and others hidden by rank herbage, are dotted all over the ground near the graves of the former owners." This local variant in craft was associated with a local variant in ritual life, as the sungkup were placed on the graves at the Gawai Antu festival, when the departed ancestors of the Saribas people were honoured in community festivity.
Despite their expansiveness, the Iban did not use large permanent distinctive art works to announce their proprietorship of the domain of the living or of the dead. They relied on their reputation.

Celebrations: the art of periodic festivity

Possibly the most distinctive and recognizable ethnic identifier for the Iban was the kenyalang figure, the carved wooden effigy of a hornbill which was used by Iban and Ibanic groups in Sarawak and West Kalimantan as the main symbol for their major feast associated with headhunting, the Gawai Kenyalang. The use of the hornbill as a symbol for headhunting was widespread and depicted by other groups on various types of monuments in this context. The larger examples were placed by the Iban on the top of tall poles at the culmination of the festivity, with their beaks pointing in the direction of the local enemies.

The style of depiction of the hornbill was highly distinctive. The most

1. The Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna has two model coffins, made by Batang Lupars in West Kalimantan, of the type specifically designed for this purpose. These are carved in relief all over with foliate interlace, faces, anthropomorphic figures and crocodiles. As the items are so unusual, it is impossible to know whether these are typical of a rare form of honorific disposal of the dead, or somewhat fanciful creations for the collector. [PLATE 146]

Mr D.J.S. Bailey (S.G. March 1 1877:54), an apparently irritable and excitable Sarawak Officer, whether pursuing renegade headhunters or describing novel customs which he was sure the Iban were inventing, gave the following account of the practice: "The body of the late Pengulu Bull of Undup has been placed in a temporary raised hut (surau) close to the long house, and the family make daily offerings there to the deceased's spirit. Maung, the son, informs me that in a month or so he is going to remove the remains into their long house and place them by his bed-head, according to custom! I am aware that, in the case of the late P. Isa of the Balau tribe, of Jabu of Trusan, and of the Orang Kaya Gasing of Simanggang, there were huts built to contain their bodies but I know nothing of the subsequent arrangements which Maung talks of following. The custom would appear to belong to tribes in the north and to be extremely insanitary but just what one would expect from a household which has failed, hitherto, to progress."

2. The use of the kenyalang figure and its accompanying ceremonial was widely dispersed among various Iban and Ibanic groups. St John (1863, Vol.1:69, 77, 219) describes the ceremony as a Sea Dayak practice, indicating that it was particularly important to the Lingga Dayaks, or Balau, but no longer practised by the Sibuyau. It was highly important in the interior regions, but Sandin (1980:42) indicates that on the Paku tributary of Saribas only two war leaders had ever held the "gawai ngaga kenyalang" which involves erecting the hornbill carving, although there were nine other grades of "gawai burung" or head feast, involving the erection of other kinds of poles. In West Kalimantan, von Kessel (1850) indicated that the poles were erected among groups of the Malay race (implying Ibanic, not Islamic). Van Lijnden (1851:607) mentioned the use of the pole with a bird figure on the Ketungau.
common variety in the 19th century showed the bird crouching at rest, the beak extended into a phallic representation, the casque expanded into an extravagant curl, with an openwork plate behind the head carved into openwork foliate decoration.¹ [PLATE 74, 147] A variety found mainly among the Batang Lupars of West Kalimantan but also occasionally in Sarawak had additional little animals in lively postures along the back and tail of the bird. [PLATE 148A, B] This form was developed into a new and more lavish version which appeared around the 1930s, in which the back and tail of the bird supported a riot of carved decoration which included foliate interlace, human and animal figures. [PLATE 148C] Frequently European or Malay figures were included, sometimes riding horses and carrying guns. Beads and other forms of applied ornament were added.²

A peculiarity of the Iban kenyalang figure is that, unlike some other groups, the bird which they honour in their headhunting feast is not a hornbill. The feast is in honour of Singalong Burong, the war god who is supposed to appear in the form of a hawk or kite.³ The hornbill image may possibly have been an appropriation from another ethnic group at some time in the past. However the distinctive style and subsequent elaborations of the figure owe nothing to borrowings from other groups. They have come from the heartlands of Iban tradition and culture and serve as a symbol of continuing differentiation from others.

The Ibans showed themselves willing to develop innovations in this form of representation during the great Baram peacemaking of 1899, when they constructed a giant kenyalang effigy with its wings made out of hairy Kenyah shields. [PLATE 149A] A grand and novel occasion evidently required a grand

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1. Many examples of this type found in museum collections are quite small. Heppell (1991:41) has suggested that these may be models for the collector; an entirely feasible suggestion.

2. Helbig (1982, Vol.1:210) described and illustrated such a figure made by Batang Lupars in West Kalimantan in the 1930s, indicating that this interior elaboration was not confined to Sarawak groups. My personal favourite, on display in the Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, has a survey team with stools and theodolites along its back.

3. Some details of the legend, as it was sung at head feasts on the Saribas, were first given by Perham (1877).
and novel symbol, but one attributable to themselves. Innovation, but without borrowing, has continued in this area, as some Iban modernized their kenyalang figures by turning them into carved aeroplanes (Wright, Morrison and Wong 1972:112-113). It is significant that these elaborations to the material attributes of headhunting ceremonial have occurred as the actual act was steadily being suppressed. Their energy was diverted from the action to the formalities.

Iban ritual leaders carved boards, called papan tulis, with a linear series of symbols to aid them in remembering the sequence of events for rituals and festivals. They could be considered a form of ideographic writing. [PLATE 149B] They are entirely ethnically distinctive as they require knowledge of the code, and of the community ritual for which they were used, for their interpretation.

The Iban were users of masks at festivals. These masks were generally of simple form, with a relatively naturalistic human face rendered bizarre by the use of simple coloured stripes, fangs or ferocious expressions. [PLATE 77A, 150A] The masks are similar to some of the simpler forms of mask used by Kayans or Kenyahs, but they did not adopt the more elaborate and distinctive forms used by these people. Masked dancing does not seem to have been used as a significant element of public ceremonial and has not been retained as a component of ethnic traditionalism for public occasions.2

Descriptions of Iban music suggest that the most conspicuous instruments played on public occasions were gongs, often in tuned sets, and drums. The former were imported or obtained from craftsmen in the town bazaars. The latter were wooden, in cylindrical or hourglass shape, with a resonating skin at one end, of a form found all over the island. These have remained the traditional instruments for public occasions.

For quieter or less ceremonial occasions, the Iban originally had a wide range of instruments, some of them of types shared with other groups all over Borneo, some special to themselves. Their serunai or fiddle must have formerly

1. The figure was hung with large numbers of native cigarettes, which were taken from it during the ceremony and smoked by the participants "with apparently full understanding of the value of the act" (Hose and McDougall 1901:198), thereby indicating that a complete inversion of the meaning of a material symbol can be accomplished without dislocation or explanation.

2. 19th century Iban masks in museum collections are rare. The Bacz collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, has two small masks which could only be used as hand held masks, a practice of Malays and some Kendayan groups in West Kalimantan. [PLATE 150B, C]
been held in some regard by them, as many examples have fine carved
decoration on the head in the usual foliate style.\textsuperscript{1} [PLATE 77B] Shelford (1904)
provided a list of instruments of great diversity, including horizontally strung
harps or \textit{engkratong} [PLATE 77C], transverse flutes, flageolets with air directing
mouthpieces and the \textit{penyipu}, a clay whistle like an ocarina. These all gradually
became rare and disappeared.\textsuperscript{2}

The instruments they shared with others included the Jew's harp, to
which they introduced their own innovation by sometimes making it out of brass
instead of bamboo or palm wood, simple flutes and the bamboo reed organ
which they called \textit{engkerurai}. The \textit{sape} was an instrument they adopted from the
Kayans, who used it to accompany their war dances, also adopted by the Iban
along with the appropriate clothing and weapons.

It was not ethnic distinctiveness which caused certain instruments to be
retained, others to be abandoned and others to be adopted. It was their
association with certain types of activities, and possibly a corpus of music
deemed appropriate for use on certain community occasions. Instruments used
to play music for community occasions had a more firmly entrenched place in
society than those used on more individual occasions.

These items of periodic community festivity could be elaborated and
altered by innovation, but borrowings from other ethnic groups were more
restricted than in the areas relating to personal presentation or individual
achievement. Among the woven items produced by Iban women, \textit{pua} cloths also
fit into the category of items for periodic display in community festivity, and
these have also been the woven items which have endured after fashion changes
occurred to items of personal display.

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1. Hornaday (1926:469), in describing the musical instruments seen among the Sibuyau, says of a
Dayak fiddler, "his instrument was by long odds the most elaborate and pretentious." Brooke Low
(Roth ed. 1893:62) described its sound as "mournful, wailing, sobbing, heartrending, dismal and
gloomy."

2. Maceda (1961-2), on a field investigation of Iban music in 1961, found that most of the
instruments documented by Shelford (1904) were no longer to be found. The Jew's harp (\textit{nuding})
and a few simple flutes (\textit{suling}) were the only solo instruments still used. Drums, gongs and
\textit{engkerurai} were used in all public performances. In a recent summarised description of the
musical instruments of Sarawak, Matusky (1991) states that the survival of the \textit{engkratong} or
horizontal harp, the \textit{serunai} and some of its variants and the \textit{bikan} or Iban and Maloh guitar are
all "uncertain."
Culture, Tradition, Gender and Boundaries

The artistic production of the Iban, while prolific, is disjunct. There are highly recognizable artifacts, specific craft productions and distinctive modes of depiction of certain motifs, but the whole does not form a coherent system of design across all media.

Haddon (1905) proposed that women's art was essentially different to men's art, the former largely using anthropomorphic and animal motifs while the latter used plant motifs and abstract designs. This is not correct, although the limited examples which he employed would appear to make it so.

The anthropomorphic and animal designs employed by women in their weaving were, in fact, designed by men. The same motifs were used by men in wood carvings on doors, spinning and weaving equipment and on coffins.\(^1\) Specific carved objects made by men depicted anthropomorphic figures and birds. Many woven items have no recognizable anthropomorphic or animal motifs and many designs are identified as plant motifs, although abstract in appearance. Engraved bamboo containers produced by men most often bore foliate designs, although there are examples with animal motifs such as centipedes, fish and birds.\(^2\) \textit{Niabor} handles and sheaths and decorative knife handles had carved abstract and foliate designs. Decorative basketry items made by women had complex abstract motifs. Some tattoo motifs employed by men represented animals in the form of scorpions, while the throat tattoo could be identified as a frog.

Different craft media tended to employ different styles of depiction. The complex angular interlocking designs with dashed infill of Iban weaving, and particularly \textit{ikat} work, can be readily recognized among the diversity of techniques and styles employed in Southeast Asian weaving. However the stylistic specifics which make it recognizable are not transferred to other media. Some basketry designs have elaborate interlocking motifs similar to those used in weaving, but the outlines tend to be rounded rather than angular.

Some bamboo engraving and wood carving has employed a naturalistic,

\(^1\) A highly specific mode of depiction of a crocodile, in which the body of the animal is seen from above but its head from the side, is found on woven cloth and in relief carving. \textit{[PLATE 136A, 146C]}\(^2\) An article by Banks (1941) shows a large range of foliate interlace designs for bamboo containers, but no animal designs. These may have been seen as an unseemly innovation by some craftsmen, or a localized development.
if overblown, style of depicting flowers and leaves while other works display a more formal and abstracted style of foliate interlace composed of regular patterns of curves. Items carved in wood form a set of type artifacts rather than a vocabulary and syntax of plastic art design: small crouched figures, simple masks, *kenyalang* figures, *sungkup* monuments, various miscellaneous objects carved with crocodiles and snakes.

Tattooing developed its own style, with motifs originally borrowed from another art system but elaborated into extravagant and often undisciplined designs. The central Borneo style has been a source for other changes to Iban art, such as the carving of *parang* heads and sheaths and the painting of shields.

The art of the Iban does not act as a cohesive whole to make a statement about ethnic identity. Rather, there are a series of separate statements made through diverse media and reflecting different social roles for particular objects and modes of expression.

The art and material culture of men has undergone rapid change in the period since first colonial contact, while that of women has tended to be more conservative. In general, men have tended to abandon forms of personal presentation which were similar to those of the Land Dayaks and Malays in favour of forms related to those of the Kayan and other central Borneo peoples. They also abandoned some unique and highly specifying forms of personal presentation and war kit. The aspects of male art and material culture which were borrowed from other groups were those associated with individual endeavour and personal prestige. Male designed or manufactured items which played a specifying role in community activities, such as *kenyalang* figures, *pua* cloths or masks, may have been subject to stylistic innovations but not to borrowings from other indigenous ethnic groups.

Part of the shift in male personal presentation and war kit can be explained in a functionalist mode, related to the changing nature of Iban warfare and headhunting during the colonial era. During the period of Sea Dayak piracy, the Saribas and Skrang raiders were descending in numbers from a position of strength on less well organized communities. Part of their success

1. That is not to say that Iban art is chaotic and has no principles of design. A handbook of design by an Iban artist (Anggat Ganjing 1988) illustrates various aesthetic principles in the construction of line and curve and offers some criticisms of art works, including some public art works in Kuching. He applies these principles to traditional items as well as novel forms such as silk screened shirts, pottery vases and wrought iron fences.
depended upon their reputation. It was in their interests to be recognized by
their enemies.

It is notable that the Iban of the Ulu Ai and Rejang regions were
adopting the appearance, weaponry and shields of the central Borneo people at
a time when their headhunting raids were being conducted among these very
people on the Mahakam and upper Kapuas. These raids involved the necessity
to penetrate far into the territory of others, and to get home again. It was in
their interests to be not immediately recognizable. Ibans had also
enthusiastically adopted the idea of searching for rattan, gutta percha and other
forest products in the jungles of the far interior for economic gain. When they
were seen in remote neighbourhoods in full Saribas style outfits, it did tend to
cause panic, and sometimes pre-emptive attacks, among the locals.

However, at another level, while the Malays and the various sub-coastal
people, including some Iban groups, were becoming docile citizens of the colony
adopting new economic strategies, religions and aspirations, the central Borneo
people may have been seen as representing a traditional form of independence
and truculence. The change of image can be seen as representing a change in
some of the boundaries of identity, at least in terms of the social identity of
males.

The issue of headhunting is one which loomed very large in the minds of
colonial administrators, and the worst perpetrators were deemed to be the Iban.
Among other groups, such as the Kayan and Kenyah, headhunting for significant
social purposes, such as the funerary rites for departed chiefs, was prevented by
the encouragement of the use of substitute forms of ritual which were deemed
by the authorities to be less anti-social. Among the Land Dayaks it was simply
stopped by the Rajah’s decree. Among the Iban, headhunting became an act of
defiance against the government and part of the competitive individualism of
young men. The attitudes of colonial government redefined the nature of
headhunting.

Although the Iban were the most notorious headhunters, they did not
lavish care and attention on their trophies, which simply had the brains removed

1. When a Land Dayak chief and his deputy chose to overlook their promise and went on a
headhunting raid among fellow Land Dayaks in 1842, they were captured and handed over to the
local Malay rajah for execution (Mundy 1848, Vol.1:325-333). Apart from the removal of a few
heads of the Rajah’s Chinese insurgent enemies, as they attempted to flee to Dutch Borneo in
1857, such events did not occur again among the Land Dayaks.
and were roughly smoked, the flesh gradually putrefying away in a manner that offended European sensibilities. There is a sufficient number of specimens in foreign museum collections of human heads which have been engraved, set with lead inlay or cowrie shell eyes or painted, to indicate that some groups formerly used human head trophies as art. [PLATE 151] Most of the specimens are poorly provenanced and it is even possible that some are elaborate hoaxes produced by coastal entrepreneurs for visitors seeking headhunters' trophies.¹

Some specimens of decorated skulls have been provenanced to West Kalimantan, and early visitors to both West Kalimantan and Sarawak noted that the Land Dayaks lavished some care and attention on their preserved heads, with painted or engraved designs and wooden or cowrie shell eyes.² It is possible that the art of skulls was once an ethnically definitive part of the art of community ritual, but that such definitions were erased by colonial attitudes and changes to the social role of headhunting.

During the course of their migrations, expansions and recruitments, the Iban contacted and absorbed people from a range of other ethnic groups. They borrowed artifacts and art forms from others and they introduced innovations to their own art. They diversified among themselves, particularly in the area of personal presentation and costume.

However, even when borrowing and innovating they perpetuated the differences between themselves and others. Boundaries were maintained while the specific identifiers changed. Women on the Saribas can dress entirely in Malay gold brocaded cloth, festooned with silver jewellery made by Chinese silversmiths, but there is no doubt whatever as to their identity. The Iban men from the Ulu Ai and Rejang who first adopted Kayan war costume and equipment were also the first to develop a new but distinctive set of tattoo

¹ There are no descriptions of the most elaborately decorated skulls in museum collections being found in an ethnographic context. A number of these are illustrated in Roth (1896, Vol. 2:148-154), but there are numerous others in museum collections.

² Von Kessel (1850:193) stated that the inhabitants of the lower Kapuas had the practice of "tattooing" skulls and decorating them with beaten lead, which did not happen on the upper Kapuas. Doty and Pohlman (1846:300) described suspended human heads which had been carved with various designs, in houses in the Sambas region of West Kalimantan. In Land Dayak houses in Sarawak, Low (1848:304) described heads which had been painted with red and white lines and set with cowrie shell eyes. Marryat (1848:13) also described the heads in a Land Dayak pangah as having been "painted in the most fantastic and hideous manner", with painted wooden eyes inserted into the sockets.
designs to identify themselves. *Pua* cloth designs may change, but the artifacts themselves are jealously preserved items of ethnic identity, ratified by their use on community occasions.

The identification of a sense of tradition does not require an unchanging suite of material culture over time. It does require a steadily maintained pattern of differentiation from others. Certain artifacts and skills may be more resilient to change because of their role in society, acting as signifiers for the identity of the whole cultural assemblage.

In the case of the Iban, an aggressive and dominant group developed and presented an extravagant and relatively unified image as it swept aside much of the diversity of communities which identified themselves on a smaller scale. Their complete material culture assemblage was far from unchanging, and their art system had borrowings and disjunctions, but they imposed a larger scale of patterning on the landscape as their own consolidated image forced others to join them or identify with other larger ethnic units. The history of human relations within the area of influence of the Iban, as derived from the study of material culture, is winners' history.
CHAPTER 7:
KAYAN AND KENYAH: PEOPLE-CULTURE RELATIONSHIPS

Detailed descriptions and museum collections of material culture items from the central Borneo people were first produced in the late 19th century by such people as Hose and Brooke Low in Sarawak, and Nieuwenhuis in Dutch Borneo. These collections and descriptions document regions where immigrant groups from the centre of the island and autochthonous groups of the rivers were mingling to form new regional identities, as documented in Chapter 4. The area of origin for the immigrant peoples, the Apo Kayan region, was not investigated in detail until around the turn of the century.

The art and material culture of all the peoples of the upper rivers had a great deal in common. Unlike the Iban, the central Borneo people employed a coherent system of design and a limited range of motifs which were employed on all types of artifacts produced in a range of media. It is therefore seen as a very cohesive system of design. As individual traits have spread, altered and been adopted by others, the pattern of differentiation between sub-groups of the central Borneo complex has become complicated, with subtle regional and ethnic variations.\(^1\) There has been a tendency over time for a greater degree of standardization in style, presentation and artifact form over the whole region.

I therefore propose to examine the art and material culture of the region in several segments: the *ulu* or upriver regions in the late 19th century, the Apo Kayan in the early 20th century and the changes to the region during the course of the 20th century.

The Baram, Rejang and Mahakam in the Late 19th Century

*The Attributes of Warfare in the Ulu*

The accoutrements of war were notably standardised across the whole central Borneo region. The basic kit consisted of animal skin war capes, often adorned with a large pearl shell in front, and tough rattan hats, sometimes covered with skin and always adorned with feathers of the hornbill or argus pheasant. They bore large wooden shields and carried swords of native

\(^1\) Rousseau (1990:25-29) indicates that there is negligible relationship within the central Borneo complex between cultural features and ethnic identity at any level. However he does not examine this aspect in detail with any chronological perspective, tending to place his analyses in the ethnographic present.
manufacture with magnificently carved handles.\textsuperscript{1} [PLATE 57, 152, 153]

Some variations on war costume were found during the late 19th century, but later became obsolete. There are a few surviving war caps with a constructed face on the skin cover, with wooden nose and shell eyes and mouth.\textsuperscript{2} [PLATE 155B, E] The rattan frame of a war cap could be covered with fur, or occasionally pangolin skin. In Sarawak, and notably among the Kenyah, war caps were adorned with multiple tufts of dyed hair or beadwork pieces. This style became increasingly popular for martial display. [PLATE 152, 155]

Cotton jackets stuffed with kapok were formerly worn as protective clothing. These became rare as war clothing was worn more for display than actual fighting. Such jackets are not apparent in photographs of warriors from Sarawak, but they were still being worn on the Mahakam, where the striped fabric covering could be made from native woven cloth. [PLATE 15B, 154B] On the Mahakam they also used a protective garment consisting of only sleeves joined across the shoulders, made of barkcloth, or of woven fabric. The fabric had formerly been woven by the Uma Suling, but was no longer being made when Nieuwenhuis collected some examples and the style of garment itself had become obsolete. [PLATE 154A] Barkcloth war jackets made in the shape of an animal skin and painted with animal designs had also gone out of use, although Nieuwenhuis was offered an old example to buy (Juynboll 1909, Vol.2:279, Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:125).

Museum collections abound with elaborately painted shields from central Borneo. However the most common type of shield used by all ethnic groups was a large plain shield with multiple rattan reinforcing bands, painted plain red. The function of the fancifully painted examples must have been largely display, as the painted shields tend to be light and not so heavily reinforced, more suitable for the athletic war dances performed at festivals than for repelling sword cuts.

The most distinctive of these decorated shields was set with rows of tufts of human hair over the front, flanking painted designs of three monstrous faces,

\textsuperscript{1} The earliest descriptions of the war kit of the Kayans of the Rejang (Low 1848:328-335, Burns 1849:151) and the Baram (St John 1863, Vol.1:118, 131), and of the Segai of the lower Bulungan in East Kalimantan (Belcher 1848:418-420, Marryat 1848:134) indicate that these basic similarities were present on the rivers on both sides of the island in the early 19th century.

\textsuperscript{2} Low (1848:329) describes such caps in some detail, ascribing them to the Kayans. At this early date, it suggests that they were worn by Rejang people who ventured down to the lower rivers.

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one large one in the middle and two smaller ones at the ends.\(^1\) The back could
be painted with a variety of complex interlacing designs, but a commonly
repeated image was of two spirit figures with highly elaborate headdresses. The
designs were painted in black and red, with the natural wood also showing
through. [PLATE 50B, 56C, 57B, 156]

Hose was emphatic that these shields were definitively Kenyah, and in all
his collections they are always given this attribution. The Kayans produced some
painted shields, he asserted, but only the Kenyah equipped them with locks of
human hair (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:163-165). This is clearly incorrect
outside the Baram region. Such shields are illustrated for, or have been
collected from, Kayans of other regions of Sarawak, for various groups on the
Mahakam and even from Berussu people from northeastern Kalimantan.\(^2\)
[PLATE 15, 57B, 156B] They were used by the Ibans of the upper Batang Lupar
and Rejang regions.\(^3\)

Hose's emphatic assertions are not necessarily incorrect, however,
provided that they are restricted to the Baram region. If the shields were used
by various ethnic groups in East Kalimantan, they could have been brought
from there to the Baram by the immigrating Kenyah and become an ethnic
marker for that region. Equally, the Iban who copied or stole them on their
forays to the Mahakam and upper Rejang used them as an ethnic marker when
they moved into the lowland regions of Sarawak. The same object can be used
as an ethnic identifier for two unrelated ethnic groups, but only at certain
localized interfaces.

By the late 19th century, the designs on painted shields did not

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1. Naturally the hair was supposed to have been taken from the heads of enemies decapitated by
the warrior, but this must have been more of an ideal than a reality. There is an example from the
Badang Kenyah of the Baram in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel (18166), collected in the
1930s which was admittedly long after the headhunting days were over, which definitely includes
blonde goat hair among the captured locks.

2. In the early days of colonial contact, Low (1848:334) noted in relation to shields of the Kayan, "I
have seen one belonging to a chief of Bintulu, which was covered with long hair dyed of a bright
red colour."

3. Hose was adamant about his opinion on the ethnic ownership of such shield designs and was
prepared to correct other collectors. Bock collected a couple in the 1880s from the Tring, a Bahau
group of the Mahakam, and also illustrated a Tring warrior carrying such a shield. Bock's shields
are in the Museum of Mankind, London, but the catalogue entry has been corrected, apparently
in Hose's handwriting (Brian Durrans, pers. comm.), and annotated with the comment, "The
Kenyahs are the only people who put hair on a shield."
Kayan and Kenyah: People-Culture Relationships

distinguish sub-groups within the central Borneo complex. The only motif used for the front was an elaborately drawn monstrous face set within a network of interlacing elements. Sometimes the face was attached to an attenuated squatting body. Aso and hornbill heads were entangled among the interlace. [PLATE 52B, 53A, 57, 159] While this very standardized design is the only one shown in photographs from the time, older museum collections from Dutch Borneo have shields with more varied, but more simplified, face and anthropomorphic designs. Sometimes the design has four eyes or two mouths, so that it is reversible. It seems that painted shield designs had become more elaborate and more standardized. [PLATE 157, 158]

The item of warfare which commanded the most lavish attention in terms of decoration and the employment of a range of craft skills was the parang ilang. The construction of a fine parang involved various craft skills; fine smithing for the blade, carving for the handle and sheath, plaiting, beadwork and carving for the attached decorative elements. [PLATE 56A, B, 160, 161] The weapons themselves were traded, given as gifts and used for the payment of fines, so they were a relatively mobile commodity. Furthermore, the individual components were traded so that one sword could be made up of elements from different regions or made by different ethnic groups.

Consequently there are no definitive ethnic types, but there were some regional trends in design. Fine blades were made on the upper Mahakam, with curled cutout decoration on the backs and finger guards, engraved decoration along the blades and rows of brass pegs or curlicues hammered into the body of the blade. [PLATE 161B] In Sarawak it was claimed that the Kayans of the far interior made the best blades.1 [PLATE 160A] Presumably there was less temptation in these remote areas to turn out products for the less discerning

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1. According to Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:24) the Penihings did not practise this craft at all. They obtained their blades from the Long Glat, who were especially talented at this craft, and the carved bone handles from the Kenyah. The Kayans made their own blades, but those of the Mahakam were finer than those made on the Mendalam. Reputedly there were only three individual craftsmen who could do the elegant brass inlay work used to decorate the finest blades (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:27). According to Hose and McDougall (1912, Vol.1:193-196), only the Kenyahs rivalled the Kayans in the manufacture of sword blades. Brass inlay work was also a speciality of Sarawak smiths.
buyers of the bazaars.¹

The finely carved handles of either deer antler or wood were produced in several basic shapes and carved with a variety of designs drawn from the central Borneo repertoire. [PLATE 162, 163] These were mobile items, traded around the region, so that the design did not necessarily identify the user.²

The Mahakam produced beautifully carved and polished wooden sheaths of rich brown grained timber. There had been some changes in style over time. Archaic examples from the Mendalam Kayan had higher and more sculptural relief carving. [PLATE 160B, 164] In Sarawak, rather than elaborate carved decoration, the sheaths were often covered with applied decoration such as tufts of multicoloured hair and carved plates of deer antler. [PLATE 56B, 160A, 165]

Blowpipes were used as hunting weapons rather than weapons of warfare, but the bamboo cases for the poisoned darts were finely crafted objects carried, used and made by males. The bamboo cases themselves were rarely engraved, but the wooden handles were often finely carved. Elegant domed wooden hardwood lids were something of a feature of the Mahakam region. [PLATE 56D, 166]

As with Iban men, as warfare and headhunting declined, the attributes of war became the attributes of male achievement. They were not strongly tied to small scale ethnic identity, but to a larger body of independent masculinity.

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1. The annual report of the Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam for 1909 (pp.24-28) describes a collection acquired by a Dutch government officer on the Mahakam, containing numerous items from the Mahakam and Apo Kayan regions. The article notes that good mandaus command a high price, and that the Kayan make some of inferior quality which they do not use themselves, but which are good enough to sell to the white man.

2. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:24) identified some of the more extravagantly carved examples in use on the Mahakam as coming from the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan. A particular type with a short handle equipped with a knob at the end, set with an intricately carved openwork spiral interlock in the middle of the handle, was apparently a speciality of the Mahakam region, as was a type carved with a human face. Some had a handle which branched at an obtuse angle from the haft. Examples of all these types are found from all over the region.
Tattooing in the Ulu Regions in the late 19th century

In contrast to the Iban, central Borneo women were more extensively tattooed than the men. There was a contrast in the way that male and female tattooing was carried out, and in the designs employed. Among men, tattooing was an insignia of male achievement and travel, often carried out when men were on journeys visiting other groups. There was no associated ritual. Among women, tattooing was a ritualized procedure, considered necessary for the proper transition to the afterlife.

In terms of use for ethnic identification, there were significant changes under way in the use of both men's and women's tattoo patterns in the late 19th century. Older styles of design were being abandoned and designs were adopted from other groups within the central Borneo complex. Designs were becoming more unified in style and more elaborate.

Among the men, two basic designs account for the bulk of all tattooing. They are variants on the aso design and variations on rosette or star patterns. These grade into one another. A rosette design with four sinuous extensions can be resolved into two aso heads facing in opposite directions and sharing one eye. [PLATE 48D, 62, 167-173] In Sarawak, the aso design was seen as essentially Kayan, although it was being adopted by Kenyah and so-called Klemantan groups. In Dutch Borneo, the tattooing of men was so firmly

1. A detailed comparative analysis of tattoo patterns, especially the intricate designs employed by women, is difficult because of the nature of the evidence. Photographs inevitably show only parts of the design, and some early black and white films did not clearly show the blue against flesh colour contrast. For example, the plates featuring tattooing in Furness (1902, frontispiece, facing p.146, facing p.150) have clearly been touched up with a pen, while tattoos are not visible in the other photographs. Occasionally, with the eye of faith, it is possible to discern faint signs of them (eg. facing p.62). Museum collections of tattoo stencils do not always indicate how the various design elements were arranged. Often such stencils have clearly not been used and were obviously carved specially for the collector. There are some sketches of whole designs and carved models of the designs on wooden arms and legs. The main written descriptions of tattooing from these regions are in Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.1:450-468) and Hose and Shelford (1906). The latter was substantially reprinted with some variations in Hose and McDougall (1912, Vol.1:245-277). Other writers have given generalized descriptions, but these are the only two sources for detailed comparison between regions and ethnic groups.

2. Although men's designs were very different to those of women, the tattooing process was carried out by women for both sexes. The wooden tattoo stencils were carved by men, although some parts of the women's designs were executed freehand. The pattern blocks were themselves of some value. Two of the more elaborate aso head blocks in the Nieuwenhuis collection at Leiden were carefully stored in slim wooden boxes carved with shallow relief designs. One stencil had a piece of mirror set into the eye of the aso. [PLATE 167B, C]
associated with their travelling that differences in the style of motifs indicated where a man had been visiting rather than who he was (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:451). There were ethnic and regional differences in the depiction of the aso motif and also in its attribution.

Kayan men who had been on war parties had their thumbs, and sometimes the backs of their fingers, tattooed in simple geometric designs. (PLATE 174C, D) They also wore a small design of complex spiral outline on the wrist. This design was called lukut or bead and symbolically represented a valuable bead tied around the wrist. (PLATE 174A, B)

Because men’s tattoos were associated with personal prestige, and specifically with travel, ethnic specificity of design disappeared as the cessation of inter-group hostilities enabled increased communication between groups in the region. Minor regional differences of style and in the use of design developed. The designs were not a major signifier of the strict social

1. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:205, 1904, Vol.2:461) nonetheless noted that Penihing men appeared to have only recently begun to tattoo, and that very sparingly, in the style of the Kayans of the Mendalam. Hose and Shelford (1906:76) illustrated two sketches made by Hiller of the tattoos of Penihing men. These are of a very different character and resemble more closely the tattoos of Ot Danum men. There is no way of knowing whether the Penihing ever tattooed in this fashion, or whether the individuals were misidentified, or were perhaps slaves captured from the Barito. A collection of Segai women’s tattoo stencils collected in 1912 from the Bulungan river, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel, is accompanied by a note saying that the men there wear only a shoulder rosette. Bock’s colour lithographs of the Modang and Tring people, very particular in the depiction of women’s tattoo designs, show no aso or rosette designs on the men, only a simple spiral interlock on the arm.

2. Stencils from the Mendalam and Mahakam show an aso head design with long sinuous extensions. (PLATE 48D, 167) Those from Sarawak tend to be more solid and compact. (PLATE 169-171) Among some Kenyah groups, the design was designated as a prawn (Hose and Shelford 1906:75). (PLATE 169B, 170B) The Berawan had their own specific hybrid form of the aso and rosette design in which the head was reduced to a sinuous extension of the rosette, or eye (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:264). (PLATE 173E) There are stencils from Sarawak which depict whole aso figures with sinuous bodies, or even two intertwined. (PLATE 172) The only comparable whole aso design reported from Dutch Borneo was that collected by Nieuwenhuis of a snake-like figure with aso head and legs which was worn on the thighs of especially heroic old men on the Mendalam. (PLATE 168E)

3. In Sarawak, men who had taken a head could have the whole back of the hand tattooed while those who had been on a successful war expedition had one finger only, usually the thumb, tattooed (Hose and Shelford 1906:64). Among the Bahau and Mendalam Kayan, only the left thumb was tattooed. Only one chief on the Mendalam had a thumb tattoo (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:456). On the Mendalam and Mahakam a thigh tattoo in the form of a naga or aso was restricted to heroic warriors, while in Sarawak there was evidently no such restriction and it was a part of the normal repertoire of designs, although the aso was a symbol of social rank.
stratification of these groups, although the *aso* design was supposedly restricted and there were possibly greater opportunities for travel by higher ranking men.\(^1\)

The use of tattoo by men of the various nomadic groups was varied. In Sarawak, Hose and Shelford (1906:63) indicated that Punan men did not generally tattoo, while Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:451) listed the Punan with the Bahau with respect to their style of tattooing. Notably different were the Ukit, or Bukat, and Bukitan of both regions, who employed extensive tattooing of the chest, arms, legs and throat, in which large dark areas were intersected by spiral, circular and linear designs from the natural skin showing through. [PLATE 175-177] Extensive and complex tattooing was also employed by various agricultural groups in the mid-river regions of Sarawak. As these groups rapidly abandoned their unique designs to either adopt the Kayan mode of tattoo or give it up altogether, the details are not well recorded.\(^2\)

Although tattooing was regarded as a more serious matter among women, and although the women did not travel to the same degree and were always tattooed within their own communities, there was evidence for rapid changes in tattoo fashions. Women were adopting the more elaborate tattoo patterns of the dominant groups in their region, so that several regional, rather than ethnic, styles developed. [PLATE 180-191]

On the Mendalam and Mahakam the earlier style consisted of simple designs with large, plain dark areas intersected by simple linear patterns, called *tedak danau*, or lake design. On the Mendalam this had been replaced by a more intricate, but unvaried, set of designs, apparently a subset of the designs

1. Even this was inverted on the Mendalam, where the chiefs were, in fact, less inclined to tattoo than ordinary men because of their greater dealings and interactions with Malay society (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2:456-457).

2. The most described designs were those of Kanowit men, who adorned their whole body from face to knees with intricate patterns. [PLATE 178] The various descriptions of members of these groups, sometimes described as Kayans or as primitive Melanaus, are summarized in Roth (1896, Vol. 2:84-90). The Tatau and Balingian were mentioned, without details, as profusely tattooed people (Keppel 1847, Vol.2:196-17). De Windt (1882:85, 87) visited the longhouse dwelling Punan of the Rejang, or Punan Bah, and indicated that the men were profusely and intricately tattooed. Hose and Shelford (1906:63) indicated that various downriver people of the Baram and Brunei region, such as the Miri, Dalis, Tutong, Belait and others, formerly tattooed themselves although the patterns were lost beyond recall.
used by Kayans in Sarawak. The Mahakam groups largely adopted the elegant and intricate designs employed by the Long Glat. In Sarawak, the Kayans of the Rejang had the most diverse set of designs, some of which were unknown on the Baram. The Kenyah women of the Baram had adopted the Kayan designs with the exception that they did not tattoo their thighs. Thus two major tattoo

1. Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:455-456) found only one old woman on the Mendalam with the old style of *danau* tattoo. In the more modern style, the tattoo of the forearm and hands consisted of a series of multilinear geometric and meander designs. [PLATE 179] The same scheme was used by Kayan and Kenyah women in Sarawak. [PLATE 181A, B] Up the backs of the thighs were multilinear designs of interlocking zigzags, also employed in Sarawak. [PLATE 180A, 182A-D] However the repeating motif for the front of the thigh, a design incorporating a simplified human face, was reportedly used only as a single motif on the knee in Sarawak. [PLATE 180B, C, 184A] According to Hose and Shelford (1906:73-75) Kayan women in Sarawak used strip designs with multilinear geometric and spiral elements for the thighs. [PLATE 182, 183, 185] However some carved models of female thigh tattoos from Sarawak show repeating designs like those from the Mendalam, although the models are roughly made. [PLATE 61C, 184B] This may represent a difference between Rejang and Baram designs. The feet were tattooed in simple block designs.

2. In this scheme, the designs up the back of the thighs consisted of a double row of circles, while the repeating motif over the thigh was a double headed design with the head of a hornbill, or sometimes an *aso*, set in a field of interlace. The basic design for the forearm and hands enclosed two symmetrical fields of intricate interlace, sometimes incorporating hornbill heads. The motifs were set in areas enclosed by wavy lines and block patterns. [PLATE 61B, 186, 187]

3. An S-shaped, double headed design, abstracted from a hornbill or *aso* motif, in a field of intricate interlace, was used as a repeating motif on the thigh. [PLATE 183E] Instead of a strip of geometric interlace up the back of the thigh, it was possible to use an elaborate strip of interlocked rosettes. [PLATE 183A-D]

4. Hose and Shelford (1906) illustrated only two women's tattoo schemes from the Baram region which supposedly predate the use of Kayan designs. One was from the Lepu Lutong, a nearly extinct tribe of the Pata tributary, where the women used a broad dark band around the forearm and simple stripes running down the hand. [PLATE 181C] The general scheme is similar to the concept of the *danau* tattooing of the Mahakam. In the later version of the article, this is given as being a primitive form of Kenyah tattoo in use on the Baram (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:262). The Long Utan, an extinct tribe of the Tinjar, supposedly produced more complex designs formed from intersecting segments of circles and interlace infill. This design is known only from carved models of both arms and legs produced by "an aged Kalamantan" (p.80), and is so reminiscent of some decorative relief designs on Kayan and Bahau wood carving that the details must be somewhat suspect. [PLATE 184C, D] The women of some of the mid-river Sarawak groups such as the Sebop, Lirong, Tanjong, Long Kiput, Berawan and Kanowit rarely tattooed at all (Hose and Shelford 1906:78). Alternatively, de Windt (1882:73) described Kanowit women as being tattooed "from head to foot", although whether in the Kayan style he did not elaborate. He also described Punan Bah women as being tattooed on the face as well as the body "unlike the Kayans" (p.86). On the Mahakam, Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:461) noted that Penihing women had not adopted either of the major schemes of the region, but used an unsystematic array of isolated *aso* designs, resembling the tattoos of men from other tribes.
schemes, those of the Sarawak Kayans and the Long Glat, were being adopted in various combinations and with some modifications.

Within these schemes, specific forms of ethnic differentiation were subtle and were never fully investigated. However some of the smaller Bahau groups used minor variations on the Long Glat patterns, or incorporated aspects of the Kayan patterns, to make their schemes slightly different. Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:462) noted that some groups such as the Bato Pala, who had been living under Long Glat domination for more than a century, tattooed themselves partly in the Kayan style, thus differentiating themselves from, rather than aligning themselves with, the major group closest to them. The Uma Suling, who were not subservient to the Long Glat, imitated their tattoo style completely.

Within these stratified societies, tattoos also served to identify the stratum of society to which a woman belonged. However, although at any one time the differentiation could be strongly marked, this appears to have been largely due to the fact that upper class women had more rapid access to novel designs from distant regions rather than to any form of prohibition on the use of designs by lower class women. Ordinary free and slave class women were in the

1. The only detailed examination of the differences undertaken by Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:462-465) compared the Long Glat tattooing scheme with that of the Uma Luhat, a Bahau group of the Middle Mahakam from which he obtained a number of specimens of tattoo stencils. The very minor differences were in the freehand decoration of the kneecap, the use of lines to enclose motifs and the orientation of the design elements on the legs. The Uma Luhat had formerly used a quite different design for the thigh. The Uma Luhat sometimes used a design for the back of the hand which was a hybrid between the Long Glat design and the Kayan style. [PLATE 53B, 186-188]

Bock's (1985, Pl.6, 20) lithograph of Modang women's tattoos show a design scheme similar to that of the Long Glat, although his illustrations are not sufficiently detailed to allow for a comparison like that of Nieuwenhuis between the Long Glat and the Uma Luhat. According to Bock (1985:189-190) this was the method of tattoo for the Long Wai Modang. Other groups tattooed less extensively, and the Long Bleh Modang did not tattoo at all. A Tring priestess from the same work (Pl. 14) has Long Glat style tattoos on her legs, although lacking the bands around the ankles, but her hands are covered in solid blue with simple lines and dots showing through in skin colour. Presumably this represented a survival of aspects of the danau style. [PLATE 191]

There is little information about the tattoo styles of Segai women, but two collections of women's stencils from the Segai of the Bulungan in the Bernisches Historisches Museum and the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel include Long Glat style thigh tattoos with aso or hornbill heads and intricately interlaced symmetrical designs for hand stencils. There are stencils which appear to be a hybrid between the Long Glat thigh motif and the S shaped aso of the Rejang Kayan, having as the central motif a very curly S shaped aso with only one head. These designs were also recorded somewhat later by Tillema (1930-31:198-199) for the Segai of the Berau region. However the collections also contain a Kayan style geometric meander motif, a multilinear spiral and a long narrow double aso design, making the Segai scheme essentially a mixture of the Kayan and Long Glat styles. [PLATE 53C, D, 189, 190]
process of adopting the designs already in use by aristocrats, with relatively minor modifications to the complexity of the scheme and the fineness of workmanship of the tattoo stencils.¹

At any single point in time, an analysis of tattoo patterns could provide information on the social and ethnic identity of individuals. However, constant adaptations and borrowings meant that the code was labile. The complete tattoo scheme served to differentiate the women of central Borneo on sight from those of lowland groups. The designs themselves are so fine and intricate, and partly hidden by clothing and jewellery, that the subtle variations which differentiate the members of closely related groups were, in any real sense, invisible. In the absence of actual visual cueing, knowledge of the differences must have been purely for the satisfaction of the wearer.

**Personal Presentation in the Ulu**

As with tattooing, there was a great similarity in female clothing and presentation all over the region. The differences between the Mahakam and the Sarawak rivers was generally greater than the differences between ethnic groups along the rivers.

The basic dress for women was a long skirt which hung from low on the hips to the feet. This was often worn with a girdle of old beads. Necklaces of beads were popular. The earlobes were pierced and stretched to enormous length by bundles of rings or heavily weighted ear drops. Jackets were worn outdoors, but not in the house. [PLATE 15A, 58, 192, 193, 195]

In Sarawak and on the Mendalam, women’s skirts always opened along one side to show the tattoos on one leg, although some women in Sarawak were starting to wear large imported sarongs which hung from the armpits to the feet. [PLATE 58B, 192] On the Mahakam, the skirts opened at the back and were sometimes made of several panels of different fabric. [PLATE 15A, 58A]

Nieuwenhuis noted that on the Mendalam, women favoured the use of gold

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¹ Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2:455-460) was informed by a chief of the Mendalam that formerly only the wives of chiefs wore the thigh tattoos then extant, and that free women and slaves used the *danau* style. The lower ranking women were imitating the newer style. Nieuwenhuis could not discover whether the *danau* style had formerly ever been used by aristocratic women as well. The second daughter of the chief was the only woman on the Mendalam who had her thighs tattooed with the hornbill design of the Long Glat, because her father had brought the stencils back from the Mahakam for her. One chief’s daughter had also experimented with complex interlace designs on the feet instead of the usual solid stripes. [PLATE 180D]
threaded Malay brocade cloth for skirts to wear on festive occasions. In the more remote areas of the Mahakam they wore skirts, embroidered with fancy borders or ornamented with elaborate interlace designs in appliqué. [PLATE 194] These latter survived on the Mendalam only as clothing for the dead (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.1:85, 120, 126-127). This would suggest a conception of these items as truly traditional clothing, but the imported cloth from which they were made replaced woven cloth of their own manufacture, or barkcloth. The appliqué designs suggested an analogue with painted designs on barkcloth. The surviving relations of a deceased person wore barkcloth clothing while in mourning. Skirts of native weaving were still being worn in some of the more remote regions of the Mahakam.

Women all over the region wore bead necklaces, but on the Mahakam they favoured heavy multistranded necklaces [PLATE 58A, 59A, 195A, B] while in Sarawak they are more often shown with a single strand adorned in the middle with a cluster of fine beaded strings. [PLATE 192A, B, 193] A characteristic item of festive attire on the Mahakam, not found in Sarawak, was a type of beadwork ornament with long strands hanging down the back.\(^1\) [PLATE 5, 195C]

Women on the Mahakam kept their earlobes stretched with masses of plain tin or lead rings. It seems it was the extended earlobes which were regarded as the thing of beauty, not the ornaments. [PLATE 59A, 195B] Some groups in Sarawak used a form of teardrop shaped ear pendant which was already extinct on the Mahakam, or thick copper rings. [PLATE 59B, C, 196A, B] Women of the Berawan, Long Kiput or other midriver groups of the Baram used to wear large wooden plugs in their earlobes rather than hanging weights in them. [PLATE 196C, D]

The bracelets of wood or ivory worn by women, or by men, were not ethnically or regionally distinctive.\(^2\) Chinese traders used to import whole sets

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1. Lumholz (1920, Vol.2:facing p.273), slightly later, showed a Long Glat woman wearing one of these as a hair ornament in a novel variation. [PLATE 195D] These may have been the inspiration for somewhat similar garments produced by some Iban women of the interior regions, but they were not imitated by the Kayan or Kenyah women in Sarawak.

2. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.1:122) reported that, for men, wooden or ivory bracelets were largely worn by youths who had travelled to the Batang Lupar districts and was a relatively recent practice: another example of the effect of the male propensity for travel on their personal presentation.
of plain ivory rings on cones. [PLATE 197A] These were then carved with fine
designs to the taste of their inland owners. Necklaces, bracelets and girdles of
fine beadwork were probably something of a novel fashion in the late 19th
century, and the display of valuable antique beads was important. [PLATE 59D]

Hats could be very distinctive items. Large cartwheel hats of low conical
or dome shape provided protection from the sun while working outdoors. Large
hats were not plaited in basketry technique by any of the central Borneo people,
but were made from flat sheets of broad leaves, held in place with circles of
stitching. Often the rim was reinforced with a circle of patchwork fabric
assembled from pieces of trade cloth and the centre adorned with beadwork.
[PLATE 198] A particular design of leaf hat was unique to the Bahau groups of
the upper Mahakam. It was constructed by laying leaf segments in different
directions and separating them with strips which sometimes had simple
painted designs. The hat was thus divided into triangular and lozenge shaped
segments. [PLATE 195A, 199A] The same technique was also used for hats
made from cloth patchwork. [PLATE 199B] Some hats from this region had
appliquéd designs in the form of abstract interlace patterns or human figures.
On the Mendalam and Mahakam, these were only for the dead, or for
particular ceremonial use, but they were in more general use in Sarawak.
[PLATE 51A, 200] Men wore the same general types of sunhats as women.

Some forms of headgear were more for adornment than practical
function. Skull caps or headbands for women were made from basketry,
sometimes covered in fabric and beadwork. The beadwork designs from the
Mahakam were notably different from those from Sarawak, but that will be
discussed in a later section, as similar beadwork designs were used on a variety
of items. Finely plaited basketry headbands were a speciality of the Kenyah in
Sarawak, while women of the Mahakam favoured a cloth headband wrapped
around a filling of aromatic plants. [PLATE 195, 201B, C] One particular form
of tall beadwork skull cap, usually hung with strings of beads which each
terminated in an animal tooth, was a particularly distinctive feature of festive
costume of various groups of the Mahakam. [PLATE 4, 5, 195D] Men over the
whole region wore basketry skullcaps of various forms, sometimes with long
fluffy fringes. [PLATE 201A, D]

The men of the central Borneo region had some forms of personal
ornamentation which distinguished them from the coastal people. The most
distinctive was the punching of a hole in the upper shell of the ear for the
insertion of real or carved clouded leopard teeth. This was formerly supposed to
be the mark of a successful headhunter, but had become simply an ethnic identifier for central Borneo groups, and a signifier of adult masculinity. [PLATE 60A-C, 196C] The lower lobe was pierced and distended. On dress occasions they could wear a range of elaborate ear ornaments, either carved from hornbill beak or cast in metal. [PLATE 60D, 196C] Shell, imported ivory or wooden bracelets were worn, and necklaces of beads or fine beadwork.¹

[PLATE 62, 193, 197B] Men from all ethnic groups wore plaited fibre bands around their legs below the knee.

On the whole, differences in personal presentation were greater between men from central Borneo and other regions than they were between groups within the central Borneo complex. Their reputation among the coastal people was that of ferocious warriors, and the coastal people did not tend to distinguish between them.

Baby Carriers: a special personal identifier

An item which clearly identified the central Borneo people with respect to all others in Borneo was the use of the decorated baby carrier. [PLATE 49B, 202-205] This item was highly integrated with the persona and wellbeing of its owner, so that European visitors were often not able to buy these items if they had been in use, even if their owner was adult. The old baby carriers of adults were used in ceremonies and continued to have importance throughout life (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.1:181-182).²

There were several types in concurrent use in all regions. Some were simply constructed from rattan or bamboo, with a wooden seat. [PLATE 203] Others were carved from wood, with relief carving appropriate to the status of

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1. The earrings do not seem to have been ethnically distinctive within the central Borneo complex, although for ordinary wear there was a tendency for men in Sarawak to wear a single twist of heavy wire, while men on the Mahakam often wore large metal rings. Mens' necklaces on the Mahakam mainly consisted of simple strings of valued old beads, while in Sarawak many men favoured a form of necklace which had a cluster of very fine beadwork strings at the front. In both cases these were similar to those worn by women.

2. Many of the baby carriers, particularly carved wooden ones, in museum collections are very small and are presumably models made for collectors. [PLATE 204A, B]

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the infant within.\(^1\) [PLATE 202C, D, 204] Others were made on a rattan and wooden frame, covered with fabric and adorned with a beadwork panel. [PLATE 49B, 205] There were ethnic and regional variations of style in the beadwork designs, as well as restrictions on the use of certain motifs according to the social stratum of the occupant. The carrier was also hung about with beads, coins and various charms which served a protective function.

Baby carriers were also used by nomadic groups in the central Borneo region, but these tended to be very plain objects of rattan openwork or bark. [PLATE 202B] The elaborate decorations with their messages of social status were used by agricultural groups.

**Living and Dying: the community environment in the ulu**

One of the most notable characteristics of the whole area was the ubiquitousness of carving. It appeared as an architectural feature, especially on the doors, support poles and beams of the longhouse apartments of chiefly families. It was employed on funerary monuments of massive scale. Freestanding human figures were placed on paths and river banks to repel ghosts and evil spirits. Ceremonial poles were topped with carved birds, or set with anthropomorphic figures or faces.

The funerary monuments of aristocratic members of society were located conspicuously on hills overlooking the rivers at a short distance from the village. They are notable territorial markers. Initially the basic style of monument was related to the nature of mortuary practice. The *salong*, a house-like structure with a curved roofline on elevated posts, was seen in Sarawak as the type artifact of the Kayans and some immigrant Kenyahs, who practised definitive one stage disposal of the corpse in a wooden coffin inside these elevated structures. [PLATE 54C, 206, 207, 211] The indigenous peoples of the Baram, Tinjar and Rejang practised secondary disposal of the dead, ultimately placing the bones of the high ranking dead in jars inside tall carved poles called *klirieng* or *lijeng*. [PLATE 50A, 54B, 208] Although there were *salong* on the Mahakam,

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1. Carved wooden baby carriers from Sarawak tended to be carved in relief with designs of faces, often inset with shell discs. On the Mendalam they were carved around the rim with a border of low relief designs. According to Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.1:63) carved designs were reserved for the children of chiefs.
the relationships are not so clear.\(^1\)

Salong were decorated with carved and painted designs, with openwork carving along the roofline, employing the full repertoire of motifs in use by central Borneo groups. The klirieng poles of the middle Rejang, Tatau and upper Tinjar were carved in deep relief with abstract interlace designs, or motifs of faces or squatting anthropomorphs. These carved klirieng were already considered obsolete on the Rejang in the 1880s, although they were still in use on the Baram but often in a new decorative style which employed more applied ornament than carving. The two types of monument became hybridized in some cases, until eventually the salong became the standard form.\(^2\)

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1. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.1:86) described the use of the salong by Kayans of the Mendalam and illustrated a salong of the Uma Suling in the Mahakam region. This was not a particularly elaborate example of the type and was evidently something of a rarity, as the photographer went to some difficulty to find it and to hack away sufficient of the surrounding vegetation to photograph it (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:140-142). [PLATE 207A] The Long Glat and some other Bahau groups disposed of the dead in caves (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:334, 339-340). Nieuwenhuis claimed that all the Bahau groups, including the Mendalam Kayan, had memories of collecting the bones of the dead and placing them in jars in caves (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.1:455). He described such a secondary burial procedure as practised by the Blu’u Kayans of the Mahakam (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:280). The neat division between immigrant Kayans and Kenyahs who practised only primary disposal of the dead and autochthonous groups which practised secondary disposal was not so clearly drawn on the Mahakam at that time. He visited a burial cave of the Penihing in which bodies in wooden coffins were stacked up along with their burial goods (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:116). [PLATE 209B] The Modang of the Klinjau tributary built substantial salong of similar design to those of the Kayan of Sarawak (Bock 1985, Pl.8, 9). [PLATE 207B] Earlier it was reported that the Modang also practised secondary burial and removed the bones of the dead from their salong to caves in the mountains (Weddik 1849:96-97).

2. The klirieng type was a specific ethnic marker for the Kajaman, Sekapan and Punan Bah of the Rejang, and for the Berawan, Long Pata and Long Kiput of the Baram and Tinjar. All those of the Rejang and some of the upper Tinjar and Tutoh were similar in style, with deep and elaborate relief carving. [PLATE 50A, 54B, 208A] Certain illustrated examples from the Long Pata and Long Kiput of the Baram show a style in which applied ornament such as gongs and white porcelain plates forms the decorative scheme. [PLATE 208B, C] On the Rejang they were all supposedly capped with a large stone [PLATE 50A], while in the Baram region, but not on the Tinjar, they were more often topped with a large slab of wood cut from a tree root. [PLATE 54B, 208B, C] An extract from Brooke Low’s diary (S.G. July 1 1882:54) indicates that although the salong was imported to the region by the Kayan and the klirieng was indigenous, the first Kayan conqueror of the Rejang was reportedly deposited in a klirieng. Klirieng, salong and a combination of the two are reported from the Kayan cemetery of this chief and four generations of descendants at the mouth of the Pila river. One of these klirieng from Nanga Pila is illustrated in Nicolaelsen (1984). Combination types consisted of two carved poles with a salong type chamber on top, or a salong on four posts with an extra large carved post protruding into the centre. The Kenyah of the upper Rejang tributaries, where they were transient occupants, used a much simpler form of elevated mortuary edifice on two posts (Brooke Low S.G. Sept. 1 1882:72). However the massive salong on multiple posts was eventually adopted in the Baram region,
related groups such as the Lelak, on the Tinjar also used large ironwood mausoleums set at ground level, decorated in similar fashion to the salong. [PLATE 209A] Kayans on the Baram placed their coffins in a cleft at the top of a tall pole and covered it with a roof, rather than building the massive salong of the Rejang (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.2:35-36). [PLATE 210A, B]

Freestanding carvings of monstrous and terrifying animals were placed by Modang and Segai under or in the mortuary houses of important people.\(^1\) On the Mahakam carved creatures referred to either as dogs, aso, or tigers, rimau, were placed in, on or by the coffins of important people when they were laid out in the house before being placed in a salong (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.1:90). [PLATE 212] These animal figures are not reported from Sarawak. Coffins were painted and carved with designs which imparted some information about the social rank and achieved status, as well as ethnic identity, of the deceased.\(^2\)

Mortuary art had a significant role in defining territory, as well as indicating the social identity of individuals. There was an ethnic component to style, but this was operated upon by regional interactions. Style was not unchanging, nor inextricably bound to a named or historical ethnic identity.

Carved anthropomorphic figures and large structures such as poles erected for community ceremonies also constituted part of the community environment. There was a style of depicting human figures in carving that was widely practised around the whole upriver area. Figures, both male and female, stood in a bent legged posture displaying their genitals. Their faces were concave, sometimes heart shaped, their jaws prognathous and their eyes round.

\(\cdots\)Continued\(\cdots\)

including by indigenous groups such as the Berawan (Metcalf 1977). [PLATE 210C, D, 211B]

1. Weddik (1849:103) described such a figure from a Long Wai mortuary house as a creature about 10 feet long and 2 feet high, with a 6 foot upwardly curving tail - carved from a single piece of wood and painted white, red and green. It had a crocodile head with bulging eyes and an open mouth with a skull placed inside. The hind legs were much longer than the front legs. The monster was called tong-leju and was given to dead people of rank to serve as a riding animal in the hereafter.

2. A particular form of coffin, carved so that it appears to be being carried by two anthropomorphic figures, was the privilege of senior men of notable bravery. This was used in Sarawak (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.2:34), on the Mahakam and by the Segai. In the Penihing cemetery visited by Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:116), the coffins were all plain, but similar figures were carved on a wooden chest containing grave goods.
and bulging. [PLATE 55B, D, 213] There were some regional and ethnic variations within this tradition.¹ Large figures were roughly carved and set up in strategic locations to repel evil spirits. Very small figures could be carved in similar style to act as portable amulets.

Tall poles covered with leaves, called belawing, were erected by the Kenyahs of the Baram to commemorate headhunting feasts. The Kenyahs appear to have specialized in such community markers, also erecting poles with carved hawks on the top. They kept large sacred stones, sometimes placed on top of short poles, among their community identifiers.² [PLATE 215]

Carved and painted decoration was applied to the massive ironwood longhouses of the ulu, especially to the doors, posts and verandah area of the apartments of chiefs. [PLATE 48A, E, 216-222] Roof ridges could be adorned with openwork carvings of aso or dragons. [PLATE 216A] In Mahakam villages the verandah of the chief's residence was expanded into a large meeting area, in which the posts and beams could be lavishly carved. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:179-180) watched the construction of a new house for Kwing Irang, the chief of the Mahakam Kayans. Doors, beams and wall panels were carved in deep relief with aso, face and other designs in a vigorous three dimensional style. A particular stylistic trick has large three dimensional elements, such as aso figures, emerging from a background of interlace designs in low relief. [PLATE 218] This style of depiction is also seen in doors and panels from Sarawak. [PLATE 219] A set of doors in the Hose collection of the Museum of

1. On the Mahakam, anthropomorphic figures were often equipped with large ears and beak-like noses and mouths, the faces resembling the bird masks which were a speciality of the region. [PLATE 213A, B] Kajang groups on the Rejang and Kenyahs of the Baram region carved figures in tiers. These were sometimes reduced to faces carved at intervals along the posts. These were roughly made and served a temporary purpose for various festivals, but some modern versions, finely made and polished, in the Sarawak Museum serve as a reminder that these are of significance for ethnic pride. [PLATE 214]

2. While such things were not reported by earlier visitors to the Mahakam, some photographs by more recent visitors indicate that similar traditions may have been overlooked. Ivanoff (1955, Pl.24) photographed the erection of a carved pole festooned with shredded leaves, representing a "cosmic tree" at a Penihing festival. Sellato (1989b, Pl.328, 329) illustrates two ritual posts carved with mask-like heads from a Busang Bahau village on the middle Mahakam. Blair (1991:84, 100-101) photographed an elaborately carved "ancestor pole" which had recently been redisplayed by its Long Glat owners in some sort of affirmation of cultural heritage. As the earlier reporters from this region were visitors rather than residents, they may have missed some things which were the focus of occasional or periodic attention. Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2, Pl.XLVIII) illustrated the bedraggled remains of a pole structure which had been used in a new year feast by the Penihing.
Mankind, London, depicts some rather unusual creatures in high relief. They are not identified to ethnic group, but an identical copy of one of them in the Sarawak Museum, and also obtained from Charles Hose, is attributed to the Berawan. [PLATE 220] They represent a variation on the usual set of central Borneo motifs and reinforce the notion that, as with tattoo patterns, the ubiquitousness of the *aso* motif was something brought in with the Kayan. The Sebops of the Tinjar had an enthusiasm for using monkey-like figures in lively and varied postures on their architectural carving.¹ [PLATE 219B,221A]

A different style of carved decoration was found in some Kenyah houses. Long boards were carved in very low relief with designs in which dragons, human figures and other motifs were interlaced in complex patterns. These were usually coloured as well. The impression is less sculptural, more two dimensional, intricate and polychrome. [PLATE 222] Painted designs were also applied to the walls, especially on longhouse verandahs, among various ethnic groups in Sarawak.

Among the central Borneo groups there was a definite process of marking the living environment with substantial and identifiable works of art. Some of these reflected the status of individuals or families, but all reflected, with varying degrees of specificity, the identity of the community.

*The Art of Community Festivity in the Ulu*

Many of the ceremonial poles and carved figures already described were erected as part of community festivities. Being durable, they represent both a periodic renewal of community values as well as a continuing reminder of community identity. Either being large, or else located on river banks or paths to the village, they were clearly intended to be seen and identified by outsiders as well as members of the community.

Masks of light wood painted in bright colours, and usually representing grotesque faces of various forms, were used on festive and ceremonial occasions all over this region. Masks exhibited a great deal of variation on a few basic themes.

A form of mask which was very particular to the upper Mahakam has found its way into almost every collection of Borneo ethnographica. Called a

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¹ A chiefly family on the Tinjar in the 1890s claimed a close affinity with the gibbon (Furness 1902:55). A relationship involving one influential aristocratic family became a kind of ethnic marker in their art.
"bird mask", it has a beak-like nose as well as a mouth of pointed beak shape, equipped with teeth. The eyes are large cylinders, often set with mirrors. It has large ears attached with twine and equipped with tooth-shaped pegs in the top and earrings on tapes at the bottom. It is topped with a rattan war cap set with feathers. The lower jaw may be moveable. There are readily identifiable variants of this mask. Some have an extremely long straight nose and an equally extended chin, with the lower jaw fixed. These masks were usually very finely made and painted in elaborate curvilinear designs. They were worn with a costume consisting entirely of shredded banana leaves. [PLATE 223]

The masks of the Mendalam Kayans were generally somewhat different. They were flatter in the face, more roughly worked and less symmetrical, and with smaller eye cylinders without mirrors. They had large moveable ears, but differed in that these were cut out in openwork spiral designs. The Maloh of the region evidently used a similar type of mask. [PLATE 224]

Masks in the shape of a pig's head were another speciality of the Mahakam and Mendalam regions. In some the eyes and style of painting were similar to those of the bird masks, but there was more variation in the form of the pig masks. [PLATE 63B, 225, 226B, C] The only 19th century mask definitively assigned to the Modang groups that I have encountered is a large unpainted crocodile mask collected by Bock. [PLATE 226A] A couple of the pig masks are rather similar in style, with long broad muzzles and a high arching forehead. [PLATE 226B, C]

Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.1:185) recorded a very simple form of mask used by women at community festivities on the Mendalam and Mahakam. It consisted of an upturned basket with a highly simplified face stitched on with cloth appliqué and metal rings. Needless to say, such ephemeral items are not well represented in collections. [PLATE 227]

The masks of Sarawak were rather more varied than those of the Mahakam. The Hose collection in the Museum of Mankind contains a series of unpainted masks with strongly modelled faces and various addenda, including ears, with elaborate openwork spiral designs. These are mostly indicated as coming from the Tinjar river, therefore from either Berawan or Sebop groups. [PLATE 228] The Mendalam masks give the impression of being a hybrid between these and the Mahakam bird mask type. There are masks of distinctive style with pointed chins, overhanging foreheads with tiny eyes and ears with long curling extensions. These are indicated to be Kenyah and are similar to the masks of the Apo Kayan region of the turn of the century. They represent a
Chapter 7

distinctively Kenyah style for this era. [PLATE 229A, B]

Some much more simple masks were also used by the Kayans and Kenyahs of Sarawak. With no extravagant ears or grotesque features, they comprised simple, unexpressive faces with simple open eye holes. They were plain coloured, or painted in simple and crude black and white markings. They are often referred to as soul catcher's masks, used by shamans to rescue the souls of sick people.¹ [PLATE 229C] Such masks have not been recorded from the Mahakam, but it is possible that they may have attracted far less attention than the more spectacular ceremonial masks. Pig masks do not appear in old collections from Sarawak and there are no descriptions of women's hood masks.

The musical instruments of central Borneo were not enormously varied and were standardized around the region. Drums and gongs were present, but were not used for occasions of singing and dancing. Gongs were items of prestige wealth, only beaten to summon the community back to the longhouse for an emergency. [PLATE 230A] The same applied to the enormous cylindrical drums kept on the longhouse verandahs. [PLATE 230B] These were unique to the central Borneo region. Other instruments, such as simple flutes played usually with the nose, Jew's harps, the bamboo tube zither and the kledi or keluri were shared with indigenous peoples all over the island. [PLATE 64, 231]

The true type instrument of the central Borneo region was the sape or two stringed guitar, differentiated from all other stringed instruments in Borneo by being open at the back, without a resonating board. There are some fine examples of these instruments, decorated with painted designs, carved on the head or around the rim of the body or inlaid with shell discs, indicating that they could be regarded as a display piece. [PLATE 64A, 232]

Craft Skills in the Ulu

The major craft skills of these two regions were in decorative crafts, particularly carving. Basketry, beadwork and bamboo carving were also practised with great skill. A particular speciality of the inland regions was iron smelting and smithing, with decorative parang blades being the most elaborate products of this craft.

1. A series of such masks was acquired by the Muzium Negara in Kuala Lumpur in the early 1980s, some of them dating to the early years of this century (Mohd. Kassim Haji Ali 1983). They represent a different style of mask to many in older, expatriated collections.
Weaving was a disappearing craft in these regions and was only practised in localised areas. In Sarawak only a few so-called Klemantan groups carried out a small amount of weaving (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:221). Hose (1926:facing p.183) illustrated a jacket produced in what appears to be a supplementary weft technique. [PLATE 233C] The Kayans of Sarawak no longer practised weaving, but it was still being carried out by Kayan and some Bahau groups of the upper Mahakam. They used various plant fibres or cotton, spun on a dropped spindle or by simply winding it against the leg. [PLATE 233A, B] The spinning wheel was not utilised. Ikat dyeing was not practised. They mainly produced a simple striped fabric, rather intriguingly in a herringbone twill weave. On a backstrap loom this required a complexity of loom sticks to set up and manipulate. When trade cloths penetrated the upper Mahakam the inhabitants evidently showed some preference for twill weaves, which were supplied by perceptive traders (Brigitte Majlis, pers. comm.).

By the late 19th century women were making their skirts from trade cloth, using patchwork techniques to incorporate different fabrics and appliqué to add design motifs. The appliqué technique used on the Mendalam for clothing for the dead and on the upper Mahakam for women’s skirts was only employed in Sarawak on large sunhats. Embroidery became increasingly popular as a decorative technique for textiles.

Barkcloth clothing was still worn by interior people, mainly for everyday purposes and also for mourning. For jackets the body of the garment was reinforced with rows of stitching and there are some examples from the Mahakam with decorative embroidery. [PLATE 234] However it was rapidly abandoned as a technique for making dress clothes as soon as imported fabrics became available.

Pottery manufacture was a craft which was nearly extinct by the late 19th century. Only a few isolated and remote groups made small blackened paddle beaten cooking pots which were traded in very localised areas.¹ None of the Kayan, Kenyah or closely related groups in Sarawak made pottery by this era. [PLATE 235]

Carving was a craft at which the ulu people were highly skilled, and it

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¹ Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.2:124, 144-152) went to some trouble to find examples of native earthenware on the upper Mahakam. He found few examples of Bahau pottery, but some Kenyah pots that had been traded into the region. Some of the upper Mahakam groups made trays of unfired clay for drying rice in front of the fire.
was not restricted to large architectural elements or monuments for public
display. Wooden baby carriers; stools and benches; bowls, spoons and knife
handles; wooden lids for bamboo containers; handles for adzes, hoes, matting
awls and pottery beaters; work tables for beadwork or basketry; backboards of
carrying baskets; canoe paddles; musical instruments such as *sape* or Jew’s
harp; *parang* sheaths and handles: all were adorned with the same series of
motifs and in the same style as more monumental works. [PLATE 48, 49D, 52A,
236-248] Within the stratified social system of these groups, there were
restrictions on the use of motifs for certain classes of people, but there were no
restrictions on the use of motifs on particular kinds of objects. The only
difference appears to be that some small items, such as knife handles or *parang*
sheaths, are covered with particularly freely interpreted, and sometimes chaotic,
compositions. [PLATE 164B, 236B-E] The design known as leech design, found
only on small objects, may be an adaptation of the design of a sinuous *aso* or
dragon winding its way in and out of a field of interlace background. [PLATE
240]

Differences in style or design do not provide stark boundaries between
ethnic groups. However there are certain minor peculiarities which tend to be
associated with certain groups or regions. The *aso* design provides an example.
Carved wooden *aso* from the Mahakam region were often sturdy, four legged
and notably dog-like, with a broad muzzle set with a pair of curly dilated nostrils
and conspicuous teeth. They were carved in solid three dimensional form on
everything from coffins to bamboo container stoppers. [PLATE 241A] *Aso*
designs from Sarawak tended to resemble a dragon more than a dog, with a
sinuous body, minimal legs and teeth and nostrils not depicted or minimally
indicated. They were more usually carved in relief. [PLATE 241B] Carved
dragon-like creatures were also produced on the Mahakam, with a distinctive
feature being the way that the head is turned right around over its highly curved
sinuous body. [PLATE 165C, 166B, 240A, B] Some carved creatures from the
Mahakam have a distinctively lizard-like arrangement of their legs and body.
[PLATE 241C] Openwork carvings, used on the roof ridges of buildings, tended
to have a similar style all over the region. [PLATE 216A, 242]

The Kayans of the upper Mahakam carved low stools as seats of honour
for their chiefs and older men of note. These were small, but beautifully made,
usually in the form of animals such as tortoises, dragons or *aso*. [PLATE 243]
The Kayans of Sarawak also made seats of honour for their chiefs, but these
were mainly renowned for their immense size, as they were cut in one piece from
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the giant buttress root of a rainforest tree.¹

Vigorous carvings of monstrous animals or animal heads were employed for the figureheads of boats by the Kayan and others in Sarawak. [PLATE 244] I have not encountered any descriptions or examples of such figureheads from Dutch Borneo.

Carved wooden dishes had an identical form all through the Mahakam region, from the Kayan in the headwaters to the Modang in the lower tributaries. The dishes were leaf shaped with a bulbous nosed *aso* head as a handle and twin grooves on the opposite pointed end. [PLATE 245A, B] Other variants on animal shaped dishes appear from Kalimantan. [PLATE 246] In Sarawak carved wooden dishes came in a range of elaborate shapes. Some were leaf shaped with an *aso* head, others were made with multiple bowls joined together, all carved from one piece of wood. [PLATE 245C, 247] Hose (1926:facing p.172) illustrated some with low relief foliate decoration in Malay style. He also collected an assortment of fine carved spoons from the Baram region; either a speciality of the region or of the collector.

Stylistic variation in carving was subtle throughout the entire *ulu* region, with minor variations developing between the two sides of the central watershed. Detailed examination of the specifics of style can lead to complex, and sometimes unusual, patterns. For example, the particular method of depicting a head in squarish profile view, as used on the Berawan doors described above, is repeated on small items such as wooden stoppers for antique carved bamboo containers from the Mahakam. [PLATE 220, 248] Continuing processes of separation and integration of the various ethnic groups around the region had led to a complex series of borrowings and differentiations at various local levels.

Pictorial beadwork is one of the more distinctive products of the central Borneo people. Utilizing tiny imported glass beads, the craft itself depended on accessibility, by some means or other, to coastal marketplaces. Very different types of beadwork developed on the Mahakam and in Sarawak in terms of use of motif, use of colour and style. There were some features in common from both regions, but the blending of a certain diversity of styles in each area led to the development of a recognizable corpus of designs from each region.

¹. St John (1863, Vol.1:111) stated that these were inherited from father to son. He was given one which measured 10 ft 6 in by 6 ft 6 in, but it was burnt during the Chinese insurrection of 1857.
This form of decoration was used on a wide range of items. Narrow bands or rolls were used for necklaces, bracelets and belts. Larger panels decorated the backs of baby carriers. Basketry containers or bamboo containers could be covered with it. Decorative pieces and beaded tassels adorned parang sheaths. Panels were incorporated into clothing and used to adorn a range of headgear: sunhats, conical caps, war caps, skull caps and headbands. [PLATE 49B, C, 51B, C, 52C, 249-257]

A style quite unique to the Mahakam used multiple bright colours and to the uneducated eye appears to be devoid of all motifs, consisting of rippling lines of colour in a bilaterally symmetrical design. This was used by various groups, especially on the tall conical hats worn by women on dress occasions, and on baby carriers. [PLATE 205B, 249, 250A]

Other designs utilized a geometric background of interlocked angular spirals. In some cases these included discrete motifs, such as aso or scorpions which were always depicted in black, and anthropomorphic figures which were nearly always yellow. [PLATE 51C, 251-253A] These two rather different styles contributed to some hybrid forms in which the bilaterally symmetrical coloured designs were rather more geometrical and formal. [PLATE 250B] All designs from this region were notably colourful.

Some of these beadwork items had elaborate shapes. Decorations for hats were in the form of multipointed stars and some pieces for baby carriers or baskets had a complex zigzag lower edge.

These designs were transmitted very accurately. In the Nieuwenhuis collection in Leiden there are examples of identical patterns on pieces obtained from different ethnic groups, or of different ages. The designs do not merely reproduce motifs and their arrangement, but the precise threading pattern of different coloured beads in intricate arrangements.1

Two pieces for baby carriers in the Leiden Nieuwenhuis collection, from 1. Numbers 1308/434 and 1308/308 have an identical motif of a central animal face flanked by black aso. The former came from the Mahakam Kayan and is made from dull coloured beads with no blue: the latter is provenanced only to central Borneo and used bright coloured beads with the main motif in blue. 1308/435 and 1308/427 are both from the upper Mahakam Kayan, with a similar design to the previous. Again the former is made from dull red, yellow and green beads, while the latter includes bright yellow and blue. 1308/294, from the Uma Luhat of Uju Halang on the middle Mahakam is a piece with a zigzag lower outline, with a design of stylized anthropomorphs against a patchy coloured spiral background with aso motifs. It is identical to 1308/306, from the Long Glat of Long Deho on the middle Mahakam. The latter is made of larger beads and includes turquoise and transparent gold beads not included in the former.
the Kayan and Uma Suling of the Mahakam, are strikingly different in design and technique. The beads were not knotted into place in a diagonal pattern, but threaded in parallel strings. The designs depict elaborately drawn squatting anthropomorphs with genitals and stretched earlobes displayed. [PLATE 253B] One has a large face design in the centre. The background is filled with geometric designs and coloured triangles. The parallel threading technique was also used for some smaller Kayan items such as bracelets and headbands, which had only simple geometric designs.

The Maloh of west Kalimantan, who lived in very close proximity to the Kayans of the Mendalam as well as to Iban groups from Sarawak, were noted for their beadwork. They appropriated only a small proportion of the designs used by the Kayan. Their signature was a field of black geometric spirals with coloured background, often set with spreadeagled anthropomorphs in yellow. [PLATE 103B, 254] They do not appear to have used these on baby carriers or hats, and were most renowned for women’s skirts and jackets. Their work was part of the design system of the Mendalam/Mahakam area, but they had selected their own ethnically distinctive sub-set.

The beadwork designs of the Kayan, Kenyah and related groups in the Baram and Rejang regions of Sarawak were notably different, although the items decorated in this way were of the same type. There was a marked tendency to favour the colours yellow and black, with splashes of white and only very sparing use of other colours. It seems most unlikely that this was due to any lack of choice of materials, as traders showed great capability for supplying goods to all sorts of idiosyncratic native tastes, so it must be assumed that it was a design choice. Designs consisted of clearly defined motifs against a plain background, although the motifs could be elaborated with interlacing spiral elements. The aso motif was employed, but some items display abstract interlocking motifs which suggest some degree of borrowing of the formal characteristics of the motif, without the meaning. [PLATE 52C, 255]

Some multicoloured beadwork was produced by the Kayan and by some other groups of the Baram and Rejang, mostly in simple geometric designs of lozenges and geometric spirals. This was particularly employed on Kayan baskets. [PLATE 256] As on the Mahakam, different design systems seem to have interacted.

Hat decorations were round or star shaped, with a riot of aso and interlace motifs. Garments such as skirts or jackets made of solid beadwork with geometric and anthropomorphic designs were made by the Kenyah of this
One of the most ubiquitous decorative crafts of indigenous groups in Borneo was the carving and colouring of designs in the outer skin of lengths of bamboo. This form of decoration was mainly used on small containers, but also on bamboo flutes, ceremonial staffs or, among some ethnic groups, smoking pipes. Made from readily available material using an ordinary pointed work knife such as was carried every day, these objects nonetheless achieved a great complexity of design and fineness of finish. [PLATE 258-261]

Those from central Borneo were recognisable by their use of the same series of motifs employed in all other crafts, *aso*, complex spiral interlace designs and rows of geometric motifs. They were nearly always reinforced with bands of plaited rattan around the top, and set with carved wooden stoppers rather than lids cut from the bamboo itself.

Those from the Mahakam/Mendalam region in the late 19th century had certain design features which made them unlike those from any other part of Borneo. Large curved fields were excised and stained red, while the intricate designs were contained in the irregular shaped areas between, the background coloured in black. [PLATE 258B, 259] Some antique examples in the Leiden Museum show that fashion changed. The older examples were carved with similar designs, but the carving was in much deeper relief and the whole container was stained a deep, rich red-brown. [PLATE 258A] Some of the late 19th century containers were quite deeply carved, almost in low relief. Others were merely incised. Occasionally there were free standing *aso* in the red fields. [PLATE 259C] There are a couple of very unusual examples from the Mendalam Kayan with little pictorial scenes, including a hunter with a spear and his dog. [PLATE 166C]

Bamboo containers from the Sarawak *ulu* and other parts of Kalimantan were generally coloured in black in the incised areas, and the designs were arranged in bands around the container. In some cases, wide bands contained extravagant freeform interlace designs. [PLATE 260, 261] The carved wooden stoppers from Sarawak tended to be not so elaborate as those from the Mahakam. In neither area was there any obvious distinguishing feature setting apart the products of particular ethnic groups, although those of the Kenyah seemed to have the most freely drawn and extravagant designs.

In general, the craft skills practised by all the *ulu* groups in the late 19th century were essentially similar in type. Certain skills, such as weaving and pottery manufacture, were waning at different rates in different areas. In
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stylistic terms, there were greater differences between the Mendalam/Mahakam area and the Rejang/Baram than between ethnic entities within those areas. However, local differences could be signalled by specific items or by the use of specific motifs in particular circumstances. This is not, however, essentially an opposition between regional and ethnic differentiation. Each of the areas represented an integration, at some level, of the identities of the diverse groups which had either immigrated or been long term residents of the areas. Integration of artistic styles was associated with processes of integration of identity, as described in chapter 4.

The Apo Kayan in the Early 20th Century

The Apo Kayan plateau was not visited by Europeans until around the turn of the century although there had been dealings with some of its people who had come down to visit regions lower down, and many Kenyahs from this area had migrated into the upriver regions of Sarawak. The great majority of the inhabitants of the region were Kenyah, apart from a couple of small groups of Kayan who had remained after the other Kayans had left. These survivors were being gradually pushed downriver. The Kenyahs of the Apo Kayan espoused the principles of social ranking found among the Kayans and other central Borneo people. There was also some sense of ranking between the various groups of Kenyah themselves as a result of decades of warfare and territorial struggle in the region. Most information about the Kenyah of Apo Kayan concerns the Lepu Tau, who were the dominant group.

Although the area was remote and difficult of access, the presence of a Dutch government post at Long Nawang from the first decade of this century rapidly opened up access of goods from the coast. Portage routes were established by the military around the most ferocious rapids and suppression of warfare in the region meant that people could travel in safety. In the vicinity of Long Nawang trade goods, such as cloth, fancy fringing, saucepans and sewing machines, rapidly infiltrated Apo Kayan Kenyah material culture. This did not cause it to lose its originality.

While the basic forms of material culture, motifs employed in art and systems of design were essentially similar to those encountered in the upper rivers, there were certain variations on the scheme here. The most notable general principle was the preference for colourful and elaborate two dimensional decoration over three dimensional form. Painting and beadwork were highly elaborated Kenyah skills. There was also a tendency towards
applied decoration and construction. Finally there was a highly developed complexity of design in which motifs, decorative details and forms were jumbled together into a visual clutter whose richness is apparent but whose detail is often difficult to resolve.

Some of Tillema's (1938:44, 206, 1989:94, 206) photographs of old longhouse verandahs in the Apo Kayan in the 1930s show that bold sculptural forms in architectural carving were not unknown to the Kenyahs.* [PLATE 262A] However, much more commonly encountered in architecture, on mortuary structures and even on small objects was a preference for polychrome decoration of light, even insubstantial, form and a riotous elaboration of spiral interlace decoration. Instead of solid carving in one piece, three dimensional forms were created by constructing objects from a base and pieces of board pegged together. Carved objects were painted, the base colour further adorned with masses of circles or curved dashes in a contrasting colour. There was considerable use of painting on the walls of buildings. [PLATE 262B, C 263]

Carved doors from the Apo Kayan did not have dramatic sculptural forms emerging from a relief background, but appeared to be encrusted with a miscellany of multicoloured motifs. Decorative details were attached to, rather than carved from, roof beams and support poles. [PLATE 264] The belawing poles which occupied a prominent place in the village area, associated with headhunting rituals, were decorated with leaves and adorned with flimsy human and animal carvings in dramatic postures. [PLATE 55A, 265B, C] The keramen poles associated with headhunting were carved with a distinctive set of symbols and topped with an image of a hornbill in flight, its spread wing and tail feathers made from thin boards. [PLATE 265A]

The salong or grave structures of prominent individuals in the Apo Kayan area were huge and imposing, erected on giant poles with elaborate openwork carving along the roofline to give the whole structure a dramatic silhouette against the skyline. However the decorative details were insubstantial. [PLATE 54A, 266] Tillema (1989:236) noted that even recent graves were tumbling to decay. Decoration was not carved but painted and gradually washed away. A new grave was highly colourful, hung with gongs, shields, sunhats and cloths which all disappeared. The openwork which gave

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1. The age of these massively carved posts is not known. Such structural elements were known to be removed and taken to the site of a new longhouse when a group shifted location, so that the length of occupation of a site is not necessarily an indicator of the age of the posts.
the roof such a dramatic outline was pegged together from thin boards and rapidly fell apart.

Extravagant decoration appeared in many places. Even the rice mortars on the longhouse verandah could be covered in coloured interlace designs carved and pegged around the rim. [PLATE 267A] The much illustrated lodging house built in Long Nawang for Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.2, Pl.86) when he visited the area was painted in lavish designs along all the outside walls. [PLATE 267B] Rice barns could be painted in riotous designs. [PLATE 267C]

The motifs in use were those of central Borneo generally, but their appearance was changing. The aso of the Kenyah resembled an extravagantly curled dragon stylised into two dimensions with the addition of a riot of abstract spirals. Its teeth, nostrils and even eye could disappear so that the head resembled an anemone. Kenyah designs used fields of highly elaborate interlace, in which motifs such as aso or hornbill heads, faces or human figures were entangled.

Carvings of human figures were set up in prominent places to repel evil influences, as they were by the Kayan, Bahau and others. However the Kenyah human figures were very roughly constructed, often using the natural shape of a forked branch with a minimum delineation of features. Rough branches were added as arms and the figure often bore a crudely carved sword and shield. There was a preference for lively poses. [PLATE 55C, 268] These vigorous but ephemeral figures have not found their way into museum collections. A minimalised form of anthropomorphic carving, consisting only of simply depicted heads, appeared on a structure unique to the Kenyahs of Apo Kayan. This was an enclosure of heavy stakes in which were kept the sacred stones of the village. Carved poles with a simple human face, placed at the foot of the longhouse steps to ward off evil influences, were decorated in specific ways to identify the various Kenyah sub-groups of the Apo Kayan (Elshout 1926:236). Such tokens were also erected outside travellers’ huts to indicate the identity of the occupants or the owners of any goods left within (Tehupeiorij 1906:84-85). This level of identity was still of significance in the Apo Kayan.

1. The stones were rolled along the longhouse verandah as part of the *mamat* festival, a set of grade rituals unique to the Kenyah, first described in detail by Elshout (1926:281-315). The festival, and the preservation of the ritual stones in their enclosure, survived with one group of Lepu Tau Kenyah through a migration to the upper Baram in Sarawak and a conversion to the simplified indigenous religious cult of Bungan (Galvin 1966, 1970).
A unique type of mask from the Apo Kayan bore all the Kenyah design features. It was brightly painted with circles and curved lines over all potentially blank spaces. It was composed of a basically human face with overhanging forehead and with the chin extended into an extravagant curve. All around the sides were attached long thin curved boards as tendril-like extensions. [PLATE 63C, 269] These masks were worn for harvest feasts and are immediately recognisable. Similar masks were also used by Kenyahs in upriver Sarawak.¹ [PLATE 270A]

The Kenyahs of Apo Kayan also made pig masks, but these do not seem to have been so varied or elaborate as those of the Mahakam. [PLATE 271A, B] Characters who played a clown’s role in their festivals wore masks made from gutta percha, in the form of a relatively normal human face with exaggerated features. While classifiable as ephemera, a couple of these have survived in museum collections.² A range of other types of masks appeared, mostly variations on a human face with enlarged ears. [PLATE 271C, D] Kenyah women, like the Bahau, wore masks made from inverted baskets, but these were decorated in polychrome Kenyah mode with pieces of beadwork (Elshout 1926:400-401).

The craft of beadwork was highly developed among the Kenyah of Apo Kayan, with their fondness for elaborate two dimensional design being ideal for this medium. The types of items made were the same as those of the Kayan and Bahau; covers for baby carriers, baskets, hats and headbands, items of jewellery and decorations for parang sheaths. [PLATE 272, 273]

The beadwork designs of the Kenyah contained elaborately delineated motifs in complex interlace fields. However, unlike the multicoloured designs of the Bahau of the Mahakam, the motifs themselves were monocoloured. The designs were incised into wooden boards, in later years cut out of paper, to use as a template. [PLATE 272A] This technique could not have been employed for

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1. While the most definitive type of Apo Kayan mask is readily recognizable, there were some variations. Mjöberg (1927, fig. 132, 156) illustrated two masks from the Uma Kulit with white faces set in a brightly painted rim with large movable ears. [PLATE 270B] Tillema (1938:182, 184) has a series of photographs of masked dancing by the Uma Jalan in which the performers wear somewhat similar grotesque masks. [PLATE 270C, D] It is probable that differences of style were used by the various groups of the Apo Kayan to differentiate themselves from each other, but this is not well documented.

2. There is one in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam (391-159) and one in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (2234/1).
the Mahakam designs because of their far more complex use of colour, and this in itself may partly account for continuing differences in appearance in beadwork designs from these two regions. The colours favoured were black, blue, yellow and white with touches of other bright colours. They bore a much closer resemblance to the beadwork designs found in Sarawak than to those of the Mahakam. This was undoubtedly due to relations between the Kayans and others of the upper Baram and Rejang during the 19th century and Kenyahs from Apo Kayan, but it is not clear which way design influences initially travelled. Certainly the Kenyahs had a bravado of their own in the style of their beadwork, as in other areas of polychrome two dimensional art.

While all the stratified societies of central Borneo had various rules about the use of particular designs by members of certain social classes, these rules seem to have become particularly strict among the Kenyah. The motifs associated with rank, the spreadeagled human figure, the face, the *aso*, became highly stylized. They no longer had expression or detail but were mere forms, entangled in a welter of decorative detail but themselves minimalized; simple icons of position. The style of depiction was almost identical in beadwork and in painting. Designs frequently contained asymmetry, with an almost freehand appearance, unlike the strictly symmetrical designs from the Mahakam. This asymmetry is also sometimes found in beadwork from Sarawak.

The bamboo containers of the Apo Kayan region were more like those of Sarawak than the Mahakam. The designs were coloured in black and arranged in simple rings around the container. Designs appear extravagant and there is particular attention paid to intricate interlace designs in which sinuous elements wind above, below and through slits in each other. Designs incorporating *aso* and interlace were elaborate, asymmetric and chaotic. In some cases a field of complex interlace design covered the whole container like a web. [PLATE 274]

The beautifully carved hardwood stoppers of the Mahakam are notably absent. Some wooden stoppers were simple wooden discs with incised interlace designs. However some elaborate three dimensionally carved softwood stoppers were made, incorporating groups of little figures or openwork. [PLATE 274A]

The war clothing of the Kenyah was the epitome of the war dress of central Borneo. Animal skin cloaks were *de rigueur*. For preference, and for the high ranking, the cloak should be from a fierce animal such as a tiger cat or bear, but goat was adequate for many. They were adorned with a large disc of pearl shell imported from the coast, or with the horns of wild cattle captured in the interior, as well as panels of beadwork. Decorative patterns of shell discs on
the front were very rapidly replaced with designs made from imported pearl buttons. The war cap of heavy plaited rattan was sometimes covered with skin, always adorned with feathers and sometimes with a hornbill beak. [PLATE 57C, 275A] A particularly Kenyah form which later became very widespread covered most of the hat with rows of tufts of goat hair in natural white and black and dyed red, while in the front was set a beadwork panel with the design of a face set in the usual tangle of interlace. [PLATE 275A, B] Even in headgear the Kenyah preference for applied ornament and coloured two dimensional decoration was apparent.

Painted Kenyah shields usually bore the standard central Borneo motif of a ferocious face, with or without the squatting body, set in a field of interlace designs which could also include aso or hornbill heads. The backs bore the common design of two figures, or interlace designs with aso and hornbill elements. An alternative design for the front, particular to the Kenyah, was a slightly asymmetric tangled interlace design incorporating aso or hornbill elements. [PLATE 276A]

The Kenyahs of Apo Kayan all used the parang ilang, like all other central Borneo groups. While the Kenyahs appear to have become less concerned with wood carving on a large scale, such small items as parang handles received considerable attention. They were carved in a riot of designs which had a tendency to become very abstract and to include delicate openwork. Fine polished wooden sheaths were less common in this region, as there was a tendency to use applied ornament. Sheaths could be stuck all over with tufts of black, red and white hair and adorned with fancifully carved plates of deer antler. [PLATE 276B]

When Nieuwenhuis first visited the Apo Kayan, women's tattooing was in the process of undergoing a radical change. The earlier style of design was a relatively simple set of geometric patterns and broad bands, resembling the old danau style of the Bahau. [PLATE 277] However all the women of chiefly families, and some free women of lesser rank, were adopting the intricate and elaborate style of the Uma Lekan Kayan who still lived in the Apo Kayan. Uma Lekan women went to the Kenyah villages to do the tattooing (Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.1:467-468). The Uma Lekan style was very closely related to the Kayan style of the Rejang, making use particularly of the S-shaped
aso/hornbill motif for the thigh.¹ [PLATE 278, 279]

As in other areas, the design scheme for women’s tattooing was capable of rapid change. The S-shaped double headed aso, borrowed from the Uma Lekan as a motif for the thigh, was adapted for use on the backs of the hands of high ranking women, a uniquely Kenyah variation (Tillema 1938:174-175).

Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.1:467) reported that the Kenyah men of the Apo Kayan tattooed very little and only for decoration, not to indicate achievement. However, in succeeding years something of a fashion developed among young men who travelled for trade or to seek jungle produce for tattooing in the manner of Iban men that they met on their travels.² [PLATE 280]

The Apo Kayan Kenyah were skilled, like so many Borneo people, at basketry, with which they made sleeping mats and carrying baskets with bicoloured designs. Weaving was practically an extinct craft when Europeans first visited the Apo Kayan, and was certainly not being used to make items of clothing. However there were in existence some coarse sacks woven in herringbone and bird’s eye twill designs from an assortment of plant fibres. [PLATE 281A] Like the Bahau, they had evidently undertaken the complex task of weaving in twill patterns on a backstrap loom. Tillema found a group of old ladies who were able, with some discussion, to set up a loom and weave a few centimetres of cloth for a demonstration, but it was effectively an obsolete craft.³

Before the importation of trade fabrics, clothing had also been made of barkcloth. The Apo Kayan was one of the very few areas of Borneo where barkcloth garments were retained as prestige garments for ceremonial use.

¹ The old style Lepu Tau tattooing illustrated by Nieuwenhuis (1904, Vol.1, Pl.95) has much in common with the antique Lepu Lotong design from the Baram described in Hose and Shelford (1906:76, Pl.XI, fig.4), although the Lepu Tau also tattooed the legs. [PLATE 277A, B] Hose and Shelford (1906:78, Pl.XII, fig. 5) also illustrate a very simple form of tattoo from the Uma Long of the Kayan river, in which the skin of the forearm was covered in an area of fine stippling. [PLATE 277C] At this time, the Uma Baka Kenyah women, living in relative isolation on the Pujungan, were still using the old style of Kenyah tattoo with broad bands and stripes on the arms, and no tattooing on the legs (van Walchren 1907:782).

² Tillema (1938:177) illustrated such a young man, tattooed entirely in the Iban manner of the day, although the slightly different photograph in the recent (1989) English edition of the work, edited by King, shows shows that he has an S-shaped aso among the tattoo designs on his hand.

³ Some examples of the equipment, the fabrics and details of their weave are shown in Tillema (1938:210-214), as well as a series of photographs showing some elderly, and somewhat anxious looking, ladies manipulating the series of loom sticks.
Typically, they were decorated with polychrome two dimensional decoration. Sleeveless jackets or tabards for wearing by men of significance on ceremonial occasions were painted with designs of \textit{aso} and spiral interlace.\footnote{The Sarawak Museum, Kuching, has several particularly elaborate examples, painted with the usual range of motifs of spreadeagled human figures, \textit{aso} and hornbill heads in complex interlace fields, illustrated in Kooijman (1963, Pl.III, IV), Harrisson (1959 ed., Pl.2) and Chin (1980, Pl.8.1, 8.2).} \textbf{[PLATE 281B]}

While trade fabrics were used for the manufacture of clothes, the Kenyah, like the Bahau of the Mahakam, used new techniques to make them into distinctive garments. Skirts were made up in patchwork technique and appliqué was used to produce striking garments with designs of the human figure, face, \textit{aso} and spiral interlace. These resembled the skirts made by Bahau women on the upper Mahakam, but were fairly rapidly replaced after the turn of the century with skirts split at the side and decorated with fringing or braid. They thus changed from the Mahakam to the Sarawak style of skirt. Embroidery also became a popular means of decoration for clothing as fancy yarns and braids were imported. \textbf{[PLATE 282]}

The Apo Kayan people carried out the practice of extending the earlobes and the men of wearing animal teeth through holes in their upper ears. A particular speciality of the Kenyah men was the carving of highly elaborate earrings from hornbill beaks. These retained the general beak shape, had a band of delicate openwork interlace around the edge and were carved in complex designs in relief on the main surface. \textbf{[PLATE 283A, B, C]} They were supposed to be the insignia of a successful headhunter. Like other such symbols, they were not abandoned after the suppression of headhunting, but became more generally worn among adult men. Kenyah men favoured a particular form of bead necklace composed of a single strand with a cluster of fine bead strings at the front.

The prized possession of the women was a multistranded bead girdle of heavy old beads, with each strand ending in an animal tooth. \textbf{[PLATE 61A, 282D]} The women used immense quantities of rings to stretch the lobes of their ears to great length, but the objects hung in the ears were simply metal rings of no intrinsic value in themselves. Finely crafted earrings of wood, bone, metal or hornbill beak were the province of men. Like the Kayan and Bahau women, they wore vast quantities of ivory bracelets which were imported by Chinese traders.
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on the coast. [PLATE 282] These were rapidly replaced with cheaper and more modern substitutes.

The headgear of the Kenyahs of Apo Kayan was similar to that of the Kayans and Kenyahs of Sarawak. The women favoured plaited basketry headbands, often set with beadwork panels, while the men wore little basketry hats. [PLATE 283A, C, D] To protect against the sun, they wore the large cartwheel hats, often with a patchwork rim and an elaborate beadwork centrepiece, such as was found all over central Borneo. The Kenyahs also favoured hats with additional elaborate appliqué decoration around the outside of the beadwork. [PLATE 283E]

The relationship between the material culture of the Apo Kayan area and the surrounding inland river areas around the turn of the century was complex, with borrowings apparently going in various different directions. In their artistic expression the Kenyahs claimed to acknowledge a debt to the Kayans who preceded them in the region. However they developed their own particularities of style which later spread out over the whole central Borneo region. Aristocratic intermarriages were taking place between the Apo Kayan Kenyahs and the Sarawak upriver people on one hand, and the people of the Mahakam and Mendalam on the other. Certain divergences of style which had occurred between these two regions were being re-integrated through the Apo Kayan.

The main Apo Kayan area, being an administrative centre, was rapidly influenced by trade induced change. Old fashioned styles were preserved in more isolated areas such as the upper Bahau river. Although the Apo Kayan was in the heart of Borneo geographically and was sufficiently difficult of access to convince the average European adventurer that he was penetrating the heart of a savage island, the Kenyahs rapidly accepted and transformed new materials and introduced novelties into the art and material culture of central Borneo. Trade cloths, coloured threads and braids, coloured paints and multicoloured beads were all transformed into a new central Borneo art in the Apo Kayan. The older skills of weaving, barkcloth manufacture and pottery were only practised in isolated areas. Based in a wider central Borneo stylistic tradition, the Apo Kayan region became an area of innovation.

Continuing Developments of the 20th Century

Over the course of this century the art and material culture of the whole central Borneo region has been more and more influenced by the style of the
Kenyah. Some regional or ethnic specialities tended to disappear or become attenuated. However certain types of objects or styles have been preserved as regional or ethnic markers, and certain skills have been consciously revived.

The irregular work regime of swidden agriculture allowed people to develop craft skills without becoming full time craftsmen, as they practised their skills at times when there was little agricultural work. The development of peaceable conditions and improvements to transport allowed such skilled craftsmen to travel and practise their craft outside their own region. Kenyahs from the Apo Kayan travelled down into Sarawak, for example, building and decorating funerary monuments, creating decorations for longhouse verandahs and even painting a mural on the wall of a gallery in the Sarawak Museum (Leach 1950b:135, Fraser-Lu 1982:118). A general migratory movement down the various rivers has resulted in new contacts between groups and the adoption of Apo Kayan style by the riverine people.

Funerary monuments have become less sculptural and more colourful. Today, when bodies are interred rather than left above ground in a grave house, the standard memorial along the Rejang is a small hut with elaborate and delicate roofline decoration, painted all over the walls in a riot of colours and interlocked designs. [PLATE 284A, B, 286] It represents a sort of end point of Kenyah taste, although appearing among all the ethnic groups down the river to the point above Kapit where Iban territory begins. The beautiful carved longhouse doors and panels are all in museums, as taste changed to colourful assembled constructions with long curling extensions. [PLATE 284C, 285A, B] Wall paintings also gained popularity as the main form of longhouse decoration. [PLATE 285A, C]

The elegant carved bamboo containers of the Mahakam and Mendalam, with their designs surrounded by sweeping curves of red background, are also in museums. These seem to have been replaced so rapidly by the Kenyah style of rings of free form design in black that one wonders whether Nieuwenhuis was actually collecting antiques when he brought out his trophies. [PLATE 286A, B]

The Kenyah style itself continued to evolve. A more modern style of Kenyah mask has a relatively normal human face with features depicted anatomically surrounded by the traditional long tendrils. Such masks have been used recently by Modang groups living near Kenyahs who have migrated
downriver. This represents just one more step in a continuing process of reciprocal borrowing and adaptation. Borrowing does not necessarily lead to homogeneity as new forms are continually created from old. The Mahakam bird mask type apparently spread to other regions, including Sarawak, while Kayan and Kenyah masks in Sarawak became more colourful, elaborate and ferocious in appearance. [PLATE 287]

Kenyah wall paintings became more elaborate and multicoloured. Some additional motifs appeared. Animals depicted in a naturalistic style were pasted in among the highly stylised traditional decoration. One of the popular animals is the tiger, a creature not found in Borneo although it has become incorporated into central Borneo folklore. [PLATE 286C] Various folkloric explanations for this have been postulated, but the donation in 1898 of Indian tiger skin war cloaks by the White Rajah of Sarawak to the senior chiefs of the Apo Kayan may have contributed something to the symbolism of the beast. The tigers and other naturalistic animals of Kenyah style painting look suspiciously as if they might have been copied from the paintings in Chinese temples, which appeared in the upriver regions once the area was sufficiently safe for merchants to live there. Naturalistic human figures, wearing modern clothes and carrying guns, were included in the paintings. A motif frequently found as a wall painting is that of the tree of life, a concept found very prominently in the mythology and iconography of the people of southern Borneo. The modern Kenyah version includes every motif known to the Kenyah in a huge tree-like design. Conversion to Christianity did not always require the demise of this neo-traditional style of expression, as Christian symbolism could

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1. Descriptions and photographs of the modern masks of Kayan, Kenyah and Modang groups in East Kalimantan is provided in Revel-Macdonald (1978). These include the masks with tendrils around the face, women’s basket or hood masks decorated with beadwork and an enormous pig mask carried by many people, a novelty perhaps inspired by Chinese dragon masks.

2. According to Whittier (1973:162), two of these were still preserved in Long Nawang in 1970 and could only be worn by the highest rank of aristocrat. He has also documented modifications to the symbols of social ranking among the Kenyah, in which the tiger design has joined the full human figure and the hornbill as a symbol of the highest social rank, while the a xo, which he asserts is identical to deer and lizard designs among the Kenyah, is described as 'formerly' a prerogative of the aristocracy (Whittier 1973:169-172).
be incorporated into the whole lavish ensemble.¹

Certain traditional regional or ethnic forms have been retained as markers of identity. On the Mahakam the Penihing, or Aoheng, became the guardians of the traditional Bahau style. They were still practising traditional weaving in the 1950s (Ivanoff 1955:96). This craft was on the wane, but had a revival in the 1980s (Sellato 1989b:214). Penihing women adopted the Long Glat style tattooing of the Bahau (Ivanoff 1955, Pl.55, 56, Sellato 1989b:126, 197).² The Aoheng, or Penihing, have continued to produce beadwork designs for baby carriers that are replicas of those in use on the Mahakam in the 1890s.³

The Kenyah style of beadwork has become more widespread. [PLATE 288A, B, C] Certain traditional types of Mahakam beadwork design have remained in use, particularly for items of festive clothing such as caps. The colourful patchwork style with angular spirals and small motifs in black appears to be the most durable style (eg. Sellato 1989b, fig.252, Blair 1991:114-115, Muller 1991:101), although there was a trend towards designs with rows of multicoloured zigzags. [PLATE 288D]

Despite the general consolidation of art styles and identity in central Borneo, certain specialities are preserved or revived. Carving seems to be having something of a revival on the Mahakam under the economic stimulus of tourist crafts, and carved Bahau baby carriers are made for sale, for example (Muller 1991:54). Sellato (1989b:209) illustrates a Kenyah belawing pole on the

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2. Tillema (1930-31:199) published some photographs which indicated that the Long Glat style became adopted by the Kayans of the Mendalam as well, as a marker of chiefly rank. He also photographed the hands and feet of a woman from the Mahakam who had become Muslim (p.196). He was not allowed to examine her thigh tattoos, but she had a spidery, highly modified aso motif on her calf.

3. Sellato (1989b, Pl.238) illustrates an Aoheng baby carrier with a beadwork patch in the style which looks like ripples of colour. Two other Aoheng baby carriers (Pl.239, Pl.246) have designs of black squatting figures flanking a face, identical to an example from the Uma Suling in the Nieuwenhuis collection in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (unnumbered, illustrated in Nieuwenhuis 1904, Vol.2, Pl.70b, where it is indicated as an old piece). Like the Nieuwenhuis example, the pieces illustrated in Sellato appear to have been made by the unusual technique of parallel threading. It is not apparent whether these are modern pieces made in traditional style, or carefully preserved heirlooms.
Mahakam which is dramatically carved in the round, rather than being assembled from elements, and which also incorporates the Indonesian *panca sila* symbols.¹ The Berawan people of Sarawak consider themselves to be the traditional carvers and produce many items for the tourist market (Munan 1989:85). The Sarawak Museum also contains examples of modern carving from the *ulu* in which traditional motifs such as monstrous animals or tiered figures have been reproduced in the form of finely crafted and finished items of freestanding art. Such items might be classified as ethnic art rather than ethnographica, especially as they have become distanced from their original meanings in religion and ritual, but they do represent a focus for ethnic pride.

**PLATE 289A** Certain antique forms, such as the *klirieng* poles of the middle and upper Rejang, have been disentangled from the jungle and re-erected in museums, but more importantly also in the villages of their owners.²

The imagery of warfare became purely for display and became highly standardised, particularly towards the taste of the Kenyah. *Parang ilang* with decorated blades are made for sale. (It is not entirely clear how the returning tourist gets them through customs.)

Tattooing continued to be widely practised until very recently, although now in many areas the young people have not undergone this procedure. Women continued to use a conservative repertoire of traditional designs.³ Some Punan groups adopted designs from their agricultural neighbours, although a particularly lavish ensemble of spidery interlacing designs, somewhat related to the design schemes of the Iban, appears to have been adopted by some Punan men (Chin 1980, Pl.8.17, Blair 1988:250-253). Iban style designs became popular

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¹. A photograph in Revel-Macdonald (1978, fig.78) shows a Kenyah pole on the Telen river, topped with a hornbill and two tigers carved in the round. The pole appears to be carved in relief, but the details are not visible.

². The five *klirieng* poles displayed beside the longhouse of Punan Bah on the Rejang, combined with a fractured conversation with a stranger on a river ferry about the significance of not being Iban, can take the credit for the original inspiration for this thesis.

³. Thomas (1968) investigated the designs of women on the Rejang and discovered that Kayan, Kenyah, Kajang and Ukit women could still be differentiated by their use of design, despite the introduction of new motifs and new arrangements.
The whole process of ethnic interaction and its consequences for material expression has clearly been far more complex here than in the Iban areas. It is apparent why a survey of the art of various ethnic groups without a timescale would produce an appearance of chaos, or at best a mosaic of styles. Ethnic relations in central Borneo cannot be effectively represented through the medium of bounded entities defined on some intellectualising basis of language or cultural practice. Rather they constitute a series of interactions in which events occurring at the boundaries are more revealing than attempts to define the entities. These processes are reflected in the art. Consequently interpretation is complex.

On the Mahakam, peoples whose origins were diverse had formed an aggregation under the general leadership of the Long Glat, an immigrant group. Minority groups who retained their own houses and languages within mixed communities evidently did not greatly differentiate themselves, or at least not in a way that was apparent to outsiders. The Mahakam was going through a period of consolidation, no doubt emphasised by the Iban incursions of the 1880s. The immigrant Kayans had taken up much of the local style while introducing some innovations of their own. The Kayans in Sarawak had much greater interaction with the Kenyahs of Apo Kayan, and their mutual influence can be seen. In areas like the middle Rejang and middle Baram an overwhelmingly Kayan/Kenyah material culture and art style is occasionally penetrated by expressions of individuality by the former inhabitants, who have become incorporated into a wider central Borneo ethnicity while still retaining named individual identities.

Later events and migrations have created a series of local interactions, as groups with a significant group identity, such as the Kayans or the Apo Kayan Kenyah, have dispersed and interacted with various others. In the course of all this, some forms of material culture became more standardised and homogeneous. Others retained individuality as markers of small scale identity. Some forms have proved remarkably stable. Others have been shown to be labile in the face of changing conditions.

Styles have succeeded one another in the course of realignments of

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1. Sellato (1989:196) illustrates a photograph from the 1950s of young Aoheng men tattooing each other in the Iban style. It is notable that the men are doing the tattooing, as was the practice of Iban men. The men have, in fact, learned a new skill as well as displaying novel designs.
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ethnic identity, but one example has been found where an object itself has been transformed. A carved longhouse door, now in the Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam was collected on an expedition to the upper Bahau river in the 1950s from the Lepo Ke Kenyah.¹ [PLATE 289B] This group had absorbed, and retained some customs of, the Nyibun. The door frame has been recarved. It originally had two water buffalo heads facing in opposite directions at the ends of the door. One head has been transformed into a face motif, the other has been completely recarved as an aso, while an aso also appears on the door itself. The type motif of central Borneo is the final stamp of identity as a central Borneo group.

Despite interactions and variations, the art of central Borneo has remained a coherent system of design. Motifs and styles transfer from one medium to another, and the social messages they convey are the same wherever they are used. Innovations such as commercial paint or pegged decoration have been incorporated into this system, as have new motifs such as tigers. In this it is very different from the art and material culture of the Iban, where different objects, motifs or craft skills are presented in differing styles. There is no unique type object like the kenyalang figure in central Borneo art. Whenever a motif such as a hornbill appears, the same conventions of representation are used. This gives central Borneo art an air of conservatism, although there have been stylistic changes over the last 100 years. It is the way in which borrowings are incorporated which gives it an appearance of stability, in contrast to the disjunct borrowings of the Iban. This more homogeneous appearance for the art in general covers a greater degree of diversity of identity, or named identity groups, among the people.

As is apparent, the whole corpus of art or material culture expression of a group does not necessarily change at the same rate or respond in the same way to inter-group interactions. Certain parts of the whole reflect developing relationships, others are used to emphasize traditional concepts of identity. It is necessary now to disentangle from the history of changing material culture usage of the Iban and central Borneo groups, something of the social function of different classes of objects.

¹ A photograph of the door in situ is found in Pfeffer (1963). The author was a member of the expedition which collected it. The expedition is also described in Piazzini (1959).
CHAPTER 8: ART FORMS AS ETHNIC MARKERS

The classes of objects which make up the total suite of material culture of a society can be categorized according to their social role. Their use for affirmation of ethnic identity is only one aspect of this social role, and one which does not stand in isolation. The practical function of an object or the symbolism of its use in ritual or social activities may be even more important in the general definition of its form. The significance of the contribution of identity relationships varies with the nature of the object.

Neither the function nor the iconography of an artistic product absolutely prescribes its form or design. A highly complex code of symbolism in Borneo art allows for symbolic readings of a diversity of designs whose form may vary under the influence of other factors. Ethnically distinctive forms may have similar meanings, and may also show variations related to social factors within their society. Metaphorical abstractions of meaning can make the relationship between form and symbolic function diffuse. Simply attempting to read design and style for identity relationships is extracting one thread from many which contribute to the total composition, but it is a legitimate exercise provided that one does not fall into the trap of regarding these as the only source of design variation.

Objects may be conspicuously displayed to advertise the identity of a group, with or without indicating the unique identity of some individual within that group. They may be displayed in public for all to see, or only to a selected group to whom the identity markers are significant. They may be primarily designed to indicate some aspect of identity to members of other groups or to other members of the same group. Alternatively, they may simply act to reinforce concepts of identity to the owner of the object.

Funerary Monuments: permanent markers of individual and group identity

Large structures erected through community enterprise in public places would seem intuitively to be prime candidates for bearers of identity information. Funerary monuments are large public structures which can embody a complex code of signals. Social structure, migratory patterns, ethnic interactions and historical imbalances in power relations have all contributed to patterns in the use of distinctive structures to contain the remains of a society's dead. Such structures also reflect the place of the commemorated, their surviving family or their descendants within their own society.
Art Forms as Ethnic Markers

Some societies in Borneo did not erect large commemorative structures for the dead. These are the egalitarian societies, without hereditary aristocracies whose position needs visible reinforcement at every generation. In ethnic terms these comprise, on the one hand, the agricultural groups of southwestern Borneo belonging to the Ibanic, Bidayuh and Kendayan conglomerates. On the other they comprise the numerous nomadic groups, Punan and others, who pretended no direct competition for territory with the agriculturists but wandered in and out of the periphery of their territory.¹

At the other end of the spectrum, the highly stratified societies of central Borneo produced very large and elaborate monuments for the remains of their aristocratic community leaders. Because of the migratory movements in process in central Borneo, these people were potentially always in a position of territorial dispute with their neighbours. Funerary monuments were not only huge and conspicuous, but were erected near the river at some distance from the village. There were reasons related to mortuary beliefs for this, but they also served as highly conspicuous territorial markers.

Among the central Borneo people there were two different modes of disposal of the dead. The Kayans of Sarawak and Kalimantan, and the Kenyahs of the Apo Kayan, as well as the more recent immigrant Kenyah to the Baram and Rejang, all practised simple primary disposal of the dead, in which the encoffined corpse was placed in a decorated structure above ground. The structure, or salong, of an aristocratic family bore certain symbols of rank among its design elements. [PLATE 206, 207, 266] Its very existence testified to the capacity of a family of rank to command the labour and resources to erect such

¹ Among the Iban, the sub-group which produced their own distinctive form of funerary commemoration made it in longlasting but small form. The sungkup monuments of the Saribas people were meant to be seen only by members of their own ethnic group on the rare occasions when they ventured into their cemetery, either to dispose of their own dead or to participate in the periodic community commemoration known as gawai antu. [PLATE 73A, 145] The monuments represent the reinforcement of social position within society and their unique design carries no suggestions of Iban solidarity. The Saribas Iban were a group which had developed a greater sense of the significance of family standing than other branches of the Iban (Freeman 1981:5-6).

Bidayuh or Kendayan groups in West Kalimantan erected carved effigies of dead men of personal renown in forest clearings (Doty and Pohlman 1840:290-291, Francis 1842:10, von Kessel 1849:191). [PLATE 81] These collections of figures were ethnically distinctive, but were hidden and not displayed in a conspicuous way to passing strangers. They commemorated achieved rather than ascribed status.
a monument in a short period of time. 1 Among the indigenous groups of the rivers on both sides of the central watershed, secondary disposal procedures were the tradition. The corpses of the dead, especially the high ranking, were left encoffined in a temporary abode until such time as the bones were collected and redeposited at a secondary burial feast. On the Rejang and Baram, groups which continued to practise secondary disposal also built large monuments for the final resting place of the remains, either in the form of klirieng or lijeng poles, or solid ironwood mausoleums. These were very durable structures, representing some of the values of long term competition between families which pervades secondary mortuary ceremonial.2 They were also ethnic markers. [PLATE 50A, 208, 209B]

The form of the monument did not bear a close relationship to the mode of disposal of the dead. The salong of the Kayan and Kenyah closely resembled in general structure the sandong of the Ngaju, even though the latter was used for the secondary deposition of bones, cremated or simply transferred from another site. [PLATE 20-23, 33, 37] The klirieng poles of the mid-river groups in Sarawak could accommodate jars of secondarily deposited bones, or a corpse bound into squatting position. When these people adopted the salong of the incomers, they used it for secondarily deposited bones. [PLATE 211] Imported stoneware jars were used for secondarily deposited bones, or could accommodate a tightly flexed corpse if the jars were cut around the widest point and later resealed. The nature of the death rite did not impose design constraints on the monument except at the most elementary logistic level.

Broadly defined types of funerary structure can be seen as roughly corresponding to broadly defined ethnic groupings, and for each of these ethnic groupings there is a form of mortuary structure which would be regarded as typical. However changes of style which have occurred over the last 150 years and the variety of styles which appear in areas of ethnic boundaries and territorial tension indicate that these monuments reflect changes of affiliation and identity as they occur.

1. Tchupeiorij (1906:171-173) described the hasty rallying of people from all the local villages to build the grave and attend to the funeral on the occasion of the sudden death of the senior Kenyah chief of the Apo Kayan. Elshout (1926:1-94) described the proceedings in this area at length.

2. I have dealt with these aspects of mortuary ceremonial in the societies of island Southeast Asia in my Master's degree thesis (Tillotson 1989).
Art Forms as Ethnic Markers

The Rejang and Baram regions of Sarawak provide an example of the effect of ethnic interactions on funerary style. The mid-river people formerly shared the practice of secondary deposition of the bones of the dead in a pole structure with the coastal Melanau, who referred to the pole as *jerunai* (Buck 1930-37:165-166, Jamuh 1950a, Brodie 1954-55). These practices are long abandoned by the Melanau and very few of their old mortuary poles survive.¹ Those for the most important aristocrats were supposed to be carved, but it seems there was some diversity of styles.²

The *klirieng* of the Rejang and Bintulu regions and the *lijeng* of the Baram and Tinjar had a distinct and recognizable style of carving in deep relief, utilizing some of the motifs of the central Borneo art style: the squatting anthropomorph, the ferocious face, the heart shaped face and intricate spiral interlace. However, the motif which originally had particular associations with the Kayan in Sarawak, the *aso*, does not appear.³ There were some differences in construction between the pole graves of the Rejang and those of the Baram regions.⁴ During the period when the Kajang of the Rejang and Lepu Pu'un Kenyah of the Baram adopted the *salong* of the immigrants, there were various intermediate forms developed and stylistic changes. On the Tinjar, there is a sequence of changing forms as the Berawan people moved down the river (Metcalf 1977). On the Rejang, the Kajang people have remained in the same region, and their old monuments have been extracted from the jungle, re-erected and preserved as a symbol of their particular place in the ethnic

1. The use of the poles, and secondary burial itself, was apparently a thing of the past among the coastal people even in early colonial times. The earliest description of its use (Crocker S.G. July 17 1876:7) indicates that the body of the grandfather of the author's informant was deposited in such a mausoleum, with attendant sacrifice of a slave.

2. The three examples illustrated by Jamuh (1950a) include one with a pineapple on top, a motif specifically mentioned by Brodie (1954-55:561), one carved with a human head and one simple one carved with four pronged notches on top to hold the mortuary jar. This last design is also described by Newington (1961:104) for two *jerunai* of *bilian* wood which were still surviving on the Tilian river early this century. An example which survived at the village of Dalat is covered with fine carved interlace designs.

3. It is easier to document presence than absence. However, on surviving examples that I have seen, on published photographs (eg. Kükenthal 1896, Metcalf 1977, Nicolaisen 1977-78, 1984, Chin and Ingai 1988) and on the series of record photographs held in the Sarawak Museum, there are no *aso* discernible.

4. These were documented in the previous chapter.
dynamics of the region (Nicolaisen 1984, Chin and Ingai 1988).  

The poles symbolize an identity, but in a long term chronology they also symbolize an event. An older coastal tradition met, hybridized with, but also briefly remained differentiated from the artistic traditions of the invaders from the far interior. As an aristocratic art form, the blending of styles reflects the inter-relationships between people at that level of society, while the individualities of style reflect a degree of maintenance of identity for these minority groups. Certain isolated examples of pole graves serve as material reminders of ethnic entities which have been submerged by others.

The mortuary poles reflect in a real sense the changes in ethnic relations of the region. Changes of affiliation and contact, retention of identity in a new ethnic environment and the isolation of some groups from their former contacts are all reflected in the pattern of distribution and varying style of the monuments. Also reflected are processes of innovation in the boundary areas where peoples of different history, cultural practice and former affiliation were placed into proximity.

The salong of the Kayan and Kenyah groups were large and conspicuous

1. The most illustrated funerary monument in Sarawak is a hybrid of klirien and salong, appropriate to its association with intermarriage between Kajaman and Kayan aristocracy. It has two heavily carved poles in Kajang style, with a salong chamber on the top, adorned with aso designs. [PLATE 49A, 52A, 239A, 290A] There is some confusion in the literature about this tomb. Brooke Low (S.G. Aug.1 1882:64) described a Kajaman double klirien, "the best in all Baloi", topped with a heavy stone slab. It was the tomb of the grandfather of the Kajaman chief Tuloi. Leach (1950b) seems to have equated this description with that of the structure now in the grounds of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, although he saw it when it was still in situ and the top was shrouded in jungle creepers and ferns. He was informed that it was the tomb of Tuloi himself, that it pre-dated the building of Belaga fort, and that it had taken a thousand men to erect it and raise the stone slab. It has no stone slab, and Tuloi was still very much alive when Brooke Low visited the upper Rejang in 1882, preliminary to the building of the Belaga fort the following year. Further information would be needed to disentangle the relationship between the nature of the structure and its folklore, but the possibilities are that people, events and specific structures have been confused, or that an older Kajaman monument was re-used and Kayanized in the process.

2. Metcalf (1976:99) documents some abandoned pole graves, similar in style to those of the Berawan, in the Apoh tributary of the Tutoh river. These are attributable to the Treng, a formerly powerful group now dispersed and absorbed, non-existent as an entity. On the Bahau river in East Kalimantan, the Nyibun erected pole graves for secondary disposal of the remains of the dead in jars. When visited by Jongejans (1922), the poles were simple and undecorated, topped by slabs of stone. They were also photographed by Schneeberger (1979) in the 1930s. When a French expedition visited the area in the 1950s, the users of the pole graves called themselves Lepu Ke Kenyah, and the poles, while still in use, were decorated with carved and pegged Kenyah style decoration (Piazzini 1959, Pfeffer 1963).
structures, erected for an individual or a single family unit. They were not cherished for generations and much of the distinctive decoration was of an ephemeral nature: painting, openwork carving and items of grave goods such as hats, textiles or war cloaks. Differences in design, as documented in the previous chapter, did not neatly separate named ethnic groups, but reflected stylistic changes and interactions in different regions. Within the whole ulu region, ethnic differences could be reflected in stylistic differences, but similar ethnic origins were not necessarily reflected in a rigid, unchanging tradition.

The use of stone monuments for the dead was largely confined to a particular ethnolinguistic group, the Murut-Kelabit people, living in the plateau region at the head of the Baram in Sarawak, the Kerayan valley in Kalimantan and in some areas across the border in Sabah. These were also the only interior people who practised wet rice agriculture involving the permanent ownership of land, and it seems to be no coincidence that a permanent form of memorialisation accompanies a permanent use of land. The building of monuments to the dead at large communal secondary death feasts was also associated with building drains and diverting waterways for agriculture. Other forms of funerary commemoration involved cutting down huge trees on conspicuous hilltops to create a highly visible change to the skyline.

The area where stone monuments were constructed steadily shrank. None are built today by the Protestant Christianized Kelabit. Territorial rights are validated by legal process, while both religious change and public health measures have placed proscriptions on secondary mortuary rites. Social prestige has a very different set of signifiers.

Among the riverine groups also, territorial threats now come from more

1. These monuments were described by Banks (1930-37a), and in a whole series of articles by Harrisson (1958a, b, 1959b, 1973a, b, 1974). The monuments of the remote interior of northeastern Kalimantan were investigated in the 1930s by Schneeberger, who described and photographed them extensively (Schneeberger 1979). According to Schneeberger (1979:37), the Kolor of the upper Sedalir valley in Sabah was the only Murut-Tagal group of the border areas which used stone dolmens for the secondarily redeposited remains of their dead.

2. The significance of place in relation to these stone mortuary structures is evidenced by information given to Schneeberger (1979:38) in the 1930s that the Berau and Merau-Kalun, remnants of the dispersed Murik group driven to living a semi-nomadic existence in remote areas of northern East Kalimantan, were still carrying the bones of their dead to their old ossuaries in their former home territories.

3. The changing extent of stone monument construction was documented in Chapter 5.
complex sources which cannot be repelled by a conspicuous monument on the river bank. The dead are buried in the ground or placed in concrete lined subterranean chambers. The colourfully painted grave huts with elaborate cut and pegged decoration along the roofline are still conspicuous from the river and indicate that you are in Orang Ulu, or central Borneo, territory. [PLATE 284A, B, 286C] While this may indicate a certain solidarity among the people in a much more complex era politically, the older monuments are still retained as markers of their smaller scale identity.

The pattern of stylistic efflorescence at significant ethnic borders can also be seen in southeastern Kalimantan. The sandong of both the Ngaju and Ot Danum groups had a basically similar appearance, of a house with sweeping roofline, like that of a Kayan salong, over a large range of territory from the eastern Kapuas to the Sampit. A different form of sandong, like a roofed coffin on two tall posts, seems to have been more common in inland locations in the eastern part of the region, but the two forms of sandong could co-exist in the one cemetery. [PLATE 21A]

The greatest diversity of design occurred in areas at the edges of the region, where the people were in more immediate contact with those of other ethnolinguistic affiliations. In the west, the Ot Danum of the Melawi river developed certain distinctive features of style. [PLATE 34A, B] In the east, the Benuaq and Tunjung of the Mahakam [PLATE 36], the Luangan of the Barito tributaries PLATE 35A and the Ma'anyan [PLATE 35B] all had their distinctive forms of ossuary. These groups were defending their identity under pressure from both Islamic and other Dayak groups.

While there are highly distinctive, even iconic, forms produced by particular groups, a variety of forms may also be produced by a single group. Some cemeteries in the southern regions contained several distinct types of mortuary structure. At the other end of the island, the Dusun people of Sabah used a range of means of marking graves, from a simple upright stone or wooden markers to fancy painted grave huts (Rutter 1985:214-218, Evans

1. Miles (1976:77-80), in a discussion of mortuary ritual among the Ngaju of the upper Mentaya, or Sampit, describes units of society called utus which each have their own dialect, variation on mortuary ritual and mortuary structure. The three utus in the upper Mentaya were the Kahayan, the Katingan and the Dohoi. The names suggest a derivation from regionally defined ethnic entities, but this was no longer the basis for membership of particular groups, which was essentially a matter of free choice. This suggests that blurring of ethnic boundaries within a social group can be reflected in greater choice and diversity of commemoration within the group.
Art Forms as Ethnic Markers

1922:127-129, 1923:14-15, 32-33, 1953:126-133, Staal 1925:936-937). The Maloh people, scattered in pockets among a diversity of ethnic groups, built grave houses which were distinctive at one level because of their arrangement. They were communal houses for the coffins and grave goods of members of a village or group within a village, with a ledge at a higher level for the coffins of the aristocracy. However they could be quite diverse in decorative detail.¹ [PLATE 290B, C, D]

While funerary monuments embody information about individuals and their place in society, they also contain a great deal of coding about group identity. However this does not exist in the form of a one to one relationship between particular forms and named ethnic groups. Rather the distribution and variety of structure types embodies a complex history of intergroup relationships.

Community Monuments: conspicuous group identifiers

Certain types of public structure erected in the course of community ceremonial more simply reflected the community as a whole. As some of these structures were erected in the course of headhunting ceremonial, they were concerned not only with the community but also its relationships with others.

Information about such structures is not as easy to come by as some other aspects of material culture. They were generally too large to be transported to museums. They were often ephemeral, erected for a particular occasion and then allowed to disintegrate. The occasions for which they were used were sometimes ones that the colonial administrators did not approve of, therefore were not invited to. Nonetheless it is clear from the information available that such structures had a significant role to play in the ratification of group identity and its relationship to place.

The carved hornbill figures placed on tall posts by the Iban at their gawai kenyalang ceremonies are arguably an icon of the Iban. Although hornbills were carved by other groups, the Iban kenyalang is instantly recognisable in its

¹. Some had carved crossed roof gables like an Iban sungkup or an Indonesian house; some followed the scheme of a Kayan salong with a curved roofline and openwork carved roof ridge; some had their own extravagant version of the openwork roof decoration in the form of a lavish dragon (Molengraaff 1900, PLXXI, Tillema 1930-31:207, Helbig 1982, Vol.1:304, Vol.2, PLXXVI, XXVIII); some had roof decorations like a Malay house (Sellato 1989b:239). A model of a Maloh grave house in the Sarawak museum has Malay style roof finials but is painted and set with openwork carving with all the standard central Borneo motifs (Harrisson 1966a, Pl.VI).
various forms.\textsuperscript{1} [PLATE 74, 147, 148] The ceremony at which they were used is a headhunting feast, and it is intriguing that the hornbill effigy itself became far more elaborate after the suppression of actual headhunting. The assertion of community strength was then made through the construction of the effigy and the conduct of the ceremony, not the associated act of war.

The ceremonial poles and ritual structures erected by Kenyah communities varied between the Apo Kayan region and the Baram.\textsuperscript{2} [PLATE 215, 265] They also varied between communities. None of these structures identifies the Kenyah group as a whole or represents a necessary condition of being a Kenyah. However all act as differentiating markers of particular groups of Kenyah in relation to their neighbours. The poles are not simple signboards of identity, but represent a commonality of belief and purpose embodied in the rituals for which they are used.

In southeastern Kalimantan memorial poles connected with headhunting and with the sacrifice of animals at community ritual were integrated with secondary funerary ceremonial. [PLATE 20-26] They therefore have become entwined with the identity of commemorated individuals as well as with community solidarity and are usually placed near the graves of individuals or families. Small but solidly built offering houses placed near the entrance to villages, and surrounded by simple flat human effigies, were designed to appease the spirits but were strategically placed to alert the stranger that this was a village of a particular type. [PLATE 291A]

The carved human effigies with monstrous faces and enlarged genitals that were placed by many groups in strategic locations near their villages had the frightening of evil spirits as their stated function. Their locations on pathways to villages meant that they could also alert approaching strangers to the proximity of a settlement. There is a diversity of identifiable types, but there

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Among Ngaju and Ot Danum groups the hornbill effigy was also associated with headhunting. It was, for example, placed on top of some pantar poles. [PLATE 22(2, 3), 25B] The Kenyah of Apo Kayan also placed hornbill figures on top of their keramen poles. [PLATE 265A, 315B] Hornbills were, in general, a significant motif in central Borneo art. Harrisson (1958b, Pl.XVIII(a)) has illustrated a simple carved hornbill on top of a post for tethering sacrificial buffalo at the irau, or secondary death feast, of the Kelabit.
\item[2.] These were described in the previous chapter.
\end{itemize}
has been no detailed study undertaken of Borneo figure sculpture.\(^1\) [PLATE 291B-F] As a marker for a community and a signifier of place, they would be worthy of detailed study.

**Buildings: functionality and symbolism as community markers**

The actual buildings in which people live provide information about identity, both through the practicalities of design and construction and through forms of decoration. The traditional home of the Dayaks, the longhouse, has steadily disappeared from many regions of Borneo but survives in others. Although basically similar in overall plan, there were notable differences in the design and construction of the traditional longhouses of various ethnic groups.\(^2\)

In terms of design, the varying forms of organization of private space, communal space, cooking and working areas is more than simply the arrangement of the material world. It reflects a spatial patterning of daily activities, of sociality, of regimes of work and recreation. The layout of a longhouse may not be consciously designed to be ethnically distinctive, but it unconsciously reflects strongly ingrained patterns of living in particular communities.

The longhouses of the Kelabit, for example, were the only truly communal longhouses of Borneo, in which private space was defined, but not fully separated from communal space. The commonality of effort required to

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1. The bent legged, concave faced figures of the *ulu* [PLATE 55B, D, 213, 214], the roughly made but dynamic figures of the Apo Kayan [PLATE 55A, C, 268], the articulated and clothed effigies of the Landak region [PLATE 81C], the minimalist clothed figures, formerly topped with a human skull, of the Maloh and the diversity of *hampatong* figures from southeastern Kalimantan [PLATE 27-32] have all been mentioned in previous chapters. Art type publications and museum collections also contain some types which have been very little investigated. Publications frequently give very broad generic attributions, such as "Ngaju" for anything from Kalimantan Tengah or Kalimantan Selatan, so that even establishing attributions would require considerable research. Some material now passing through the hands of dealers has poor provenance.

2. There are descriptions by many visitors to all the major regions in Borneo of the design, construction and materials of longhouses. Some groups, such as the Dusun of Sabah, the Ngaju and related peoples of southeastern Kalimantan and the Melanau of Sarawak fairly rapidly abandoned this mode of living. Features that were noted to vary from group to group included basic layout, size, elevation above the ground, sleeping arrangements for various categories of people within the community, the location and organization of areas for specific tasks such as rice pounding or blacksmithing, the arrangements of hearths or kitchen areas and the arrangements for storage of rice or household goods.
prepare the wet rice fields of the Kelabit was also unique among Borneo groups. The Kelabit were competitive and prestige seeking within their society. The openness of their living plan was not an insignia of equality in society, but it may have been an insignia of the co-operative nature of their endeavour.¹

The villages of the Iban consisted of a single longhouse, sometimes of enormous length [PLATE 14A], while those of the Bidayuh had a number of smaller houses in haphazard arrangements, joined by rickety catwalks, with the pangah or headhouse as a distinguishing feature of the village. [PLATE 90] It is possible to attempt rationalizing explanations for these arrangements, but they do not bear close scrutiny. Iban communities migrating into new areas had allied themselves with a longhouse leader. The single house might be thought to signify the solidarity of the community and its leadership in an alien environment. However, large single house communities were also the norm among more sedentary Dayak groups in the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan. The Bidayuh in Sarawak had been driven to building their villages in difficult mountain terrain. Their peculiar style of building has been seen as an adjustment to the topography, but the same arrangements were employed in Bidayuh villages in West Kalimantan where they were not in such precipitous terrain.² The pangah was a feature, but none of its functions was deemed absolutely essential for community life (Geddes 1954:20-22).³ The different styles of building represented subtle and probably unconscious differences in the pattern of living. These styles were only altered by large changes to social circumstances.

1. The most general description of Kelabit life and living is in Harrisson's (1959a) World Within. An indigenous perception of traditional Kelabit life is found in Yahya Talla (1979). Schneeberger (1979:25-26, 31-32) indicates that in interior northern East Kalimantan, house designs clearly distinguish the Murut-Tagal ethnic groups from those of the Murut-Kelabit. The organization of agricultural production among central Borneo groups, including in this case the Kelabit, is summarized in Rousseau (1990:125-162).

2. Enthoven (1901), Molengraaff (1900) and Helbig (1982) have all given detailed descriptions of the various longhouse designs of different ethnic groups in West Kalimantan. All the colonial writers were fascinated by longhouse designs in Sarawak, although the most detailed exposition of the social functioning of the Iban longhouse has been given by Freeman (1970).

3. The Sarawak government made a positive contribution to the retention of the headhouse in Bidayuh villages, as they were used as a lodging house for visiting government officers, away from the noise and perceived unsanitary conditions of the longhouses. There are various reports from the First Division in the Sarawak Gazette in which Bidayuh village headmen were cajoled and bullied into keeping their headhouses in order.
Art Forms as Ethnic Markers

The central Borneo people built substantial longhouses using huge hardwood timbers. When they periodically shifted the location of their house, the major timbers were salvaged and transported to the new location (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:201). This continuity of structural elements mirrored the stability and continuity in the community. Unlike the Iban, members of the community were more firmly under the control of the chiefly aristocrats, and could not easily split off to form a new community (Rousseau 1990:191-192). In keeping with their stratified society, the apartment of the chief was larger and even had a higher roofline than the others, while the apartments of slaves were very small and located at the ends of the house. The variable height of the roofline of a central Borneo longhouse was a very recognizable feature, visible from a distance, and a visual metaphor for the stratification of society, as was the concentration of architectural decoration around the apartments of the chief. [PLATE 292]

There were differences in construction of central Borneo longhouses. In Sarawak the Kayans and Kenyahs employed a cantilever principle which meant that massive crossbeams holding up the verandah roof did not need supporting posts. The verandah was an unimpeded open space. [PLATE 293A, B] In the Apo Kayan area this technique was not employed and the verandah was supported by massive posts.¹ [PLATE 293C, D] Villages in central Borneo were often composed of several longhouses. In villages where the inhabitants claimed membership of several ethnic groups, it was usual for each group to have its own longhouse and its own longhouse head. Whatever intermarriages and interactions occurred between the groups, the separate identity of each was symbolized by the separateness of their dwellings. In the mixed Bahau villages of the Mahakam which were dominated by the Long Glat, the verandah of the Long Glat headman's apartment was enlarged into an enormous meeting hall which could accommodate the village. These meeting halls have survived on the Mahakam in villages which have now abandoned longhouse living, becoming themselves a symbol for the community (Sellato 1989b:105, Blair 1991:87-89).

¹. Pollard and Banks (1930-37:403-404) described the diverse structural particularities of the longhouses of various groups in the Apo Kayan and in Sarawak, indicating how, at that time, various copyings between ethnic groups resulted in a continuing process of borrowing and diversification. At that time, on the Baram most houses "are built on a double cantilever principle, the house standing up by the grace of God and the Rajah, opposed to the Dutch Batang Kayan style, where having no Rajah, they put in a couple of extra posts."
In the central Borneo area people did not constantly live in their longhouses, but abandoned them for weeks or months to live in huts close to their rice fields. However all their important community celebrations and rituals were conducted in the longhouse. Its solidity and permanence made it a symbol of community presence even when it was unoccupied.

The design of dwellings can be seen as a reflection of the social environment and lifeways of their owners. Different modes of construction also require different types of expertise which are passed down within a community. However, the structure of a dwelling can make an active statement about identity. In general, Malays often preferred to build their houses over water, sinking the support poles into the river bed. Dayaks always built on land, although generally close to a waterway. Müller (1857:191), in a journey up the Barito in the 1830s, noted that the Bakompai, Dayaks who had converted to Islam, built their houses over water in the manner of the Malays. The longhouse was one of the first symbols of paganism, along with pigs and loincloths, to be abandoned when Dayaks embraced Islam.

**Warfare: projections of male identity**

As discussed in earlier chapters, there were regional variations on the accoutrements of war, encompassing the weapons used, the clothing worn and the design of shields carried. In early colonial times, these variants did roughly define large ethnolinguistic conglomerates. However, in most cases warfare in Borneo was not conducted as large scale aggression between major ethnic conglomerates. In fact, the ritual requirements for headhunting raids on such occasions as the deaths of chiefs meant that mutual enemies were often groups which were ethnically and historically closely connected, and who understood the formalities of processes of mutual revenge.¹

¹ The Segai were traditional headhunting enemies of the Modang, despite these two groups claiming relatively recent common descent. The Kenyahs of the Apo Kayan had a tradition of warfare among themselves. Murut groups on the Trusan and Limbang continued to feud amongst themselves for many years after the Sarawak government took control of the area. The Libun, or Nyibun, of the Bahau took the trouble in the 1890s to travel over the watershed to attack their traditional enemies, the Murik, who had fled to the Baram, rather than challenge the Kenyah who had invaded their territory. The Trengs and the Metings of the Baram region had maintained traditional enmity until the Kayan invasion of the region in the early 19th century set up a chain of events which effectively obliterated both groups. The ethnically related Ulu Ai Iban of the upper Batang Lupar and the Kantu’ of the Kapuas had a history of mutual reprisals in the heart of Iban territory before the expansionary movements of the Iban into the territory of other groups. It was
There were some distinct ethnic boundaries which were set up as a consequence of expansion and invasion of territory. The Iban set up new patterns of enmity between themselves and others in the territories they invaded. Headhunting by the Iban among other ethnic groups was carried out with a reckless disregard for any former patterns of propriety. In earlier days the Kayans had invaded the Baram and Limbang districts with similar shows of force. The events surrounding the movements of the Kenyah into the Apo Kayan region are confused in folk memory, but the ease with which rumours that thousands of warriors from the Apo Kayan were on the move spread around Sarawak in the late 19th century suggests that here also there had been significant boundaries set up by territorial warfare.

War costume and equipment did not have a major function in distinguishing friend and foe. It is notable that in some cases where warfare did occur across ethnic boundaries, such as between the Ulu Ai Iban and the Bahau of the Mahakam in the late 19th century, or earlier between the Bahau and the Ot Danum groups of the upper Barito, certain aspects of the central Borneo war kit were adopted by the enemies.

War kit did have a function in the projection of masculine identity, and it is notable that male festive attire included the accoutrements of war. As colonial governments suppressed intergroup warfare, headhunting raids and rebellion against colonial authority, the pattern of this male projection across the island as a whole changed. Among some groups, such as the Ngaju and related peoples of the south, the Bidayuh and Malayic Dayaks of the west and the Dusun of the north, war kit ceased to be used for this function. Their unique designs of shields, weapons and war jackets became museum items. [PLATE 294A-D] The central Borneo people, including the Kelabit, and the Iban adopted a relatively unified form of masculine presentation based on the central Borneo war kit, and most particularly on the style of the Kenyah of the early part of this century. Skin war capes hung with hornbill feathers, hats adorned with beadwork and tufts of hair, shields painted with ever increasingly elaborate interlaced designs and a magnificent *parang ilang* became essential dress for the performance of dances for martial display. Male solidarity among the interior

...Continued...

rapidly discovered that if one included intruding groups such as the migratory Iban in these encounters, the old rules were rapidly disregarded, with far more bloody consequences than had been anticipated.
groups is enhanced by this form of surrogate headhunting which requires no enemies.

The designs on shields became increasingly elaborate, while the shields themselves became lighter and smaller. They are still made as souvenir items, and as pure insignia of identity. Some modern central Borneo shields are carved. [PLATE 294E] This utilises traditional skills and traditional motifs, but the product is novel, acting as an ethnic identifier by association rather than by precise reproduction of traditional form.

The parang ilang became a form of universal currency among the groups which continued to use the accoutrements of war as part of their presentation. It is a form unique to Borneo and therefore highly appropriate to symbolise truly indigenous Borneo people. It was also possibly the most prodigiously collected item by outsiders wanting souvenirs of Borneo and museum drawers tend to be crammed with numerous unprovenanced specimens. Such foreign collectors may have contributed to its adoption as a symbol of identity by their active seeking out of specimens with particular valued characteristics.

The parang ilang became the most extravagantly decorated and artfully crafted weapon in Borneo, and its acceptance across ethnic boundaries must relate more to its increasing currency as a universally accepted prestige item than simply to its function in warfare. In old collections there are spears with engraved or damascened blades, and even blowpipes with forms of decoration that suggest they were items of prestige, but such items became plain and functional.

A parang ilang in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden (5395/16) symbolises its iconic quality for central Borneo people. [PLATE 295] It was presented to Tom Harrisson by some Kenyah as a highly important gift. The object as it now exists is a construction of old and new elements, with a valuable antique blade, handle and parts of the sheath, but modern adornments of carved bone plates on the sheath and new applied ornament and bindings. The bone plates are in a neo-traditionalist style, with figures of animals and a hunter with a blowpipe. The object has become a historic concretion of Kenyah craftsmanship which, in the eyes of the givers, must have enhanced rather than reduced its value.

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1. Muller (1991:43) has published some recent photographs of Kenyah from East Kalimantan in traditional dress. They carry tiny shields painted in a riot of multicoloured designs: portable samples of modern Kenyah wall art rather than memorabilia of the days of warfare.
Art Forms as Ethnic Markers

The parang ilang became the most potent symbol of non-Islamic Bornean masculinity, in the same way as the kris was in earlier days the symbol of Islamic masculinity. A parang ilang was a sufficiently valued item to be used as a gift for a sultan.

Although the distribution of particular forms of the war kit changed after its practical function had been removed, the symbolic function was, in essence, unchanged. As the form and design of war kit had not been primarily to distinguish the combatants in an affray, its role as a signifier of certain masculine values which transcend ethnic boundaries continued. The adoption by the members of certain groups of the war kit of others implies no weakening of their ethnic identity or its absorption into the identity of others.

Masks: community identifiers for periodic occasions

Some objects of community use were exposed only temporarily in a context of community ritual or festivity. These were used on public occasions, but ones which involved invited participants. They could be used on occasions which heightened community solidarity, such as harvest feasts, funerals, headhunting feasts or celebrations of personal prestige in which the interdependence of the community was emphasized. Such objects have as their function disguise of the individuality of the person, to be replaced by a set of symbols which may make reference to the group, a sub-set of the group or the social standing or office of the individual. The objects were used for periodic events, and were sometimes made specifically for the occasion. In recent years, with religious change and tourism, such occasions have changed character and may be enacted primarily for outsiders rather than the community itself.

Masks are an example of this type of object. Masks disguise the identity of the individual, and may even allow changes of social role for individuals, as in women dressing and performing as men in agricultural festivals (Nieuwenhuis 1900, Vol.2:37). Such identity information as they convey must relate to the

1. The kris itself could have a form which was unique to the Brunei Malays, the keris sulok or sundang. This was an elongated version of the kris more like a sword than a dagger, with a straight or wavy blade sharpened along both sides (Banks 1940).

2. Tromp (1888, Pl.III) and Bock (1985, Pl. 18) both illustrated highly crafted parang ilang belonging to the Sultan of Kutai, while Juynboll (1909, Vol.2, Pl.XVIII) illustrated an example in the collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (261/2) which had belonged to the Sultan of Brunei.
community as a whole, and not to the status of individuals.

The societies of Borneo can be divided into three basic types with respect to their use of masks. Some, such as the Ngaju and related groups or the groups of central Borneo, used a range of types of mask for large community occasions and for specific ritual purposes.¹ [PLATE 296A] Some of the masks were highly elaborate, others less so. Any single community might use a variety of different masks for various purposes. The second category comprises groups which used masks on some occasions, but they did not produce a wide variety of types or any particularly elaborate forms. Groups in this category include the Ibanic, Bidayuh and Kendayan groups, the Melanau and the Dusun of Sabah. [PLATE 296B, C] Information on mask usage among these groups is scanty, as their masked festivities were evidently not so extroverted.² In the third category are groups which do not appear to have used masks at all, or at least such usage has not been reported and the objects themselves have not been collected.

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1. Masked festivities among the central Borneo people were described in the greatest detail originally by Nieuwenhuis (1900, Vol.1:185-186, Vol.2:36-37) for the Kayans of the Mendalam and the Mahakam, by Elshout (1926:395-401) and Tillema (1938:179-184) for the Kenyahs of the Apo Kayan, and more recently by Revel-Macdonald (1978) and by Heppell (1990) for the Kenyah and Modang of East Kalimantan. Central Borneo masks have been particularly favoured items for museum collections, particularly Mahakam bird masks. From the Ngaju and related regions there are numerous masks in museum collections, but little information as to their use. Mallinckrodt (1925:244) and later Miles (1964:332-333) described masked ceremonies which occurred in the period while an encoffined corpse is being kept in the house prior to burial or entombment. Although they are sometimes described as tiwah masks, there is no description of their use on such occasions (Rassers 1928-9:43-44).

2. There are no early descriptions of Iban masked ceremonies. Morrison (1962:183) and Heppell (1990:70) indicate that the Iban used masks in a somewhat lighthearted mode at festivals, and also used them to terrify children. Numerous Iban masks have been collected. Equally there are no descriptions of Bidayuh masked festivals and very few masks in collections. Heppell (1990:69-70) indicates that the Bukar Bidayuh have a masked dance at their harvest festival. A single Bidayuh mask is illustrated in AhBeng (1991:49), with a very simple face design. The Selako of Sarawak have a tradition of using small hand held masks (Heppell 1990:70), a tradition shared by related groups in West Kalimantan such as the Menyuki (Rassers 1928-9:35-37) and by Malays of that region (Juynboll 1902). There are also no masked rituals described for the Melanau, although there are a few Melanau masks in the Sarawak Museum (Gill 1968a:248). The Dusun of Sabah used a minimalist mask, made from a coconut shell with eye and mouth holes cut out. A couple of these survive in collections, but with no information as to their use.

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The Murut-Tagal and Murut-Kelabit groups fall into this category.¹

Mask styles were appropriated between groups which used them in similar ways. For example, Mahakam style bird masks found their way to the Sarawak ulu, as did masks formerly distinctive to the Apo Kayan Kenyah. [PLATE 63A, 270A, 287B] Old Mendalam Kayan masks had features of Mahakam and of Sarawak ulu masks.² [PLATE 224] However there is no evidence that any groups adopted elaborate mask styles for which they had no existing ritual or social occasion for their use. The Iban never adopted the more elaborate styles of central Borneo mask, despite their willingness to appropriate other aspects of material culture. Masks are perhaps too integrated, not only with the identities of living groups, but with the relationship of those communities with things unknown.

Masks are important objects in the expression of community cohesion, as they have communally recognized forms which do not reflect the attributes of any individual in society. Homogeneities of style between ethnic groups or regions reflect not only areas of contact and interaction, but societies with ritual or social customs in common. They signify common community values.

Coffins: community and individual identifiers for occasional display

Coffins are another class of object used for occasional display, but these are closely tied to the identity of individuals. Most Dayak societies carried out the practice of placing a dead person in a coffin carved from a hollowed log and leaving it displayed, along with various items of worldly wealth, for a greater or lesser period of time before disposal. The duration of the display and the number of people invited to it was directly related to the status of the individual. The coffin was part of the affirmation of the prowess of an individual and the status and wealth of his surviving family. However, unlike the funerary monument it was not an enduring structure. Rather it represented periodic but

¹. The one object found which might pass for a Kelabit mask, in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (5395/3), was in fact a wall hanging produced by a homesick Kelabit schoolboy. The collection notes specifically deny that this is any form of traditional Kelabit object, but was simply a representation of a Kelabit face. [PLATE 296D]

². Bobin Ab (nd. Vol.2, section 34) gives three different lists for specific forms of masks, as they are used today, among the Modang, Kenyah and Bahau peoples of East Kalimantan. However, the illustrations make it clear that over the years the masks of each of these groups have been influenced by the others. Innovations and borrowings of style have been retained within an ethnically distinct framework of traditional use and mythology.

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ephemeral acts of identification.

There are photographs and descriptions of these mortuary displays. However most of the coffins in museum collections are not full sized objects but miniature models made for the collector. They represent an idealised concept of what a coffin ought to be, usually for one of the more exalted members of society.

Some societies did not manufacture their own containers for mortuary display, but utilised prestige imports in the form of large stoneware jars imported from China, at least for some of their dead.¹ These could be used for a simple final disposal of the body, or for either the first or second stage of a two stage disposal process. The only stylistic attributes which can be displayed are those related to choice from available resources.

Some groups, notably the Iban and Bidayuh and related groups, disposed of the body relatively rapidly. Coffins, when they were used, were hastily made and rapidly disposed of and were generally not decorated.² Photographs of Maloh funerals (eg. Helbig 1982, Vol.2, Pl.XXVII, XXVIII, King 1985) and mortuary houses show plain coffins, adorned with textiles for the mortuary display.³ [PLATE 101,290B]

Distinctively decorated forms of coffins were used in many areas.⁴ Among central Borneo groups the decoration of the coffin was constrained by the social rank of the deceased. The restrictions on the use of motif were the same as those used for other items of personal identity, such as baby carriers, baby carriers,

1. Such containers were used by the Dusuns and Murut-Tagal of Sabah, the Murut-Kelabit, the Berawan and other minorities of the northern region, the Tanjong, Punan Bah and Kajang groups of the Rejang and many groups of southeastern Kalimantan.

2. The carved Iban coffins in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, discussed in a previous chapter, were made for a special form of disposal on an exposed scaffolding. Even so, the examples are half sized models and it is not clear whether they represent a form utilised in reality. The carving is ethnically distinctive, with the crocodile motifs in particular closely resembling the same motif on Iban weaving. [PLATE 146]

3. A model of a Maloh coffin in the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, has a carved central ridge on the lid and is painted with spiral interlace designs, however (Harrison 1965, Pl.XXXXVIII).

4. Ngaju coffins traditionally had a carved naga head on a man’s coffin and a carved garuda head on that for a female. [PLATE 297A, B] There are models of Bahau coffins with aso fully carved in the round on the lid [PLATE 298A, B], and models of Modang coffins with carved ferocious faces [PLATE 298C]. The coffins of the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan displayed their enthusiasm for openwork, applied ornament and polychrome decoration. [PLATE 297D, 298D]
beadwork hats or clothing.\footnote{Whittier (1973) analysed the scheme in detail for the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan region. King (1985b), in a comparative study across various ethnic groups in different regions of Borneo, demonstrates that in their formal qualities these social codes are similar across many groups, even though the iconographic interpretation of the motifs used may be different. Thus, an aso design is a symbol of aristocratic rank even in societies where it is interpreted as a dragon or a naga and has an ethnically specific mythology. The Berawan, for example, had their own interpretation of face and aso/dragon motifs as a particular nature spirit and a water dragon spirit (Metcalf 1977:133). The Berawan system of social ranking was not as rigid as that of the Kayan or the Apo Kayan Kenyah, and these symbols could be used by anyone sufficiently wealthy or powerful to have a salong built.} Coffins with carved figures at the ends, supporting the coffin itself, were made for old men of renown. [\textbf{PLATE 297B, C}] It has been suggested that these figures were substitutes for slaves sacrificed in former times.\footnote{According to Hose and McDougall (1912:34-35), a live fowl was attached to one of the figures, which consisted of a female figure at the head of the coffin and a male at the foot. On Bahau and Segai coffins from East Kalimantan the figures had a distinctly simian appearance and faced away from the coffin ends. Models of Kenyah coffins from the Apo Kayan show two male, and definitely human, figures facing inward towards the coffin.}

The Kelabit carved coffins in the form of animals, such as dragons, deer or buffalo, in contrast to their ethnic relations, the Muruts of the Trusan, who used jars. [\textbf{PLATE 299A}] It has been suggested that these coffins, placed outside on posts under a shelter, represented an attempt to copy the \textit{salong} of the Kayans and Kenyahs (Pollard 1930-37b:226), but animal imagery appears on the coffins of various groups.

The reflection of social rank was a highly important function of a coffin, as it was part of a display of goods which acted as significata of wealth and status, ratifying the position of the surviving family in society. The symbols which indicated rank cut across some ethnic differences as the aristocratic classes themselves were intermarried across ethnic boundaries. It is possible, but difficult to verify, that signifiers of ethnic identity may have been more or less pronounced at different social levels. Animal imagery in the coffins of some of the indigenous groups of Sarawak seems to form an iconographic stratum which is overlaid by the system of social rank symbolism of the immigrant...
Chapter 8

Kayans and Kenyahs.\(^1\)

In the Segama and Kinabatangan river areas of eastern Sabah there are mortuary caves in an area where almost the entire population is now Islamic. The coffins of an extinct pagan culture were often elaborately carved, some with the motif of a water buffalo head, an unusual motif in Borneo (Creagh 1896, Orolfo 1963, Harrisson, B. 1966, Harrisson and Harrisson 1971:49-82). Coffin designs, like other art forms, have continued to evolve. Modern Kenyah coffins, for example, can be painted with polychrome designs and elaborate designs in openwork decoration.

The art of the coffin is essentially ephemeral and capable of reflecting changing relationships, as each occasion on which it is used requires the object to be made anew. The symbolic code operates at several levels, with the possibility that the forms which relate to different classes of people may be differently distributed. With the most elaborate forms of decoration reserved for the aristocratic levels of society, the most visible manifestation is at that level of society. Individual ascribed status, individual achieved status and ethnic identity may each have symbolic codes which can be expressed through this medium.

Ritual clothing and equipment: identity markers for a special group

The ritual clothing of special functionaries, like masks and coffins, may only appear on certain occasions of community significance. In one sense these are associated with the identity of the community as a whole rather than with the social position of individuals, but they also have the function of identification of a person with a highly specialised social role. Shamans, healers

\(^1\) A photograph published by Hedda Morrison (1957:252) shows a Kajaman man sitting beside the coffin of his dead child. The caption indicates that the family was one of the poorest in the longhouse and many of the goods on display had been lent by neighbours. The coffin for such an insignificant member of society bears none of the insignia of social rank, but it is carved and painted in the form of a crocodile. [PLATE 299B] Thomas (1971:313) indicated that Kajaman coffins were usually made in the form of dragons, although she had seen one made like a deer. Haddon (1901:334-335) showed a rather scrappy drawing of the mortuary display for a Berawan child, which includes a carved animal head for the coffin. [PLATE 299D] A description of a Punan Bah funeral from the Bintulu region indicated that the coffin was tiger shaped (Yap Yoon Keong 1963:95). From the other side of Borneo, a small carved coffin model from the Kutai region in the Museum of Mankind, London, is described in the catalogue notes as a type used for a panyin or commoner. It has what appear to be carved anteater heads at either end. [PLATE 299C] Lumholz (1920, Vol.1:79) described the coffin for a Kenyah woman of the Kayan river, carved with a rhinoceros head.
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or leaders of ritual may belong to a particular subset of society which transects other identity barriers to a degree.

A particular set of items could identify the shaman at a Ngaju tiwah feast. A tabard covered in shell discs, a belt of beads and crocodile teeth, a necklace of crescent shaped metal plates and a conical basketry hat with a bunch of feathers in the top constituted the entire outfit. Such items are found in early 19th century collections from southern Kalimantan, suggesting that this is a conservative tradition in which antique items are preserved over generations. However it appears that the hat can be the necessary and sufficient component of the costume. [PLATE 300A, B]

Strings of beads and animal teeth worn crossed over the chest identified the functionaries at rituals in the more easterly areas of southern Kalimantan. Similar items were worn by shamans from the Barito region, various Ot Danum groups and the Tunjung of the lower Mahakam (Lumholz 1920 Vol.1:-facing p.125, te Wechel 1915, Pl.VI, fig.19, Sellato 1989b, fig.363-365, Muller 1991:106). The identification of the functionary was more significant than the identification of his precise ethnic identity. Similarly, the soul catcher’s masks used by shamans from various Kayan and Kenyah groups are much less elaborate and distinctive than the masks used by the general participants in public festivity. In early colonial days, shamans and healers among the various Iban groups were identified by dressing as women, a particularity which identified them within their own society rather than to outsiders.

It was often a cause for some bemusement to European observers that the objects used by such functionaries and believed to have special powers were a miscellaneous assortment of found objects, natural and manufactured. Bits of Chinese plates, crocodile teeth, odd shaped rocks or roots, small carved figurines, ancient beads and perfumed leaves were all conserved as items of special virtue.

Certain items used ritually had an ethnic or regional distribution. The papan tulis boards of the Iban used a series of symbols or ideographs with encoded information about the conduct of ceremonies (Morrison 1957:219, 1962:81). [PLATE 149B] Similar pictographic boards were used by Kenyah at mamat ceremonies (Harrison 1966b). Calendar boards of recognisable design were produced in parts of southern and eastern Kalimantan. These were used to estimate propitious days for certain activities (Anon 1973:152-153, Helbig 1982, Vol.2, Pl.XXX, Avé and King 1985:124, Sellato 1989b:233). [PLATE 300C, D] Some Ngaju shamans’ wooden boxes of paraphernalia were carved in relief
with scenes designed to provide instruction on the conduct of ceremonies (Avé and King 1985:121, Sellato 1989, fig.379). Such items are not so much concerned with self-conscious aspects of identity, but reflect identity in that particular knowledge is required to utilise and interpret them.

In general, the clothing and equipment of ritual functionaries represents a conservative tradition which may represent identity in a broad sense. However because these people form a special subset of society with their own set of intergroup contacts, their own identity relationships may be somewhat different to those of their fellow villagers. Nevertheless, although shamans and healers have been known to practise outside their own communities or named ethnic groups, they were working within a broader segment of society which shared beliefs and rituals. Identity markers for these people indicate the extent of groups with some common values.

**Musical Instruments: projections of community life**

Apart from metal gongs which were made in the towns, most of the traditional musical instruments made by the indigenous people were crafted by themselves. Although there were changes in the use of instruments in some societies, and some types virtually became extinct, traditions of how instruments were used and what kind of music was expected on certain occasions constrain the use of particular instruments.

The use of gong orchestras and small cylindrical drums for music at public festivities was general among sub-coastal and lowland groups in all regions of the island. Among the central Borneo groups, drums and gongs were only sounded as alarm signals, while dancing and public festivity was carried out to the accompaniment of the *kledi* and the *sape*. This division represents two entirely different styles of music for community participation.

Certain instruments were very widely dispersed around the island, and do not have any particular ethnic specificity. Simple flutes, played either with the

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1. Brooke Low (S.G. Nov.1 1882:95) encountered a Long Glat healer from the Mahakam in an Uma Bawang Kayan house on the upper Rejang, ministering to the sick wife of the longhouse chief. Lumholz (1920, Vol.1:136) encountered two shamans, one of whom was a Dusun, in a Murung village on the upper Barito. The same author reported that the Penyahbong, a formerly nomadic group which was in the process of adopting agriculture, had previously had no shamans. In one Penyahbong village there were two shamans, a Saputan and a Malay, while in another the shaman had learned his art from the Saputans, who had also taught the community the skills and rituals of agriculture (Lumholz 1920, Vol.1:174, 180).
nose or mouth, Jew’s harps, the lotong or bamboo harp and wooden xylophones appeared in a diversity of locations. Variations on the kledi were used in all areas except the southeastern region.

Stringed instruments came in a greater diversity of forms, with some degree of ethnic specificity. The sendatong of the Sabah groups, the sape of central Borneo and the blikan of the Maloh, all plucked instruments, were differently constructed. It is notable that the sape, type instrument of central Borneo, was often decorated with carved or painted motifs in highly recognizable central Borneo style. Bowed instruments were only recorded from the southern part of the island, and the ensuranai of the Iban, the sigittuad of the Bidayuh and rebab of the southeastern region are all distinguishable.

[PLATE 301] The Iban formerly used a far greater range of instruments, including some unique forms. It is notable that the types which disappeared from use, such as the ensuranai, the engkratong and a very diverse range of wind instruments, were the ones used for individual playing rather than those in use on community occasions.

There are a couple of cases in which a particular instrument became a specific group marker. The wooden slit drum used by the Maloh as an alarm signal was of a type not found elsewhere on the island. [PLATE 302A, B] A rather peculiar case is that of the busoi, an instrument used only by the Tanjong and Siduan of the lower Rejang. It is a mystery as to how these groups acquired an instrument made from a bow balanced on a wooden disc or plate resting on a pottery jar, why they particularly fancied it, and why nobody else adopted it.1

[PLATE 302C] Musical instruments contribute to identity relationships through a combination of factors. The passing on of craft skills within a community may limit the spread of specific expertise of manufacture. Particular social expectations in the use of certain instruments and the existence of a corpus of music for particular instruments and occasions may encourage conservatism of use. When occasions such as masked dances are carried out for the benefit of outsiders, the instruments themselves become part of the identity process along with the costume, masks and the music.

1. An examination of the extensive collection of musical instruments from around the world in the Horniman Museum in London revealed nothing similar from anywhere in Asia. The closest thing had a gourd rather than a pottery resonator and came from East Africa.
Tattoos: individual identifiers for life

Tattooing is the most permanent individualising marker employed for identification. Marks of status, identity or affiliation cannot be removed. The infinite potential for design innovation or differentiation does mean that there is a possibility for rapid response to changes in fashion or in identity from generation to generation.

Tattoo patterns in Borneo during the colonial era show great lability of usage of designs, or even of usage of tattoo at all. There are notable differences between men's and women's tattooing. Not only did the sexes always employ different designs, the patterns of change in design use, or even in the use or non-use of tattooing, were different. These patterns reflect different social processes going on among men and among women during this period of change.

Various lowland groups which had formerly practised highly elaborate tattooing for men abandoned it, the pattern of abandonment being more or less from the coast to the interior. These included the Ngaju and Ot Danum people of southeastern Kalimantan and the riverine people of Sarawak such as the Punan Bah and Kanowits, as well as the Ukits and Bukitans. Men from the Dusun and various Murut groups of the north of the island, who had formerly tattooed in relatively simple designs, also abandoned the practice. Certain tattoo patterns which were particular to Kayan men were adopted by other central Borneo groups. The Iban and some Punan groups, who had not formerly tattooed, developed new and elaborate male tattoo ensembles.

Tattoo designs were borrowed backwards and forwards between the interior groups which continued with the practice. Iban style ensembles, themselves developed from Kayan designs, were borrowed back by Kenyahs and peoples of the Mahakam. Old forms representative of small group identification disappeared as tattooing became an insignia for male achievement, travel and social intercourse between ethnic groups of the interior.

Female tattooing was most pronounced among the central Borneo

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1. There are numerous examples in the literature of people bearing tattoos which identified them to a former, and no longer appropriate, identity: a Mendalam Kayan chief wearing the chest tattoo of his Bukitan parentage (Molengraaff 1900:197); a renegade Iban headhunter tracked down because of his conspicuous Bukitan body tattoo (Ricketts S.G. July 1 1898:138-9); Malay married women with their earlobes surgically shortened but their tattooed hands and feet revealing their Dayak ancestry (Tillema 1930-31:196).
groups, where the procedure had a high ritual component. The tattoos also reflected the social rank of the wearer. Designs were borrowed between groups which had patterns of contact and intermarriage. Some ethnically differentiating designs disappeared. Some new schemes of differentiation were developed. Designs were diffused among a large, but circumscribed, complex of ethnic groups, defined by similarities of lifestyle, social organization and aristocratic marriage patterns.

There is some efflorescence of design and differentiating patterns at the borders of the region. The only northern group in which the women tattooed their legs was the Kelabit. They used a highly distinctive pattern of zigzags along the calf. [PLATE 303C] To the south, the only women of the Ngaju/Ot Danum group who tattooed their legs were the Siang, the group living highest on the Barito within contact range of the Mahakam. They had an equally unique scheme of a band of intricate design up the front of the shin. [PLATE 303D] These groups of the borders seem to be both emulating, and yet differentiating themselves from, the schemes of the central Borneo women.

The changes to women's tattoos, until very recently, were not as dramatic as those to men's. The use or non-use of tattooing did not change enormously. The general scheme of body parts tattooed remained relatively similar. Women adopted a more unified design scheme from groups with which they were in close contact, and did not deliberately emulate entirely different schemes from distant groups. In this way the women's designs reflected changing concepts of ethnic identity more than those of the men.

Clothing and Adornment: individual identifiers rapidly changed

Body adornments in the form of jewellery or decorative clothing are also items which can make a statement about the identity of an individual. In terms of stability over time, these types of markers can be even more labile than tattoos as they can be changed at any time and the adoption of a new identity through marriage, migration or assimilation can be expressed immediately. It is apparent that in Borneo over the period under study there have been a series of changes in fashion, and these changes may operate in different time frames with different groups. Personal ornamentation may be able to give a very accurate picture of an individual's projected identity, but only within a very restricted time frame.

Examples were given in the previous chapter of how, among central Borneo women, ear pendants of teardrop form and skirts with designs in
appliqué went out of use in certain areas while being adopted or retained by other groups. At any point in time they served as ethnic markers, but the pattern changed very rapidly. Men's earrings intricately carved from a whole hornbill beak were originally the special mark of a successful headhunter among the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan region. With the demise of headhunting and an increase in contact around the interior they were found among other central Borneo groups. In some areas the objects were admired but evidently not fancied for wearing in the ear, so the centre was bored out as an ornament for a *parang* cord. More recently they became a craft speciality of the Kelabit (Manis 1950-51, Harrisson 1950-51:402-407). Iban men quite suddenly abandoned their highly distinctive ear ornaments, without compromising their ethnic identity. Men's bracelets of shell or dark wood, formerly distinctive to the Iban, were adopted by young men of the central Borneo groups after young men from both ethnic regions were able to travel, contact and exchange in the interior.

Fashions changed with the availability of materials. The massive coils of brass wire worn formerly as bracelets, leglets, girdles or even necklaces by Land Dayak, some Iban and Dusun women in Sabah were imported by European visitors who had been informed that these were desirable articles of trade. Increasing quantities of silver finery were adopted by Iban women when they could acquire them from Maloh or Chinese silversmiths. Their most distinctive item, the brass corset, was abandoned in favour of silver jewellery without loss of a recognizable image. Beadwork ornaments were dependent upon the import of the tiny coloured glass beads from overseas. Distinctive styles developed, but these could be replaced or influenced by changing designs.

In some cases it was the way things were worn rather than the objects themselves that made them ethnically distinctive. Iban warriors wore Malay silver buttons around their necks. Rungus Dusun women wrapped their coils of brass wire into huge collars [PLATE 93A], while Bidayuh women wound them around their calves so tightly as to deform the leg muscles. [PLATE 84B, 86]

Ornaments, of course, can also play an important role of identification

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1. The photographs in Elshout (1926) show all the elderly battle heroes wearing such an ornament, but they are not seen in 19th or early 20th century photographs from Sarawak or the Mahakam region. There are none listed in Shelford's (1905) catalogue of the personal ornaments in the Sarawak Museum.
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within society, with certain types of objects restricted in use to those of particular status or with a specialised function. Similar objects or motifs may, however, be used in different ways in societies with a different code of social symbols. Maloh beadwork clothing utilized the motifs of central Borneo, with its associated restrictions on the use of certain symbols to individuals of particular social rank. These social rank categories were not recognized by the Iban women who acquired Maloh beaded skirts and jackets. Changes also occurred over time in the distribution of objects within society. Symbols of successful headhunters, such as real or carved imitation tiger cat’s teeth worn through the shell of the ear or carved hornbill beak earrings, were not abandoned along with headhunting. They became simple signifiers of adult manhood, or of the wearer’s skill as a craftsman.

An examination of clothing and ornaments can give an almost newspaper type account of changing intergroup relations at both a local and regional level. However it is not always possible to identify isolated objects to an ethnic group, as they may have appeared in a number of different contexts in different regions and at different times. A very accurate chronology may be needed to associate items of personal presentation with ethnic identity.

Baby Carriers: a special class of personal identifier

Baby carriers, whether of wood or plaited rattan, plain or decorated, were used exclusively by the peoples of central Borneo, including the nomadic peoples of this region. At this level, they are an absolute ethnic indicator. Their social role, as has been demonstrated by Whittier (1973) for the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan, can be quite complex.

As objects with a protective function for the more fragile members of the community, and which in some way incorporate the being of their owners, they are integrated with community beliefs and values. Users and non-users of baby carriers have remained clearly defined separate groups. Within their societies, baby carriers have been bearers of identity information about the social rank of their occupants, constraining the designs employed to those symbolic motifs which carry that information.

Over time, the beadwork covered baby carrier has become the overwhelmingly popular type. Frames of aluminium and canvas can be purchased so that the buyer can add their own beadwork (Bobin Ab nd. Vol.1). The Kenyah style of beadwork, with its colourful motifs and interlace designs,
steadily became more widespread. [PLATE 49B, 273, 288A] Some older types of design from Sarawak have become extinct [PLATE 205A, 255A], although older designs from the Mahakam are used by the Aoheng. Kenyah style baby carriers have recently been used by Punan groups, although presumably the same social code of symbolism does not apply.

The baby carrier as an object is firmly rooted in a tradition of community values, not readily adopted or discarded. In its decorative features, some aspects, such as the attached charms, are protective and conservative. Others, such as the use of motif, are based in social values and tend to conservatism within societies which hold those social values. Style, in the sense of the technique or formal qualities of design used to generate the motifs, has shown the capacity for borrowings and change.

**Hats: conspicuous personal identifiers**

One class of item of individual use which conveys much identity information is headgear. Hats may be designed for functionality, as in the case of broad brimmed sun hats or coarse plaited rattan war hats which protect against blows, or may simply be decorative, like a beaded headband or a basketry skull cap. They may act as the attribute of a special functionary, such as a shaman. They may be used on particular occasions, such as a special hat worn by a community leader at a war conference or a hat worn only during mourning. Some hats have the function of display rather than wearability, such as the special hats hung up on graves in some societies. It is notable that hats are one of the display items which frequently appear in photographs, either worn or held in the hand in portrait pictures or artfully hung in a strategic position in interior views.

Different levels of identity could be projected by different aspects of the construction of hats. Certain basic types were particular to ethnic conglomerates.¹ Decorative schemes could identify the owners more closely, but

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1. Flat leaf hats were made by the central Borneo groups [PLATE 198], while plaited basketry hats were made by a whole range of groups in southern Kalimantan, from the Iban and Bidayuh to the Ngaju [PLATE 89B, 142, 304D]. Iban hats tended to be plaited in one piece, with intricate interlocking designs, while those of some other groups of the southern region, such as the Ot Danum, were made up of many small segments sewn together. Some groups of West Kalimantan made flat leaf hats which were then painted in intricate designs. [PLATE 89C] The peoples of Sabah also made plaited basketry hats, but of a range of different shapes, including narrow pointed hats and ones with curved outline. [PLATE 94B, D, E, 97B] The terindak hats of the
these were subject to the same borrowings and fashionable changes as other aspects of personal presentation. Within ethnic groups there were hats for specific occasions or situations, and hats which identified particular functionaries. Certain types of hats became more widely adopted over time, or changed their pattern of use.

The techniques of construction of hats are diverse and expertise at particular construction skills must be one factor in the distribution of types. However this is not the whole story. The peoples of central Borneo were expert at basketry plaiting and made fine mats and baskets. Yet they did not use this technique at all for making their broad brimmed sunhats, although it was employed for skull caps and headbands. There is a design choice which

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Melanau of Sarawak were non-woven hats made with radiating strips of coloured leaves [PLATE 304B], while the hats particular to the Murut-Kelabit groups were made from spirals of fine rattan, stitched together and painted with designs. [PLATE 304A] A particular style of hat was made by Bahau, Modang and Segai peoples of East Kalimantan, of flat leaf segments divided into triangular and lozenge shaped segments with strips of bamboo. [PLATE 195A, 199A]

1. The plaited basketry hats of the Murut-Tagal groups of Sabah had a great variety of designs and decorative schemes which could most likely be recognized by a tutored eye and identified to group or region (eg. Rutter 1985, facing p.122, Burrough 1973:53, Sellato 1989b:156-157). [PLATE 97B] Beadwork decorations on central Borneo hats followed the same design schemes, and the same fashion changes, as other types of beadwork items. [PLATE 304C] Patchwork and appliqué coverings for large sunhats, once seen as something of a Kenyah speciality, became very widespread among central Borneo people and are still used on practical headgear for working outdoors. Conical striped beadwork caps were a speciality of Bidayuh women [PLATE 86B, C] while Kendayan women from West Kalimantan made their conical caps from plaited basketry. [PLATE 85A] Bahau and Modang women wore tall beadwork caps hung with animal teeth on bead strings [PLATE 4, 5, 249] while women from Kayan, Kenyah and related groups in Sarawak favoured broad headbands with beadwork designs for dress wear. [PLATE 58B, 193]

2. The Ngaju shaman’s conical cap with its bunch of feathers in the top is a particular example. [PLATE 300A, B] Nieuwenhuis collected an appliqué hat worn only by a war leader when inciting his men to action [PLATE 51A], and hats given only to the dead but not worn by the living. [PLATE 200A] Special hats or hoods could be worn during mourning. Kendayan women had special hats adorned with silver ornaments and hung with bead strings for use specifically with dancing costume. [PLATE 85B, 88B]

3. Finely plaited skull caps with fluffy fringes were formerly a speciality of Kenyah men, but have become widely adopted by central Borneo groups, even worn by women on festive occasions. [PLATE 201A] In the early part of this century, Kenyah women of high rank in the Apo Kayan region wore caps like the war caps of the men, adorned with tufts of hair and covered in beadwork with motifs indicating their social rank. [PLATE 282B] These caps have become more widely worn by Orang Ulu women as a form of ethnic dress for special occasions. The silver tiaras worn by Malay brides were adopted and adapted by Iban women for use in festive costume. [PLATE 78B, 129A, 130, 138]
specifically relates to hats.

Wobst (1977) identified hats as significant ethnic identifiers because their degree of visibility made them identifiable at the appropriate social distance at which ethnic identity operates. Certainly, at various levels, hats appear to be more stable identity markers than some other aspects of personal presentation.

Boats and Paddles: functionality and identity marking

Most agriculturists of Borneo live along rivers, and the construction of boats and their equipment is significant to everyone. The design of boats and paddles is constrained by the water conditions in which they are being used. Boats for use on the slower flowing waters of the lower rivers tended to be larger and heavier then the light, slim dugouts with negligible freeboard used to skim over the rapids of the upper rivers. This basic design is so functional for the wild waters of the ulu that it is still in use, with a minor modification to the stern to attach an outboard motor.

Certain kinds of boats reflect ethnic identity because they were used in particular local conditions.\(^1\) However, regional styles were the general rule rather than ethnically specific types. Both Malays and Dayaks on the lower Barito used the same distinctive type of broad beamed boat with upturned bow and stern, like a gondola, for carrying goods and people on the slow moving waters. [PLATE 10A]

The long war canoes of the Iban and of the central Borneo groups were the boats most likely to be adorned with painted or carved decoration. The terrifying figureheads for war became items of display at peacemaking occasions.\(^2\) [PLATE 122, 244]

1. The wide beamed sailing boats, or barong, of the Melanau were unique in design because of their use for sea fishing in unstable tropical weather. They could be safely beached even in a wild surf. According to Crocker (S.G. Aug.15 1876:7), "They receive the sea broadside on, and the natives manage their craft with such dexterity that, although they often go to sea when a ships boat could not live five minutes, they never swamp." Guertz (S.G. April 16 1877:30-31) described the use of these boats in some detail. The Kadayan of Brunei had a different solution to the problems of sea fishing, using a unique design of raft (Harrisson 1970, 1972).

2. Haddon (1901:407) described the effect as, "First rounding the corner, and as it were peering through the foliage, would appear a grotesque head of what seemed to be a monstrous dragon with long, sharp tusks, goggle eyes, and erratic horns, but the long, thin neck would soon resolve itself into the bow of a war canoe..."
Boat building was a craft in which some groups specialised. In various areas of Borneo there were particular communities which built boats for sale to others.\(^1\) The boats used by particular groups were therefore not always made by them and were not essentially designed for display.

The designs of paddles also varied according to river conditions. Those of the lower rivers tended to be wide bladed and flat, allowing for leisurely propulsion through slow moving water. In the upper rivers, paddles were narrow with a strong central rib, often ending in a point, to allow for fending, poling and rapid steering response. **[PLATE 305, 306]** Paddles were important personal items. In formal photographs of people, a paddle is often prominently displayed. **[PLATE 15A]** Paddles were displayed on tombs as grave goods. **[PLATE 101]** They could be very beautifully made, with carved designs on the handles, necks and sometimes on the blades themselves. **[PLATE 238B, 48B, 306A-C]**

Among the central Borneo people, there were distinctions between men’s and women’s paddles. Those of the men were heavier, broader bladed and mostly less elegantly crafted. In the Sarawak rivers, women’s paddles had a narrow curved spatulate shape, flat across the end. **[PLATE 305F]** In the Apo Kayan, on the Mahakam and on the Mendalam the women’s, and some men’s, paddles were shaped to a point. **[PLATE 305E, 306A, B]** All were similarly decorated with carved handles and curvilinear designs on the shoulders. Hose and McDougall (1912, Vol.1:203) claimed that on the Baram the Klemantan groups produced the most elegant women’s paddles, sometimes inlaid with designs of lead.

In southeastern Kalimantan some of the most elaborately crafted paddles were made by Malays, with a distinctive curved outline, decorated with

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1. For example, Nieuwenhuis sought canoes for one of his journeys from the Penihing of Long Kup, renowned boat builders of the upper Mahakam (Niewuenhuis (1900, Vol.2:191). Hose and McDougall (1912, Vol.1:203) reported that some Klemantan groups only made rough canoes from soft wood, and bought from others what boats they needed, "a curious incidence of the persistent lack of the tradition of a specialised craft among communities that might have been expected to acquire it easily from their neighbours." In southeastern Kalimantan, according to Hudson (1972:36), the Ma'anayn of Padju Epat were known from the mid 19th century as specialist producers of canoes which were sold all along the Barito.

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fluting and foliate carving. Ngaju paddles were essentially similar in design.\(^1\) Ot Danum paddles, used in the fast flowing upper rivers, were similar in design to those of the Mahakam, but could have their own form of decorative treatment.\(^2\)

With both boats and paddles, certain aspects of design difference can be ascribed to purely practical considerations. Ethnic specificity of design may relate to specificity of use. However the items were deemed worthy, in some cases, of special decorative treatment.

**Basketry: functionality in a decorative medium**\(^3\)

The manufacture of containers, mats and miscellaneous useful items by plaiting rattan, bamboo or other vegetable fibres was a universal craft skill in Borneo. While form is constrained by function to a degree, the medium allows sufficient flexibility of design and decoration to allow for a range of types of item of similar function. Even such a simple item as a small carry basket to wear over the shoulders can come in a range of equally functional designs.\(^4\) Certain forms were ethnically distinctive, such as the Iban *padi* seed baskets with pointed bases [PLATE 80A-C], or storage baskets with high domed lids produced by the Kanowit of the Rejang. [PLATE 308A]

Despite the fact that bicoloured or tricoloured designs in basketry plaiting are theoretically infinite, a similar range of motifs based around

\(^1\) The Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, has some very peculiarly shaped paddles from this region. They have flat ends and very broad lateral extensions to the end of the blades. While these are claimed to be for ceremonial use, they appear so dysfunctional that I wonder whether their purpose has been misidentified. They were described as a rare type in the early 19th century by Müller (1839-44:416). [PLATE 306D]

\(^2\) A pair in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel, has a *naga* head carved on a man’s paddle and a *garuda* head on the woman’s, utilizing the same symbols of sexual differentiation as were used on coffins, for example. [PLATE 306C]

\(^3\) In the course of my museum investigations, I did not examine basketry in any detail. Part of the reason relates to the practical constraints of dealing with such awkward and fragile items, which had often been stored under less than ideal conditions for a long time. For somebody who can work with a conservator, there is a whole field of design here for study.

\(^4\) For example, in central Borneo the small carry basket is usually a cylinder without a frame. Iban carry baskets tended to be wider and have a bamboo frame. The Bidayuh made tightly plaited, tall baskets on a rectangular base. Old Ngaju baskets in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, have the form of a flat knapsack, while a more trapezoidal shaped knapsack was used in Sabah. [PLATE 307]
complex interlocking patterns, spiral and geometric designs was used all over the island. However even this limited range of motifs can be arranged into a great variety of specific patterns. A detailed study of such patterns and their use has not yet been undertaken.  

1 Only the antique pictorial mats of the Ot Danum and Ngaju people, heirloom items used at mortuary feasts and ceremonies, had a completely different system of design including pictorial elements. [PLATE 39A]

The craft of basketry, although widely practised, had a degree of specialization and the items were traded. Certain groups were renowned for particular specialities in this area. The baskets used by a community were not necessarily made within that community.  

2 However, it is clear that choices of preferred forms were made, indicating that interactions between makers and buyers were carried out over a limited range. Preferred forms are not, perhaps, defined entirely by the user but by an interaction between maker and user.

One interesting example shows a design choice which is not ethnic or regional, but based on the nature of the object itself. While most basketry items were plaited in a diagonal pattern, men’s seat mats were often produced in a square double weave, giving a vertical and horizontal, rather than diagonal, arrangement to the design. Such seat mats are found from a diversity of ethnic groups. [PLATE 309]

Basketry, although essentially a practical class of goods, with many items not made essentially for display, is capable of carrying many stylistic messages. The interaction between the use of different basic forms and the minutiae of variation in decoration would be an interesting exercise in examination of the

1. Klausen’s (1957) study was on a limited range of materials collected by Lumholz from groups in central Borneo and interior southeastern Kalimantan. Some of the material does not seem to have been precisely provenanced. Hein’s (1890) study of Dayak art included basketry designs, but purely in the context of establishing a repertoire of Dayak designs rather than determining ethnic or regional specialities.

2. The Bukitans of the upper Bintulu and Oya regions were known as makers of fine mats for trade, a factor which may have allowed their presence as immigrants to the region to be accepted (S.G. Mar.2 1872). Nomadic groups generally specialized in basketry, trading their wares with local agriculturists who acted as middle men to get them to the bazaars. This still occurs and Punan baskets are still favoured as all purpose carry bags among river travellers on the Rejang. The Tanjong, Kanowit and Siduan people of the Rejang made a speciality of this craft (Hose and McDougall 1912, Vol.1:214, 224), producing very finely plaited tricoloured baskets as well as various elaborately shaped baskets for the markets. [PLATE 308] Müller (1839-44:352) referred to a single village in the Barito region which was especially noted for its very fine baskets, mats and hats which were made for the market.
expression of identity at different levels.

Tools and Implements: practical items of value

The inhabitants of the rivers were largely rice agriculturists, growing their crops in dry fields on hillsides. Their agricultural implements were very simple. Axes were used to chop down trees, *parangs* to cut brush and timber, dig holes and do a multiplicity of tasks. Pointed sticks were used to poke holes in the newly burnt ground to plant the rice seeds. Small hoes were used for weeding. Small knives were used to harvest the ears.

In general, the form of agricultural tools was fairly standardized all over the island and decorative treatment was not common. The central Borneo people produced some tools with carved handles, using their usual motifs and styles. [PLATE 236C] One tool sometimes singled out for special treatment was the rice harvesting knife used in a ceremonial context for harvesting the first ears. These could vary in form as well as decorative treatment.¹ Carved dibbling sticks could also be used in a ceremonial context. A form particularly favoured among groups in West Kalimantan had an open chamber with a loose piece of wood which slid up and down, making a loud noise, as the stick was whacked into the ground.

In contrast, craft tools of all kinds were often subject to decorative treatment. Among central Borneo groups, elaborate carved handles were supplied for matting awls and barkcloth beaters. [PLATE 236D, E] Work boards for beadwork or basketry could be carved with the full range of designs in their repertoire. [PLATE 237] The Iban lavished most attention on the implements for weaving, their ritually and socially most significant craft. Designs were carved on spinning wheels and weaving shuttles. [PLATE 139, 140A] The bone points used in weft inlay work were decorated with relief carved designs. [PLATE 140B] Decorated bamboo containers were used for the thread.

The range of craft tools accorded decorative treatment may relate in some way to the relative valuation of particular craft skills within these two ethnic conglomerates. However, the analogy is not complete. The tools for the working of *parang* blades among the central Borneo people were apparently

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¹ Some had the same basic form as the simple hand knife with cross piece, but had the handle carved in the shape of a bird. Others from southeastern Kalimantan had the handle expanded into a large ring. Tillema (1938:215) illustrated ceremonial rice knives from the Apo Kayan region of an entirely different form, with a leaf shaped blade and long, decoratively carved handle.
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plain and functional, although this was a highly valued skill. Small work knives, used for all sorts of miscellaneous purposes, were one of the items most commonly found with decorative treatment across various ethnic groups. [PLATE 236B, 240C]

Neither agricultural implements nor craft tools could be said to be designed for inter-ethnic display. Rice agriculture and craft production could both be regarded as highly valued activities, integrated with community values. However, in this area there seems to be no absolute correspondence between either of these factors and the necessity for distinctive decoration.

Special Technological Skills

The process of passing certain technological skills from one person to another may limit the distribution of a class of artifact. This may be part of the process of a type of artifact becoming an identity marker. There is a relationship between the social causes of the restriction of knowledge, and the deliberate restriction of knowledge to make a social statement.

Textile technology in Borneo has had a rapidly changing history over the 19th and 20th centuries. Weaving was formerly widespread, but was abandoned in many areas as imported fabrics were adopted. Ikat dyeing was practised by lowland groups in the south, the west, the north and the east of the island, although it was not universally practised by all groups in any of these areas. In interior regions, barkcloth manufacture had also been an important method of textile production for clothing. [PLATE 310A]

The Ibanic groups not only retained weaving and *ikat* dyeing skills, they elevated them to skills of great ritual and social importance, having developed an extensive and distinctive repertoire of designs and techniques. The craft was passed down within communities. The products were regarded as heirlooms and significant in community ceremonial. The skill defined a significant ethnic boundary.

Similarly weaving technology, especially fine needle weaving techniques, was a marker for Dusun groups in Sabah, while *ikat* technique was part of a boundary definition between the lower Mahakam groups and the Bahau of the middle and upper rivers. The sharing of the retained skills between these widely dispersed groups says nothing about identity relationships between them. Each is part of a separate regional process of identity construction. [PLATE 310C, D]

As various interior groups abandoned weaving and barkcloth manufacture, they adopted a range of techniques for the manufacture and
adornment of clothing. Patchwork, appliqué, embroidery and the use of applied ornament such as braid, shells and beadwork were adopted, borrowed, and sometimes abandoned. [PLATE 310B] As forms were abandoned for normal wear, they were sometimes retained for special ceremonial use, or for the use of the dead. This creates a shifting pattern in the use of clothing for recognition of differences. Although highly conspicuous, it is also labile.¹

Not only are certain designs of garments themselves a labile fashion, but the valuation of the various types of expertise needed to produce them is also highly variable over time. The woman who was highly skilled with a sewing machine rapidly overtook in importance the expert at barkcloth manufacture. The embroiderer took precedence over the weaver. The comparative use of skills may have had some ethnic specificity at particular points in time, but the picture becomes very confused if the garments produced over a period of 100 years are simply added together to form an assemblage.

The manufacture of pottery is another craft whose distribution is limited by the restriction of knowledge and technological skill. However pottery was also a marginalised skill in Borneo. Prestige items of pottery for social display, for funerary purposes and for ritual had been imported into Borneo for a thousand years. The pottery which was manufactured in a village context was made purely for the practical purpose of boiling rice and was made only by groups remote from access to town made or imported metal cooking pots. It was not highly decorative, and that produced by groups far apart from each other is not particularly distinctive.

Two points are of interest about this craft. Neither pottery nor metal are actually essential for the boiling of rice and many interior Borneo people managed quite satisfactorily cooking rice in readily available lengths of bamboo. Secondly, many of the pots collected by Nieuwenhuis, for example, were not collected from the people who made them. They had been traded by groups

1. The use of appliqué on women's skirts is an excellent example. In Nieuwenhuis's time it had been abandoned by the Kayans of the Mendalam except for ceremonial clothing for the dead, but was still in use for festive attire on the Mahakam. [PLATE 194] Tillema (1938:157) showed Kenyah women from the more remote areas of the Apo Kayan wearing such skirts some years later, but asserted that in the main centre of Long Nawang such fashions had been abandoned in favour of the side split skirt, as had been worn in Sarawak, adorned with imported braid and fringing. [PLATE 282] In 1988 in Kuching a group of women appeared for a photographic session dressed in traditional Orang Ulu costume, which included appliqué skirts in bright satiny fabrics. These were not worn in earlier days in Sarawak, as the technique had only been used for hats, but it nonetheless forms a highly definitive ethnic costume for the Orang Ulu people.
living even more remotely. The pottery seems to have been a form of currency for acquisition of other goods by people living in the most remote areas. It was a skill which gave access to other goods rather than a skill highly valued in its own right.

Pottery manufacture was thus not a desirable skill giving one group prestige in the eyes of others, or producing goods which could be flaunted as group identifiers. It was simply a useful commodity for acquisition of other goods. As these became more readily available, the manufacture of pottery had no further significance and died out. There is no reason to believe that this is a particular characteristic of pottery in a general sense. Pottery is capable of carrying extensive and complex visual information. Rather, the lack of visual coding in much Borneo pottery indicates that it had become a disappearing and unregarded craft in this particular historical circumstance.

Metalworking, on the other hand, was a craft which had prestige value. The actual smelting of iron ore was practised in various interior locations, but after imported iron bars had replaced locally smelted metal, even in the remote interior, there were groups which were considered to have particular skill in the manufacture of iron and steel goods. In Iban villages at one time, the smith was the only full time craft specialist in the village. In the central Borneo areas where the skills were particularly admired and the products sought after, there were no full time specialists although there were experts. Parang ilang blades were the ultimate test of a craftsman's skill.

However it was not a skill which defined an ethnic group as such. The individual groups or villages which originally had access to ore seem to have retained their expertise in the working of manufactured iron. Parang blades were a highly traded commodity, and ownership of one was desirable to members of any ethnic group.

Fine metalwork was a much less widely practised skill and one which became market or specialist craftsman oriented. Certain items of jewellery, such as the heavy copper rings worn by central Borneo people or some forms of long metal ear pendants formerly worn by Iban men, were made by the groups which used them. Much of the other silver or copper jewellery was made by Chinese or Malay silversmiths and purchased in the bazaars. In the special case of the Maloh, a Dayak group developed an expertise in these crafts and manufactured items to the specifications of others. This is an exceptional case in Borneo. Gold jewellery only seems to have been valued in certain areas of southeastern Kalimantan where the raw material was obtained by washing. Among many
groups antique beads and beadwork were more valued than jewellery made from precious metals.

There is clearly no overall guiding principle regulating the way in which restriction of knowledge of craft skills can result in the production of goods that act as ethnic markers. Each case is different and depends on a number of factors, such as whether the skill or the product is significant in ritual or community life, whether the availability of raw materials coincides with ethnic boundaries in any way and how village craft production interrelates with the market economy.

**Domestic Objects: passive tradition or active reinforcement**

There are some classes of objects which are not produced for any form of public display and are most likely to be seen only by the ethnic group which produced them. These are objects which are primarily for use within a domestic context. However such objects may be decorated in distinctive styles or have distinctive forms. If the style of decoration is closely associated with a particular identity group, the question must be asked whether this is simply a passive product of conservatism in design production or an active process of identity reinforcement.

Bamboo containers, decorated with incised designs and treated with red or black colouring, constitute one of the most universally produced classes of domestic item in Borneo. They served the practical function of storing things, from tobacco or lime to precious valuables. Sometimes the lid was made from a section of bamboo which fitted over the base, sometimes it was carved from wood.

There is an enormous range of decorative styles for these objects and some diversity in the way the designs were produced. Some groups used only red colouring, some only black and some a mixture of both. In some areas the designs were deeply cut and the background excised, while in others the lines were simply incised and backgrounds were formed by hatching. As with most other forms of indigenous art work from Borneo, there has been no comprehensive study of the design systems on these items, although the raw material for such a study is plentiful.¹

¹ Loeb (1918-19) assembled a large range of designs from various ethnic groups for an illustrated article which illustrated some of the obvious differences in design from different groups.
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While these objects offer a medium of decoration with very few technical restrictions, the designs which were produced tended to echo the design systems on other, more public, media. Containers from the sub-coastal regions tended to have prolific Malay style foliate and floral ornament [PLATE 143, 311A, B], while those from central Borneo were covered in *aso* and elaborate interlace designs. [PLATE 258-261, 274] Ot Danum and Ngaju containers could have pictorial designs with funerary connotations, like those of the *tiwah* boards or their pictorial mats. [PLATE 39C, 311C] Among some groups, such as the Bidayuh or the Murut-Kelabit, these objects were the most intricately decorated and distinctive things that they produced. [PLATE 312, 313A] Fashions changed in this medium, apparently quite rapidly.

Bamboo smoking pipes were decorated in this way. These were only made by Bidayuh and Murut groups, each having their own distinctive form. [PLATE 72B, 89D, 312E] The decorative designs of the pipes were identical to those on other bamboo items produced by each group. Bamboo flutes from central Borneo or Iban shaman’s staves were also sometimes decorated in this way.

A particular example of the decorated bamboo container was the case used to transport blowpipe darts. The central Borneo peoples rarely decorated the bamboo case with engraving, but the object was highly crafted, usually with a carved wooden lid and a hook for carrying and decorative rattan plaitwork. [PLATE 56D, 166] The central Borneo type nearly always had the handle carved in the form of an *aso* head, while those of the Iban were carved in a variety of designs. [PLATE 144B] Some West Kalimantan groups produced cases with floral and foliate engraved designs. [PLATE 313B] Museum collections contain numerous unprovenanced specimens of unusual design, suggesting that they may have originally been collected from groups which no longer use the blowpipe.

The carved wooden stoppers for bamboo containers could be freely and fancifully executed, but often reflected motifs and styles produced in larger carved works.¹ These small containers can represent a miniature version of the

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¹ Some old Ngaju stoppers have human effigies carved in a somewhat Chinese style, resembling some old forms of *hampatong* figures. [PLATE 314] There are also stoppers carved in the form of the *hampatong halimaung* or funerary feline statues of the Ot Danum regions. *Aso* figures carved on stoppers from the Mahakam were in the same style as similar figures carved on stools, bowls or doors, while there are face designs which resemble those of the bird masks of the Mahakam.
art of each group, with the decoration of the bamboo echoing the two dimensional design systems of the group while the carved stoppers echo the plastic art. They are not trivial items in the way that they present style and design systems, even though they are not essentially for public display. They might be regarded in some senses as practice pieces for larger items of public art, and perhaps as items which offer reinforcement of identity messages as portrayed on more public media. Being made of non-durable materials, they are essentially ephemera and capable of rapidly imitating changes in style, or possibly even being used to generate them.

The traditional suite of items of domestic use in any household was not extensive, but many were finely made. Storage containers of basketry ranged in size from small boxes for sirih to large containers for storing clothes. Some of the central Borneo people decorated these with panels of beadwork. The Kayans of Sarawak were particularly noted for large storage baskets adorned with beadwork panels with geometric designs. The social habit of betel chewing only penetrated to remote regions such as the Apo Kayan in the early years of this century, but the beadwork covers of basketry sirih boxes carry the same motifs and designs as other beadwork articles. A newly invented article was simply incorporated into existing systems of design. Carved wooden hooks or hangers used by central Borneo people could also reflect the design of more public works. [PLATE 242B, 315]

The peoples of central Borneo, in keeping with their general traditions of carving, made fine hardwood bowls and spoons for everyday use. [PLATE 245-247] Such items disappeared from their repertoire when trade goods became more readily available, but many of the old items were elaborately decorated and finely crafted, with regional and ethnic variations of style. Pride in workmanship and distinctiveness of style was apparent even for these domestic items. However they were rapidly abandoned when a more readily procurable alternative became available.

There are various types of miscellaneous domestic items which were specialities of various groups. In some Ngaju areas they produced very decorative basketry fans for use in the kitchen. Some communities specialised in the production of very fine quality mats. In west Kalimantan, Kendayan groups

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[PLATE 240A, B, 248] Figures carved on stoppers often resembled larger carved amulet figures (Goldman 1975).
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made highly elaborate hemispherical food covers. While some European observers commented on the sparseness of the domestic material goods of the Dayaks, those that they had were not crude or unregarded by their owners. Pride of craftsmanship and distinctiveness of design extended into the interior of the home.

The ethnic distinctiveness of items for private domestic use does not communicate to others across ethnic boundaries. Being for the use of those within a community, rather than for the edification of those without, they reinforce the common values, principles of design and aesthetic which are shared by a group. They are hardly a passive reflection of tradition when it can be seen that styles can change over a very short period of time. Rather, they are part of the whole system whereby designs are generated, perpetuated and transfigured into art forms with more overt social messages.

Summary

The various classes of objects considered in this chapter can all contribute to the maintenance of identity relationships at various levels. Certain classes, those which relate to the public display of the identity of individuals, contain social coding which is mainly relevant within a community as well as markers of identity at a wider level. Those classes of objects which are associated with community values rather than the status or role of individuals can provide less equivocal markers of group identity.

It is not possible to construct assemblages of objects which unequivocally divide the population into discrete units whose artistic production correlates with a named and bounded identity group. Such groups themselves are an artifact of classification processes. The multiple layers of relationship demonstrated by various classes of objects defined by their social role provide a better conception of the relationships between communities of people than standard ethnic nomenclatures.

Certain classes, such as central Borneo women's tattoo patterns, demonstrate by their continuing reintegration of design systems, ongoing patterns of intermarriage and relationship between sub-groups within a larger, more clearly bounded, entity. Other classes, such as funerary monuments with their function of marking territorial boundaries, show localized variations which indicate differences between sub-groups of that larger entity.

Because styles undergo continuing processes of change, long term ethnic identities based upon the historical origins of groups cannot be traced through
conservatism in art traditions. Art systems may have traditional motifs and
design systems, but still be capable of developing a constant pattern of variation.
The traditional iconographies of a community or group can be integrated into
different formal patterns of design.

In extrapolating from a particular study such as this to the process of
analysis of the material culture of an unknown past, it is clear that the definition
of assemblages with discrete boundaries is unlikely to provide much insight into
the ethnic identities of people. Consideration must be given to the social
function of different classes of objects to determine their role in a more
complex process of evaluation of relationships between communities, related
groups of communities and larger ethnic entities.
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Patterns of Ethnic Identity

In Borneo, the distribution of human groups with linguistic and social affiliations and the distribution of recognizable forms of material culture form a complex maze of patterns. When the dimension of time is introduced, the patterning becomes even more complex. Neither the people nor the cultures can be simply classified into discrete entities. Affiliations and differentiations are active processes which are being carried out at different levels all the time. Nonetheless the result is not chaos. Patterns can be mapped. Professed ethnic identities, languages, traditions, systems of belief, art motifs, craft skills and specific material culture items can all be used to draw maps and define associations.

The nature of ethnic identification has changed over time. When Europeans first visited the island, they received information from a series of local perspectives. Many of the ethnic terms used, and retained, were diffuse terms for others rather than terms of self-recognition. Such terms as Dusun, Murut or Ngaju were not recognized by any group as pertaining to themselves. Modern classificatory schemes, whether linguistic, anthropological or bureaucratic, are based on large scale comparisons of similarity and difference among groups which in the recent past may have had few dealings with each other. Such comparative information is relayed back to the people themselves and reintegrated into concepts of identity.

Indigenous perceptions of identity were based upon localized concepts of belonging and not belonging. When groups living at a distance were claimed as affiliates, the connection was generally through an oral history or tradition of common origin and divergence. Such threads often did not give a great time depth to claims for affiliation and gave information on past relationships only with groups claimed within this narrow framework. The past relationships with groups defined outside those claiming a recent common heritage were not elucidated. To translate this into a conception of each identity group having been formed by divergence and migration from a small, discrete node of settlement is to literalize the metaphorical. Many of the complexities of interaction between peoples in the past have been omitted or forgotten. Origin traditions are devices for strengthening concepts of identity. They are not an independent validation of literal biological or social origins for a group.

This viewpoint has been given credence by archaeological study on
another continent. Hodder has attempted to correlate pottery distributions in Zambia with oral traditions of the behaviour of human groups. Correlations between the distribution of material culture traits and folk histories of human movements were found to be poor.

"Much of the reason for this apparent disagreement between the archaeological and oral evidence lies with the nature of the oral traditions. These may often exaggerate the role played by a small number of individuals ancestral to the ruling clan or lineage." (Hodder 1978:7)

Origin stories in Borneo tend to be based around the exploits of significant culture heroes whose deeds became a source of ethnic pride for an identity group. The archaeological background for these adventures has yet to be investigated in Borneo. However, strong conceptions of identity became associated with processes of migration. Powerful groups which were capable of moving into and establishing an important presence in new territory attracted others to associate with their identity.

The various river based groupings which were eventually to become known as the Iban were each internally bound by intense social interaction. Although they had no name for themselves as a whole, they had a common language, a common set of beliefs and traditions, a common social ethos and most importantly, a detailed set of origin histories with a long time depth. Under these circumstances, an ethnic group does not require a name. The name is a necessary condition for classification, but not for ethnic self-identification. Relationships with this expanding conglomerate became clearly defined into Iban and not Iban. Groups or individuals absorbed into the identity Iban did not retain their former non-Iban identity.

In the central Borneo region the situation was rather more complex. Origin histories had a shorter time depth. Ethnic interactions were more intricate and formed mosaic patterns. In a very broad sense a culture pattern based on the lifeways of the Kayan replaced older culture patterns in the area, exemplified by agriculturists who practised secondary burial, and by nomadic or semi-nomadic foragers. The Kayan culture pattern can therefore be defined as new to the region. However the fact that the Kayan of the late 19th century had an emphatic sense of identity and some novel cultural features does not require them to be intruders from outside the island. There is everything still to be learned about the prehistory of central Borneo, and prehistory in this area
extends into the 19th century. Ethnic identity and cultural novelty could be seen as social strategies among a group assuming local dominance. Within the larger central Borneo conglomerate, identities such as Kenyah or Bahau allowed for internal diversity and the retention of smaller scale identities at various levels.

Language use is a primary identifier of ethnic identity. However, in a multilingual environment like that of Borneo, patterns of use of specific languages or dialects do not necessarily indicate patterns of communication. The use of regional lingua franca such as Kayan (or Busang) in central Borneo, Kapuas Ngaju in the southeast, Iban in lowland Sarawak or Malay in many sub-coastal regions allows communication between peoples who have retained their own minority language for their own social purposes and to make a statement about identity. The establishment of the national languages of Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia simply adds another layer to this pattern of use. Languages or dialects appropriate to a former ethnic identity can be abandoned, or retained sometimes as the last marker of a smaller scale identity, or manipulated in intergroup relationships. Language is not necessarily an indicator of historical ethnic identity, but of ethnic politics. The use of multiple languages as a social strategy in ethnic manipulations is an area which does not seem to have received much attention, at least not for this part of the world.

Defining Material Culture Patterning

Patterns of material culture can be examined from various perspectives. A relatively simple procedure is the classification and mapping of certain discrete and recognizable classes of artifacts. There is no real problem with the identification of either a broad class of artifact, such as above ground burial chambers on posts, or a highly specific form of a general class, such as the parang ilang. It is simply a case of clearly defining its identifying features. The association of artifacts of different classes to form assemblages produces less clearly defined categories, as the inclusion or exclusion of certain artifact classes from the assemblage may change its boundaries. In examining change over time, individual items in an assemblage may change at different times or at different rates.

The use of technological skills is relatively easy to define, although the distribution of skills within social groups may be uneven. There may be craft specialists within communities, or communities with special skills within larger ethnic groups. The practice of particular crafts is related to a series of relationships with other peoples and cannot be placed in an evolutionist
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framework. Many craft skills were abandoned in Borneo at various times, or new skills were learned, in response to changing availability of goods and materials and changing relationships with surrounding peoples. The craft skills that people chose to employ were certainly part of their social strategies.

A more problematic area is that of style. Some analysts have defined style as a recognizable patterning in material culture which identifies the origins of the makers. Wobst (1977:321) deploys an analysis in which he equates style with formal variability in material culture related to processes of information exchange. While Wobst concedes that this does not cover "the totality of phenomena" defined as style, Weissner restricts the definition of style to this level of information exchange.

"...style ... is formal variation in material culture that transmits information about personal and social identity." (Weissner 1983:258)

Her sub-division into assertive and emblemic style simply differentiates two general categories of information transmitted. This means that the definition of what constitutes style is context based. Different codes of information transfer are used at different social boundaries; within social groups, between ethnic groups or between large cultural conglomerates. Under such a definition, formal variability which is not read as a code cannot be called style. This definition of style may provide reference points for discussion of information exchange, but does not lead to any method for recording and assessing style in an objective manner under circumstances where the code of interpretation is not yet known, such as in an archaeological context.

Sackett's alternative, bounded transmission model of style is also context centred.

"...style (a) concerns a highly specific and characteristic manner of doing something, and (b) that this manner is always peculiar to a specific time and place." (Sackett 1977:370)

His model emphasizes the importance of social interaction in generating similarity of style and specifically refers to bounded transmissions of culture in linking style to ethnicity (Sackett 1977:371). Sackett also sets up a duality between function and style, defining the former as an active or dynamic element and the latter as a passive component of an artifact. Both these propositions might be disputed with specific examples from Borneo. However both the
information exchange model and the bounded transmission model refer to what style does, rather than what style is. The characteristics of an artifact which define its style are not defined independently of the function of style.

Forge (1973:191) has also discussed style as a communication system, but his model concentrates on the way that style is used to transmit concepts and values within a society which comprehends the code, rather than across boundaries. In his use of the term style, he takes the meaning to be understood. In some cases, such as in his discussion of three different kinds of face design produced by one ethnic group on the Sepik (Forge 1973:171), he changes freely between the words "style" and "type", using the term in a much freer sense than those authors who would tie it to the identification of the creators. The identification of the individual styles of artists working within known ethnic traditions is also essentially based on an intuitive conception of style (Gerbrands 1969:66-70, Bascom 1969:103-104).

Alternatively, the minute recording and analysis of objectively measurable criteria may be able to be used to identify artifacts to specific time and place with great accuracy (Gerbrands 1969:63), but do not shed any light on the social function of style. Concern with patterns of symmetry is an exploration of unconscious patterning which may indicate ethnic origins in the sense that early learned mental patterning may be reflected in this way (Washburn and Crowe 1988, Washburn 1989). It is also an aspect of style which is accessible to objective recording and a notation system. Other aspects of style may not be so easily objectified, despite Washburn's (1983 ed.) attempts to integrate studies on structural aspects of style in art systems.

Ultimately, in assessing the relationship between style and ethnic identity, the task is to separate the signals from the noise. The stylistic individualities of single artists come under the category of noise, as do the sweeping regional similarities which cross ethnic boundaries. The extraction of signals involves the identification of patterns of difference within the limits of these regional similarities, discarding the minor nuances of individual variability. At any point in time, differences in motif, design, use of colour, use of plastic form or use of material must be sufficiently clear to be detectable across a boundary, not simply to those "socialized to receive it" (Forge 1973:191). Amongst the whole suite of material culture of a society the variables are many and the signals diverse. The selection of discernable signals from amongst a multitude of possible measurable variables must be to a large extent intuitive.
In Borneo art, there are some interesting and complex patterns derived from the use of motif. Different distributions can be obtained depending on whether motif is examined iconographically or formally. This whole interlocking web is most pronounced with the use of animal, and mythical animal, motifs as discussed in earlier chapters. *Aso* or dog, *rimau* or tiger, *naga* or water snake, dragon, crocodile, lizard and snake attributions can be applied to a series of motifs with a range of formal variations which do not correspond to the attributions. Hornbills, an important motif in the art of many Borneo societies, have been depicted in a variety of styles, some of which merge with the *aso/dragon* set of motifs. Identical formal motifs can be given different attributions by different ethnic groups. Similar iconographic attributions may be produced in a range of formal types by members of the same ethnic group, as with Melanau crocodile figures [PLATE 99B, C] or Bahau *aso* designs. The motif may vary in formal qualities depending on the medium used for its production, appearing quite different when carved in the round, in relief, in openwork, in tattoos, painted or on beadwork. [PLATE 167, 168, 212A, B, 217C, 218B, 240A, B, 241-243, 259]

Because the formal characteristics of the motif as well as its iconographic components were subject to variation over time, with borrowings and transformations of both components occurring independently, the pattern of use of the motif becomes very complex. At any given time the use of form or the iconographic interpretation may be part of an ethnic boundary maintenance mechanism, but the nature of the signals indicating a boundary could change very rapidly. The mythical animal motif is a concretion derived from the ethnically specific mythologies of various groups, operated on by various stylistic forces at different times so that the end product has no historical coherence.¹

Similar patterns of diversity of form and interpretation, and similar capacity for rapid transformation, are apparent with other significant motifs in the art of Borneo: the terrifying face, the squatting anthropomorphic figure. Even the apparently abstract interlacing patterns which are characteristic, in various stylistic variations, of the art of most Borneo peoples have been credited

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¹. The specifically dog attribution of the motif seems to have been popularized in an article by E.B. Haddon (1905). The complex and ethnically diverse nature of animal mythology, practices associated with animals and the use of animals in art by the various ethnic groups of Sarawak were discussed in an article by Hose and McDougall (1901). Recently King (1985b) has discussed the mythological animal iconographic complex in relation to symbols of social differentiation.
with various iconographic interpretations. This has been most closely investigated with the patterns on Iban textiles (Haddon and Start 1936), where the relationship between formal motif and iconographic interpretation is not direct even within the medium. [PLATE 137B-E]

The motif designated as a tree of life has been identified in a highly diverse range of representations among various ethnic groups of Borneo. It was depicted pictorially in the *tiwah* boards, mats and bamboo containers of the Ngaju and Ot Danum people [PLATE 38, 39], but has also been seen in the old style chest tattoos of men [PLATE 303A, B] and the hats worn by shamans. [PLATE 300A, B] References to such a motif can be found in the art of other ethnic groups, in ceremonial poles hung with leaves, split poles for food offerings to the spirits hung about with long wood shavings or racks hung with heirloom cloths for ceremonies. A new form of expression appeared with modern Kenyah wall paintings in which the tree, human figures and animals are depicted in colourful and extraordinarily elaborate arrangements. The form is an ethnically specific novelty, but the concept is much older and widely dispersed. Novel forms do not necessarily indicate the adoption of new icons.

Certain characteristics of motif and style in the art of the indigenous peoples of Borneo have been traced to ancient sources. Goloubew (1929) and Heine-Geldern (1937) included examples from Borneo in their discussions of the spread of motif and design from the art of Dong-son and bronze age China. Steinmann (1937) pursued this theme particularly in relation to boat imagery, including Dayak examples as well as the famous ship cloths and mats from Sumatra. Some authors have concentrated on the relations of Borneo art specifically with ancient Chinese motifs and systems of design (Hein 1890, Gill 1968b, McBain 1981).

Design elements recur through time in Borneo art, so that decorative elements on modern textiles, basketry or carving can be found in the decorations on prehistoric pots. This gives the whole corpus of Borneo indigenous art the appearance of being a conservative tradition, grounded in an ancient system of design, repeating antique motifs and themes. However it is apparent that within the constraints of design and motif available within this tradition, there is considerable scope for distinctiveness and constant processes of adoption, rearrangement, iconographic invention and stylistic change. Conservatism of motif and design does not necessarily imply conservatism in the use of this motif and design by a particular group of people over a long period of time. The art of an ethnic group does not define its history. The mode of use
of a sub-set of the tradition can define relationships at a particular point in time.

An excellent example of these processes is the case of the *klirieng* or *lijeng* mortuary poles of the Kajang of the Rejang and the Lepu Pu’un Kenyah of the Baram region, discussed in previous chapters. The motifs used in the carved decoration, including heart shaped faces, squatting anthropomorphs, interlocking spirals and rows of plaiting, are part of this ancient tradition of Southeast Asian art. [PLATE 50A, 52A, 54B, 208, 239A] The complete ensemble of form, motif and construction of these objects represents an event in regional history. The efflorescence of artistic production which produced these monuments during the 18th and 19th centuries was the result of ethnic competition related to specific events of migration and the development of a commonality of identity by groups under duress at a particular period in history. Aspects of longstanding visual tradition were modelled into objects representing a situational and interactive act of ethnic identification, as defined by Cohen (1978:387-389).

Style can be assessed by the separate examination of overall form, motif, design arrangement and decoration. These elements can combine to form new artifacts from stylistic components already in the repertoire of Borneo art. The old forms reflect histories, albeit dimly, the new combinations reflect events.

**Large Scale Material Culture Patterning**

The division of the island into large ethnolinguistic groupings which have certain distinctive characteristics of material culture was discussed in Chapter 5. While the material culture of each grouping has certain features which distinguish it, the groups are not defined by direct comparison of cognate categories. Craft skills, type artifacts, aspects of style and the whole construction of art systems contribute in different ways to the definition of each group.

The groups are not internally homogeneous. Sub-groups have interacted with others, either within the larger group or across borders, in various ways. Influences from outside have penetrated them at uneven rates. Probably they never were homogeneous in the first place. Changes occurring over time have altered the material culture of large groups, or varied their boundaries. Specific areas of similarity and difference have changed. For example, there are no longer any stone monument builders. In the area of female dress, a mode of attire using *ikat* dyed skirts and rattan strips around the waist, formerly found across the southern part of the island, was developed into a distinctive mode of dress among the Iban and abandoned entirely by Ngaju women. While the large
blocks may represent bounded areas of tradition in some sense, even at this level neither the tradition nor the borders are unchanging.

As well as these patterns of blocks, there are concentric patterns over the island. The large rivers which flow from the central region to the various coasts form routes of communication which become more difficult to negotiate as the mountains of the interior break them up into fast flowing rapids. There has been a conception that the peoples of the furthest interior, being the most removed from outside influence, were somehow representative of the oldest and most authentic form of Borneo culture.

In fact there appears to have been an expansion of a new culture pattern in the innermost regions, absorbing other cultures of diverse origins to form the mosaic of central Borneo. The lowland regions have undoubtedly been in touch with outside influences. Hindu-Buddhist influence is not only manifested in archaeological relics, but in the cultural practices and beliefs of the peoples of southeastern Kalimantan. The peoples of Sabah have had much in common with those of the southern Philippines. Coastal Malay culture has influenced Dayak groups near the centres of Malay population. The surviving objects and cultural practices which might be thought to be representative of the oldest traditions in Borneo may be found in the middle and upper reaches of the rivers among groups with a long history of occupation of the area.

The practice of secondary disposal of the dead, with its associated monuments, forms an uneven ring around the island, between the coastal regions and the central Borneo area. It is more extensive in the south of the island, and more thinly dispersed in the northerly regions. Among some groups, such as the Melanau and some Bahau, it was evidently only abandoned during the course of the 19th century. Motifs and styles in wood carving were similar among groups of the upper Rejang, Baram, Mahakam and Mendalam. Weaving skills were retained longest by sub-coastal or lowland groups on all sides of the island: Ibanic groups, Dusun of Sabah, lower Mahakam people and Malays. These groups also practised ikat dyeing, a skill which apparently never penetrated the innermost regions of the island. Concentric patterning can be

1. Metcalf (1976:97-103), in a discussion based essentially around groups in Sarawak, has referred to a "nulang arc", the term nulang being the Berawan word for secondary bone deposition and its attendant ceremony. However the arc on the map is completed into an irregular circular distribution if known and remembered practices from groups in Indonesian Borneo are considered.
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found in small matters of detail. The wearing of disc shaped plugs in the enlarged lobes of the ear was formerly practised by Ngaju men and women, by women of the so-called Klemantan groups of the Baram and by Maloh and related peoples of west Kalimantan.

Meanwhile, the development in the very heart of Borneo of a tradition of polychrome two dimensional art utilising paint, beadwork and imported fabric in appliqué designs represents a novel tradition. This tradition utilized motifs ancient and modern, and materials imported from the coastal regions. Travellers to the heart of Borneo found, not the most antique tradition, but the most recently refurbished. This does not, however, make it trivial. The new forms embodied codes of communication that were significant in social functioning. The tradition lies in the interpretation, not in the particularities of form or material.

Similarities of art style among groups in the centre of Borneo are related to ethnic solidarity at various levels. Concentric patterns around the periphery may represent an unrelated series of coastal interactions and have no such implication. Concentric relationships between distant groups located between the interior and the coast must represent remnants of former patterns of interaction, disrupted by more recent events.

The rivers may assist in developing concentric patterns by acting as barriers, but they also lead to the formation of radiating river based patterns through their use for movement and communication. Among the central Borneo peoples, there were particularities of style shared by various ethnic groups on the Mahakam, in contrast to other stylistic patterns shared by peoples of the Rejang/Baram system. These river based stylistic characteristics, although shared between groups with differing named and historical ethnicity, represent identity at another level, indicating the integrative processes occurring along the waterways. The Iban groups of the various rivers of Sarawak had and maintained some differences of lifeways and of material culture. Even among the Bidayuh of Sarawak, one of the more enclosed groups of Borneo, differences of language, dress and general presentation occurred between the communities of the Sarawak and the Sadong watersheds.

Finally there are certain characteristics, mainly in relation to craft skills, which were found in widely dispersed isolated pockets with no apparent geographic or ethnic relationship. Earthenware pottery for example, was produced by a few remote Iban groups, a few isolated communities in the Apo Kayan region and by Murut-Kelabit peoples in Sarawak. The pottery was
produced by similar technique in these cases and the results were similar in form and decoration. Pottery was also produced by some Dusun and Bajau communities in Sabah. This pottery was different in form, with some more complex shapes and smoothed surfaces.1 In the 19th century, apart from in Ibanic and Malay areas, weaving skills were dispersed around communities in various ethnic groups and in all major regions of the island, but were often isolated to communities with these specialist skills. Both these crafts must represent the relics of formerly more extensively practised skills which were lost or discarded in response to various changing conditions.

Skill in ironworking was attributed to particular localized groups among the Kayans of the Baram, the Bahau of the Mahakam and certain interior groups of southern Kalimantan. These people were the ones who had formerly smelted their own ore. Their body of knowledge and skills remained concentrated, if not isolated, even after the introduction of imported iron bars as raw material.

The manufacture of barkcloth garments was practised by certain interior peoples all over the island. European visitors tended to equate the use of barkcloth clothing with remoteness, lack of contact and lack of access to markets. Barkcloth clothing retained its function as work clothing for the fields for some time because of its strength and practicality. In central Borneo it was also retained as mourning costume. Its use for highly crafted, decorated or prestige garments was restricted to localised areas.2 The retention of partially superseded skills to produce distinctive objects of social importance produces disjunct distributions.

These different types of patterns can intersect, and can themselves be sub-divided into smaller units, all with some implications for identity


relationships. The fact that the patterning is labile, and does not produce simple and discrete stylistic units reflects similar patterns in concepts of identity. In order to get a clearer picture of the nature of the identity relationships, it is necessary to examine in more detail the ways in which different types of objects transmit information.

Social Distance and Information Transmission

It is clear that a whole range of types of objects have the potential to display signals indicating something of the identity of the owner or producer of the object. Wobst (1977:323-326) has suggested that such information is directed to recipients at an intermediate social distance from the owner and that therefore the object must be visible and recognizable by viewers with such a relationship to the owner, neither a complete stranger nor a close contact for whom such information would be redundant.

In fact, certain objects can contain encoded information of a range of types, each directed at a different recipient. The visibility of an object depends not only on its size and location, but also on the social circumstances of its presentation.

A large funerary monument erected on a conspicuous hillside above a river is an obvious example. To a complete stranger who has no knowledge whatsoever of the local social coding, the object still conveys a message. It is large, has been erected with some effort and many resources have been expended in its construction. It is clearly a marker of territorial ownership, and if the observer cannot read anything else of the code, that in itself indicates that the peoples claiming ownership of the territory have different affiliations to his own. To a person from the same region, but of a different ethnic group, more signals may be readable. The form of the monument and aspects of its decoration indicate which ethnic group built it, and such a conspicuous display of ethnic pride may reflect aspects of local power politics. To the people belonging to the ethnic group that built it, a different set of signals may assume greater importance. Those indicating ethnic identity may become redundant, but those indicating the social rank of the deceased, his lifetime achievements or his family affiliations predominate.

There are other strategies for dealing with redundant signals. They can be deflected away from the human domain altogether, especially if they are threatening. Figures in aggressive poses bearing weapons, or with enlarged genitals or terrifying faces may be placed on paths at the approaches to villages,
built into longhouse verandah posts or entrances or placed in conspicuous funerary complexes. To a total stranger they may appear as merely threatening and convey the signal to proceed with caution. To local people who can read the code, they may indicate the identity of the owners of the nearest village and thereby allow them to predict their likely reception in such a place. To the inhabitants of the village, legitimately returning home, the signals of aggression are not directed at them, but at evil spirits which might attack their home. The overt aggression is not a source of threat, but of comfort.

Such aggressive symbols were also painted on shields or depicted in carving or beadwork on the backs of baby carriers. The latter in particular carry a range of social signals, indicating the baby's ethnic identity as well as its inherited social rank and the age and stage of its short life. A baby carrier covered in a bright beadwork design would seem to be an inherently visible item, but it is likely to be mainly seen by the members of its own local community. The function of protection by deterring evil spirits is real, especially in societies where many infants have not survived this dangerous period of their lives. The deflection of aggressive symbols to the spirit world affirms, rather than negates, their power.

The designs painted on shields tended to become standardized across different ethnic groups. The observer had to know whether the design was directed at him as an enemy, or at evil influences of a less tangible kind. The Ibans of the Ulu Ai were using shield designs borrowed from their enemies in the period when they were still carrying out acts of aggression against them. This could almost be seen as a subversion of ethnic coding, turning the symbols back against their creators.

Distinctive elaborations of style are not confined to objects of high cross-cultural visibility. For example, the beadwork designs added to small basketry containers by central Borneo people reproduced the same motifs and stylistic elaborations as large paintings or beadwork on clothes or baby carriers. If such a container holds the ingredients for betel chewing it is part of the process of extending hospitality and may have a function in inter-group communication. However it might equally be a storage container for valuables, seen only by its owner. Engraved bamboo containers and their wooden stoppers, small anthropomorphic carvings used for protection or for rituals in the home, or various craft tools could be richly decorated in styles which related intimately to those of larger and more public works. Perhaps notable is a certain freedom of interpretation of design on these smaller and less public works, implying that
these serve not only for reinforcement of identity coding in artistic expression, but also as sources of innovation.

The tattoo designs of women in the central Borneo regions embodied certain social coding, with respect to both ethnic identity and social rank. The patterns changed over time as various innovations were introduced and borrowings took place, but some degree of ethnic differentiation was perpetuated. However, while these tattoos were displayed on conspicuous parts of the anatomy, it is very difficult to distinguish the design details except with very close examination as the patterns are so dense and dark. They are permanent, but they are not readable from an intermediate social or physical distance. Certainly there is no principle of conservation of energy, or maximizing of communicative efficiency, by restricting distinctive artistic output to items visible to observers at a particular social distance.

Hodder (1982:54-55) has commented on ethnic distinctiveness in the spatial organization of the home. Although the messages are subtle, subliminal and internally directed, he notes that the internal, private world may be ordered in the same way, and to the same extent, as the exterior, overt world. Houses in Borneo could convey identity messages at various levels, some detectable to outsiders and others mainly only to the inhabitants of a house. Central Borneo longhouses were readily distinguished from those of the Iban by their materials of construction and their design. This could be a matter of some significance to a river traveller on the Rejang or Baram, for example. Some distinctive patterns of organization of a central Borneo longhouse reflected the social hierarchy of the community. While these patterns might be discernible to an outsider, they were also directed at the members of the community itself in a conscious reinforcement of social values. More subtle were the distinctive patterns of organization of space for the daily functions of work, cooking, domesticity and community interaction. Such spatial patterning is absorbed from earliest youth and may represent a completely unconscious sense of correctness in the most intimate aspects of the everyday environment.

Wobst’s (1977:323-326) definition of ethnically distinctive style as an information system directed to an intermediate social distance is, in fact, circular and self-defining. Ethnic differences themselves define intermediate social distance, as they locate the boundaries between self-aware groups which recognize the existence of each other. The material culture styles of ethnic groups which do not even recognize each other’s existence send no specific messages. Sheer unfamiliarity becomes a symbol of otherness in the absence of
specifically directed signals.

Objects which are designed to send a message to a specific target must be visible to that target, but they are not the only objects showing distinctive aspects of style produced by a social group. Objects can send different messages to different target groups, both within and without their own society. Aspects of style which are not generally visible to others at an intermediate or greater social distance direct their messages inward, reinforcing concepts of identity.

The Social Function of Objects

The nature of the information transmitted by an object depends on a number of characteristics of the object, as well as its function in a social role. An attempt to classify objects according to their social function was made in Chapter 8. The audience for stylistic messages varies according to the social role of the object. In the area and period under study, the social function of certain classes of objects has changed over time, especially those objects associated with warfare and with religious practice.

The classes of objects chosen were particular to the societies being investigated, and do not necessarily represent the precise cultural taxonomy that might be applied in a different time or place. In relation to archaeological assemblages, they contain many types of objects which would be most unlikely to survive under normal circumstances for long periods. However, they constitute a series of case studies exemplifying the questions to be asked about the roles of objects in their society. They represent approaches to the problem rather than a series of specific answers to the role of particular objects in an assemblage from an unknown ancient society.

Sackett's (1977:370-371) definition of style specifically sets up a duality between style and function. However, even for objects of practical use, the social role may be reflected in stylistic attributes. The exchange of information among members of a society, or between that society and others, must surely be considered a function. This may be a completely different function to the purely practical function of the object, but is not of lesser importance.

The various diverse forms of chopping sword utilized by different ethnic groups in Borneo appear to have been equally functional for chopping, either in battle or in the rice fields. Their diversity, and the subsequent adoption of a standardized form in the parang ilang, owes more to the social and communicative function than to the chopping capability. War clothing, hats and shields all had the functions both of protection and display. As the need for
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protection diminished and display became paramount, while ethnic definition and dynamics were in a period of realignment, the use of these items in different societies diverged. Some became obsolete, some became modified for use in ritual purposes, and some became standardized for use in display to a wider audience. They became traditional, in the sense that they ratified identity by association with the abandoned practices of a remembered past.

Certain classes of objects, such as funerary monuments, large ceremonial structures, conspicuous architectural decoration and carved terrifying figures, were designed for communication across ethnic barriers as well as within societies. Large visible ritual constructions, especially those associated with headhunting ritual, had a definite reference to other ethnic groups even if the participants in the ritual were all from one community. With funerary monuments in particular, it is noteworthy that while there are general forms which may be said to be typical of a large ethnic conglomerate, style was not uniform across an ethnic region. Creating contrast and diversity at a boundary caused changes to form and design, leading to divergences within groups with a recent historical ethnic identity. Conservatism may have constrained design, but not absolutely.

Items of personal display, such as clothing, jewellery, tattoos and hats can convey the same range of intergroup and intragroup messages as the funerary monuments. Among central Borneo groups all these classes of objects could also display the same motifs as the monuments, and they had the same references with respect to the social rank of individuals. These identifiers of rank were retained even while other aspects of personal presentation were highly labile and signifiers of minor boundaries within the complex shifted, disappeared and were reinvented.

While rapid changes of fashion occurred in the area of women's clothing, tattoos and other aspects of personal adornment, new styles were still differentiated across ethnic boundaries. Some boundaries, such as those within the central Borneo complex, became less pronounced while others, such as between the central Borneo women and the Iban, continued to be strongly signified. Such differentiating boundaries were not strongly maintained by men of the interior groups. Clothing, tattoos, war kit and forms of personal adornment became more standardized across a range of ethnic groups. Men's personal adornments became signifiers of personal achievement and the adoption of tattoos or ornaments from other ethnic groups were insignia of this achievement. The different patterns of male and female display reflected the
different lifeways of male and female society rather than any differences in the way that they perceived themselves ethnically.

Objects periodically displayed in community ritual communicate in different ways, depending on the size and nature of the audience and whether the object carries references to individuals within the society, or simply to the community as a whole. Coffins, for example, carry symbols referring to the place of an individual in society. These symbols are the same as those displayed on grave structures and other publicly displayed items and consequently employ similar elements of style, simply because they use the same vocabulary and syntax. The communicative capacity of the art of the coffin is complex, employing layers of ethnic symbolism, symbolism of class, stratum or office and symbolism of personal identity or achievement. The items are displayed briefly and a new item is made for each occasion of display, allowing for radical stylistic changes between occasions. The audience for the display varies according to the status or position of the individual, and the symbolic code may be adjusted accordingly.

In contrast, masks have no reference to individuals. Their social function was generally in ceremonies which involved the members of a single community or ethnic group, on occasions at which community solidarity was emphasized in a celebration of communal endeavour. On such occasions, community cohesion was emphasized and the beliefs and ritual belonging to a community were celebrated. In this context, it is notable that mask styles spread among groups which were forging new alliances of identity, but that elaborate styles did not tend to be transferred across major ethnic boundaries. Ethnic distinctiveness in the appearance of masks was related to ethnic distinctiveness in the use of masks.

In the modern context masks have become part of the costume of ethnic display. Styles have since been borrowed between ethnically related mask using groups. Ethnically distinctive touches have been added, such as the use of beadwork designs on the hood masks used by Kenyah women. Like war costume, their social function has changed.

The effect of community, as opposed to individual, use is also exemplified in the use of musical instruments. Those used for community occasions have tended to be retained while those used in private or individual contexts have undergone greater change. Certain types have become redundant, others have been borrowed between groups. As with the masks, the occasion of use, and in this case the music used on the occasion, has restrained the form.
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The social function of objects, the occasion of their display and the audience to whom they are displayed all influence the code of communication embodied in their form. However no class of object can simply be dismissed as trivial.\(^1\) It is a mistake to confuse lability in design with insignificance. Styles of earrings may change rapidly, but they are part of a code of personal presentation which, read as a whole, signifies the nature of inter-group relationships. The abrupt appearance of naturalistic tigers or the colour green, bought from a commercial paint shop, in central Borneo wall paintings does not make their social messages less important.

Cultures, Boundaries and the Nature of Stress

Neither the bounded transmission model (Sackett 1977) nor the information theory model (Wobst 1977, Weissner 1983) are adequate to explain the total complexity of ethnic distinctiveness in material culture and art systems. Boundedness may help to develop distinctive and recognizable style by restriction of the total vocabulary and syntax available. Familiar forms, absorbed from earliest days and associated with significant life stages or events, may dictate the structure of an art system or material culture set to a degree. The deliberate choice of such familiar forms for objects which are not, or even cannot, be used in a boundary maintenance context may reinforce a sense of identity.

It is quite clear that ethnic groups or cultures do not allow unrestricted access of objects, art forms or styles across their boundaries. Knowing does not necessarily lead to absorbing. Equally, boundary maintenance mechanisms do not require the total exclusion of movement, even across a boundary of some importance. The transmission of specific motifs, styles or forms from one system to another has led to some distributions that are not explained, although generalized terms such as migration, contact or diffusion may be invoked. These terms may be quite meaningless if the mechanisms and processes cannot be elucidated in some degree of detail.

If the plotting of certain art traits is extended beyond Borneo to the

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1. Moerman (1965:1218), for example, has used the word “trivial” in relation to certain material culture traits which delimit differences between hill tribal groups in Thailand, because these traits, or groups of traits, do not neatly define named ethnic entities.
archipelago at large the complexity of this problem becomes apparent. The tracing of single traits through place and time can lead to a meaningless jumble of connections.

What happens at boundaries can be resolved into something more meaningful, even though the transmission of information across the boundary is not the only function or inspiration for art or design. Distinctly maintained boundaries, or efflorescences of stylistic change, or extravagances of presentation in boundary areas can indicate that the boundaries are regarded as being of importance, and that the people on either side of them maintain values and identities which influence the way that they conduct their lives. A plotting of the boundaries may give more information about the relationships between groups of people than the plotting of cultural similarities over wide areas. As groups define themselves in opposition to others, so they present themselves in opposition.

Cultural similarities at an incommunicable distance represent historical associations of some sort. It may not be possible to identify the nature of that association from the material evidence alone. Cultural differences in immediate proximity represent events in the relationships between peoples.

Hodder (1979) has suggested that boundaries shown through material culture patterning may reflect regions of economic and social stress. Certainly, in Borneo, areas of dispute between peoples have led to efflorescences of stylistic variation in art and material culture and the development of boundaries marked by style in material culture. It is, however, worthwhile to consider briefly the exact nature of the stress.

Borneo was an area of extremely low population density, so that the

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1. Mats and cloths depicting ships and mortuary mythology from southern Sumatra have a close resemblance to the painted mortuary boards and plaited mats of the Ngaju and Ot Danum people. The carved crossed gables on Iban sungkup graves recall roof gables from places as far afield as the Tanimbar islands. Central Borneo aso designs sometimes, but not always, look like the dragons depicted on old jars from China. The old tattoo patterns of the Ngaju, unlike any others in Borneo, have their closest affinity with designs from northern Luzon. Relief carvings of people with extended earlobes and carrying blowpipes were depicted on the Borobodur.

2. Such border areas may retain material markers of identity even when these have become less relevant in other areas. A purely ephemeral personal observation suggests that the practice of tattooing among Iban men is particularly notable in Kapit, the last bazaar town in Iban territory on the Rejang. It was also in Kapit that I encountered one elderly Kayan man wearing magnificent antique brass aso earrings, which he removed on his return to his home in Belaga. Nobody else appeared to be wearing such relics in the upriver regions.
movement of groups of people up or down rivers hardly precipitated a demographic crisis in a literal sense. However, the agricultural population was localized into narrow river corridors where they utilized a form of land management, dry swidden agriculture, which necessitated the management of large tracts of territory, larger than were actually under the direct control of a community at any particular point in time. Communities also controlled certain forest resources such as wild sago stands, timber trees, old fruit trees growing on abandoned longhouse sites and honey trees. An influx of newcomers to a region could pose a threat to existing systems of resource management without actually invading in such numbers as to cause actual deprivation.

Warfare, in the form of headhunting raids, was an integral part of life in the interior regions. The practice was highly engaged with the ritual life of communities and, in the case of the stratified societies, with the status of chiefly families. However, in regions of territorial competition the separation between acts of ritual necessity and outright acts of war became blurred. Human sacrifice, murder and defence of territory were not acts occupying different categories of behaviour. Among the Iban, individual prestige seeking exacerbated the process. Warfare and headhunting occurred between closely ethnically related groups, but the intrusion of aggressive newcomers to territory introduced new patterns and new dynamics to the process.

The significance for any sort of archaeological analysis on unknown societies of the past is that stress, in the form of threat and aggression, can be present without the degree of demographic change that must generate subsistence change. The material manifestations of stress behaviour can occur

1. The significance of these resources seems to have been undervalued by colonial governments in their resettlement of communities. The Sarawak government, for example, in its movement of Kenyah communities from the upper Balui tributaries into the Belaga river, were quite self-satisfied about the improvement wrought by the Kenyahs on the rice cultivation of the indigenes, while ignoring their protests about the despoliation of sago plantations and fruit groves by the invaders. They also encouraged the collection of jungle produce such as rattan and gutta percha from distant regions of the forests without enquiries into any pre-existing rights in these matters. These policies no doubt added to the stresses of these regions.

2. The relationships between migration and the ecology of swidden agriculture, prestige seeking and cultural values, and headhunting and aggression by the Iban have been debated by King (1976b). He especially disputes the purely ecological explanation for Iban expansionism and aggression originally propagated by Vayda (1969). Whichever way the cause and effect is constructed, the relationship between cultural values and territoriality, mediated through warfare and headhunting, is evident.
without detectable signs of resource depletion. While there is an ecological basis for the development of the sense of stress, the human behavioural manifestations are evident before there is evidence for change to the environment. Stress, and its consequences for the development of observable ethnic boundaries, is a condition of the human mind, not the landscape. Hodder's (1979) analyses, and mine, have gone from the known conditions of society to their material manifestation, but it should be possible to extrapolate from material culture patterning in an unknown landscape something of the reactions and fears of the human mind.

The Iban and the central Borneo complex: some contrasts

The two ethnolinguistic conglomerates used as the main examples in this study indicate the degree of variability in the conduct of ethnic relations and in its artistic expression, even within narrow parameters of economy, ecology and environment. The Iban, and in particular the branches which migrated into Sarawak in pre-colonial times and continued their expansion through this century, absorbed people totally into their identity. They had a strongly defined group identity and image. Other groups were defined strictly in opposition to them. Their art and material culture, however, was not clearly defined as a system. They had a highly recognisable system of design associated with their special technological skills, weaving and *ikat* dyeing, but this system of design is not strongly reflected in other aspects of their art or material culture. They readily borrowed and adapted from other groups, so that their whole art and material culture complex changed rapidly over time and was disjunct in style.

Within the central Borneo complex, ethnic identity was maintained at a series of levels by groups who became incorporated into the events of the region at different times and in different ways. Rousseau's (1990:1-4) categorisation of the peoples as a cultural and ethnic mosaic without clearly defined internal boundaries is the end product of many events and processes. Nevertheless their art and material culture forms a coherent system in which motif, design and style are transferred through a range of objects and media. Their art is perceived as conservative, although innovations have been incorporated into it. Divergences of style have been absorbed and assimilated. The art system does not reveal the diversity of origins of the people.

Two major factors may have a bearing on these contrasts. Although both ethnic conglomerates had a similar ecological and economic mode of functioning, there was a significant difference in their social organization.
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Within the central Borneo group, the forging of alliances was conducted partly through the intermarriage of aristocrats between ethnic groups, so that the leaders of communities were frequently of a different ethnic and linguistic origin to the ordinary members of the community. Small scale identities were preserved within communities, but much of the artistic expression was concerned with the expression of social rank, and was transferred between communities and regions through intercommunication at an aristocratic level. There was an increasingly standardized code of communication within societies which was dictated from the top.

Among the Iban no such formalized social coding existed. New communities formed around the leadership of influential individuals. Individuals from other ethnic groups absorbed into a community accepted the leader and the ethos of the community as a whole. Equally, there were no social barriers to the adoption of artistic forms.

The other factor concerns the nature of the migrations. Among the central Borneo people there was a long series of movements in many directions. Groups diverged, formed new alliances, split and reformed. The Iban movement, even from precolonial times, was essentially in one direction, and very rapid during colonial times. A strong identity was maintained as the new interfaces which continued to be made were with a series of non-Iban people.

The differences between the two conglomerates indicate that it is not possible to develop a simple ecological or economic model for the analysis of the way in which ethnic identity is reflected in material culture. The nature of the relationships between communities of people is also dependent upon historical processes.

Conclusion: the value of the concept of ethnicity

A study of this type, set in its specific social and ecological context and within the time frame and circumstances of colonial and post-colonial events, cannot be used as a rigid structural model for the analysis of material culture from other eras, other environments and other circumstances. What it can do is generate concepts on the nature of ethnic identity, how it operates, how it can be expressed and why it is important.

In archaeological interpretation, the concept of a tightly bonded people-culture relationship which can survive through eons is seriously questioned. However, this has tended to lead to the abandonment of the whole concept of ethnic identity as a human motivation discernible through the examination of
the material culture of past societies. This study of contemporary societies, examined over a period of accelerated historical change, suggests that ethnicity is detectable. However, it is not expressed through lineages of bounded cultural expression, but through synchronic relationships signified through boundaries.

Ethnic identification, as opposed to ethnic classification, is not bound to the genetic histories of populations, to migrations or to the transfer and diffusion of technological skills. It is associated with a body of belief and ritual, a language and a social ethos which is specific to a group. It is not tied to one group of people for generation upon generation, whatever their fate, as none of these defining factors are heritable characteristics. It is a time factored construct of culture, tied to the adoption or discard of communal value systems.

Identity need not be expressed in terms of a unified body of art and material culture over a large area. Rather, it is expressed as differentiation from neighbouring groups through aspects of a readable aesthetic code. The adoption of many aspects of material cultural expression across a boundary is related to adoption of cultural values, not necessarily to patterns of political dominance or absorption. If adoption of novel ecological strategies or technological skills from neighbouring groups is accompanied by the adoption of the signifiers of ethnic identity, then this indicates that the process is accompanied by associated changed cultural values.

The identification of the material culture objects which signify ethnic identity can lead to inferences about changing value systems. Cultural change is not merely attributable to migration, in terms of the simple translocation of large bodies of conservative minded people, or to diffusion, categorised as a passive process of absorption of culture traits or technological skills without attributes of cultural value. Ethnic change involves conscious acts of choice by groups of people who collectively change the values of their culture.

The identification of such a process from the archaeological record cannot be achieved through a cumulative process of identification of assemblages. Some analysis, albeit somewhat speculative, of the social function of specific types of objects is required, and a recognition that differences in form and design can be deliberately maintained as a social strategy. Contact does not necessarily equate with adoption.

The adoption of identity and value by one group from another suggests an uneven balance of power in a situation of competition. The winner may have an advantage in food production technology, in the use of materials or the design of tools, or may be healthier or better organized or have access to
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superior raw materials or to more diverse trade networks. The loser may be unwilling or unable to retreat or to find an ecological or economic niche in which they can retain their identity. They may perceive the other as having achieved superiority in an area where they could only aspire. They may be forced to change their identity or may willingly participate in a new cultural experience.

Alternatively, the transfer of novel cultural traits across boundaries which may be categorized as ethnic may indicate the possibility of cultural change without a severe power imbalance. Technological or subsistence novelties may be able to thrive in a variety of social or cultural environments. Goods traded across boundaries may be accorded a different cultural value and may not, of necessity, be a cause of sociocultural change.

Whatever the particularities of historical event, the concept of ethnicity allows for the exercise of human choice in the time frame of prehistory and frees at least one aspect of explanation of culture change from the tyranny of determinisms. Ethnic identity incorporates a whole set of social values, in which the ritual and psychological aspects of social life are incorporated as part of the totality of economic, agricultural and technological activities of a group. Food acquisition, technological skills and large scale group activities may be entangled in aspects of belief and ritual which are part of ethnic determination. The concept of ethnic identity may be able to be invoked as a means of legitimating the association of social or cultural factors that are not connected at a basic functionalist level.

If ethnic identity is considered to be a significant factor in the process of culture change, then it is not possible to devise simple processual schemes to drive these changes. Every encounter across an ethnic boundary is an event with its own series of stresses, ecological aspects, power relations and variations in cultural orientation. Determinant factors operate within a particular historical framework.

Prehistory, investigating the evidence of centuries of time collapsed into small holes in the ground, is of necessity a study of change. Yet it has relied on concepts of human identity that remain stable for long periods. Certain people made particular kinds of stone tools. Certain people migrated. Certain people developed agriculture. Certain people built cities and developed bureaucracies. The identities of people were based on their participation in long term processes. In fact, it is during the course of processes of change which require the adoption of new cultural values that realignments of identity are likely to
occur. The focus in archaeological thinking must move away from the concept of long term people-culture associations and towards an investigation of how, when and why social boundaries have been created and have changed.

The concept of ethnic identity allows an investigation of why people change. The transmission of culture change is based not only on evolutionist concepts of the inherent superiority of succeeding forms, but on the processes by which these changes are incorporated into the complete cultural environment. Ethnic identification is a means by which people incorporate new concepts into their culture by group ratification of cultural value. The variables in the equation are not just people and culture, but people, culture, time and value.
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POSTSCRIPT:

In the course of this investigation of the complexities of ethnic interactions and their material culture correlates, it seems I have still not summarized the answer to the question posed in the title. Who invented the Dayaks?

To address this I have to call on a brief episode of airport ethnography, conducted in a departure lounge in Kuala Lumpur while waiting for a flight to Kuching that was in the process of being delayed for twelve hours. The normal reserve and introversion of airline passengers was being broken down by sheer boredom and people were actually talking to total strangers. Three young men who looked like students were animatedly making each other’s acquaintance. Intriguingly, the conversation was being conducted in English; another mystery in the social use of language. One had a much louder voice than the others, so my perception of the social interchange was unbalanced, but the contribution of the loud voiced member was as follows.

"So you're a Dayak."

"Well, if you're not a Dayak, what are you then?"

"So what am I supposed to call you, an inhabitant? An inhabitant of Borneo!"

"Look you can't go around the world calling yourself an inhabitant of Borneo. You're a Dayak. Right? You're a Dayak!"

The Dayaks were not invented by a single person, event or agency. They did not entirely invent themselves, nor were they simply invented by others. They were not invented at a particular time, or in response to any one definable series of events. They are still being invented.
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Abbreviations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>B.T.L.V.</td>
<td>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde</td>
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<td>B.R.B.</td>
<td>Borneo Research Bulletin</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.A.E.</td>
<td>Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie</td>
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<td>J.I.A.E.A.</td>
<td>Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia</td>
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<td>J.M.B.R.A.S.</td>
<td>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>J.R.A.I.</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</td>
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<td>Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw</td>
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<td>Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</td>
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APPENDIX I: SOURCES FOR MATERIAL CULTURE STUDY

A methodological aim of this study was to examine a large body of material from different ethnic groups, areas and dates, in order to avoid the flaw in many art or museum publications of generalising from a few special examples of particular classes of objects. I also wished to avoid the circular procedure of utilising objects attributed on stylistic grounds. In examining material in museum collections I attempted to locate material of known date with a historically based provenance. This excluded large numbers of objects seen in collections from the analysis.

Working in museums proved to be a procedure abounding with serendipity because of different storage arrangements, modes of cataloguing and arrangements for visitors. Sometimes whole classes of objects were not available because of storage or access difficulties. Time constraints and ongoing cost-benefit assessments on the allocation of time and resources often focused my efforts in particular directions. However, after the museum research part of the project was complete, I had descriptive notes, provenance information and in many cases photographs for a series of individual objects. A summary of these object types is given in Table 1. The letters across the top represent the following museums:
A. Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden
B. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam
C. Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam
D. Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen
E. Museum Nusantara, Delft
F. Museum Justinius van Nassau, Breda
G. Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel
H. Bernisches Historisches Museum
I. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna
J. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne
K. Museum of Mankind, London
L. University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge
M. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford
N. Horniman Museum, London

I have not included material from the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, or the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, in the table as they were visited on a previous occasion and for a different reason, although information and photographs from
Sources for Material Culture Study

those visits were also utilised.

Archival photographic material was examined at the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Basel Mission and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel and at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. Some photographs were provided for me from a series of glass plate negatives in the Bernisches Historisches Museum. I had previously examined the collection of the Royal Anthropological Institute in London.

A large body of material on the material culture of Borneo has appeared in published form. There are verbal descriptions, travelogues illustrated with photographs and illustrated catalogues of museum exhibitions. There are illustrated articles on specific forms of material culture. There is, however, surprisingly little which attempts to order, classify or analyse art or material culture from Borneo in a detailed way. My own attempts to order and classify visual images and written descriptions occupied two filing cabinets, two walls of shelves and a box of floppy disks. A more compact way to indicate the scope of the data, and to indicate the potential for further research, is in the form of an annotated bibliography of source material, as follows.

Adams, C.D. 1917 "Notes on a Penggang 'Melegong'" S.M.J. 2:190-191
Very brief note about heirloom property among the Trengs of the Baram region, Sarawak.

Adriani, N. and Kruyt, A.C. 1901 "Geklopte boomschors als kleedingstof op Midden-Celebes en hare geographische verspreiding in Indonesie" I.A.E. 14:139-190
Contains some brief notes on the manufacture of barkcloth by various Dayak groups. All extracted from earlier writers.

Agerbeek, A.H.B. 1909 "Enkele gebruiken van de dajaksche Bevolking der Pinoehlanden" T.I.T.L.V. 51:446-455
Notes on life cycle rituals in the Pinoh region of the Melawi district, West Kalimantan. Minimal description of material culture, but illustrates two masks.

Essay on Bidayuh carving in wood and bamboo in Sarawak, illustrated with colour photographs, with examples of traditional works and those of modern craftsmen.

Brief notes on life cycle rituals among the Bidayuh of Sarawak. Rare photograph of anthropomorphomorphic carvings.
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Popular style ethnographic description of the Melanau of Sarawak, with references to former longhouses, fishing boats and handicrafts.

Alman, J.H. 1959-60 "Bajau Weaving (Tempasuk Plain)" S.M.J. 9:603-618
Method and designs of weaving by the Bajau of Sabah, illustrated with sketches.

Description of the process of saddle making by the only group in Borneo practising this craft, illustrated with sketches.

Alman, J.H. 1959-60 "Bajau Pottery" S.M.J. 9:585-602
Description of process and design of traditional pottery which was still being produced by some Bajau, illustrated with sketches.

Alman, J.H. 1959-60 "Dusun Pottery (Tuaran Area)" S.M.J. 9:565-582
Description of process and design of pottery by the Dusun of Sabah, already rare at that time, illustrated with photograph and sketches.

Ament, K. 1916-17 "Nederlandsche Verzamelingen van Indische Ethnographica" N.I.O.N. 1:429-430
Brief notes on a private collection. Two earthenware pots from Borneo illustrated, no information on provenance.

Brief description of the appearance of Punans of Sarawak.

Guide to design principles by a practising Iban artist, illustrated by diagrams and photographs. Includes traditional material and modern items, including public art and items made for sale in town shops.

Anon 1838 "Uittreksel uit een' brief van Sambas" T.N.I. 1:47-51
Very brief description of a Dayak village in Sambas by a missionary who went to persuade them to give up headhunting.

Anon 1838 "Iets over de Daijakkers" T.N.I. 1:40-47
Brief description of the appearance, weapons, villages and mortuary practices, evidently of the Ngaju although this is not specified. Possibly a few second hand descriptions are jumbled together.

Description of clothes, ornaments, tattoos and houses of the Ngaju.

Anon 1856 "Journal of a Tour on the Kapuas" J.I.A.E.A. new series 1:84-126
Account by two American missionaries of a reconnaissance of the Kapuas region in West
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Kalimantan, with a description of the dress and appearance of the Jangkang, a tribe commonly believed at the time to be cannibals.

Anon 1872 "Schetsen uit Borneo" De Aarde en haar Volken 8:17-34, 81-96
Descriptions of Dayak life, mainly from southeastern Kalimantan, drawn from earlier Dutch writers. The woodcut illustrations are also copied from works such as Müller (1839-44).

Anon 1885-87 "Tour among the Dyaks of Sarawak" Sarawak Gazette Oct 1, 1885 - March 1, 1887 (reprint of C.T.C. Grant, diary of 1858)
Immensely long descriptive account of a visit to the Land Dayaks of Sarawak, originally published in 1864 as a monograph.

Anon 1898 "Treasures of the Savage" Sarawak Gazette Jan 3 1989, pp.18-19
Note on imported beads and porcelain jars valued by Dayaks.

Anon 1902 "A Primitive Form of Fiddle in the Sarawak Museum" Sarawak Gazette May 1 1902, pp.88-89
Quaint note on stringed instruments in the Sarawak Museum, with reference to evolutionist concepts of developing musical and social complexity.

Typical official Dutch travelogue with interminable descriptions of daily events and occasional brief descriptions of such things as tattoos and graves. The military officers concerned visited such little known people as the Ubau, Mentarang and Putuks of northern East Kalimantan as well as the better known Kenyahs.

Anon 1912 "On Two Sea-Dayak Medicine Chests" S.M.J. 1(2):104-109
Description of the ritual objects contained in two Iban medicine chests in the Sarawak Museum, Kuching.

Anon 1948 Indonesian Art New York: The Asia Institute
Catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian art, on loan from the Tropenmuseum, held in New York in 1948. Only a couple of items from Borneo illustrated, although several others described.

Anon 1965 Indenesie-Oceanie: Kunst uit particulier bezit Rotterdam, Museum voor Land en Volkenkunde
Catalogue of an exhibition of material from Indonesia and Oceania held in the Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam. Only a couple of items from Borneo illustrated.

Anon 1973 Kalimantan, Mythe en Kunst Delft: Indonesisch Ethnographisch Museum
Catalogue of an exhibition held in the Museum Nusantara, Delft, entirely on ethnographica from Kalimantan. Extensively illustrated. Some detailed notes on Bahau art from Capucin missionary sources, but minimal details on provenance for many items.
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Anon 1974 Portret van een Kollektie: Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
Museum publication, illustrating only a couple of items from Borneo.

Anon 1976 Textiles of Indonesia Indonesian Arts Society in association with National Gallery of Victoria
Catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian textiles at the National Gallery of Victoria. Two Iban pua cloths illustrated.

Anon 1984 Sieraden en Lichaamsversiering uit Indonésie Delft: Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara
Catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian jewellery held in the Museum Nusantara, Delft in 1984. Various items from Borneo illustrated, including tattoo patterns.

Anon 1987 Budaya Indonesia Amsterdam: Tropenmuseum
Illustrated catalogue of a lavish exhibition on Indonesian art, held in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam in 1987 and 1988. Many photographs of a range of objects from all areas of Indonesian Borneo.

Selection of objects from an exhibition of the Furness-Hiller-Harrison collection in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania in 1988. Objects illustrated are mainly from the Baram region of Sarawak and from West Kalimantan, collected in the 1890s.

Description of the spatial arrangements in a longhouse of the Rungus Dusun of the Kudat peninsula in Sabah.

Arnold, G.G. 1959 Longhouse and Jungle: an expedition to Sarawak London: Chatto and Windus
Jungle adventure story of an expedition to the Usun Apau plateau, deserted since the Kenyahs migrated into Sarawak. The author was collaborating with the Sarawak Museum in investigating traces of the 19th century migration routes. Some descriptions and photographs of life in the upriver regions.

Brief and generalized description of the function and meaning of certain items of Dayak art, drawn from several ethnic groups.

Descriptive account of life in modern Borneo and its adaptations, with photographs from the field and of objects from museum collections.
Sources for Material Culture Study

Bangert, C. 1860 "Verslag der Reis in de Binnenwarts Gelegene Streken van Doessoen Ilir" T.I.T.L.V. 9:134-218
Description of the inhabitants of the Mengkatip river in the Dusun country of southeastern Kalimantan, including their houses, clothes and secondary cremation ceremonies.

Banks, E. 1930-37 "Hoplology in Sarawak" S.M.J. 4:229-240
Description of the varieties of swords used by different Dayak groups in Sarawak.

Banks, E. 1935 "Some Megalithic Remains from the Kelabit Country in Sarawak with some notes on the Kelabits themselves" S.M.J. 4:411-437
Account of an exploration of the Murut country in the upper Trusan in Sarawak and the Kelabit plateau, with descriptions and photographs of the stone monuments there.

Banks, E. 1940 "The Keris Sulok or Sundang" J.M.B.R.A.S. 18(2):105-107
Description, with photograph, of the particular forms of Malay kris in use in Brunei and Sarawak.

A collection of sketches of the motifs and designs used by Iban men in the carving of bamboo containers.

Descriptions and photographs of some items in the author's collection in his private museum in Geneva. There are a number of pieces from Borneo, but they tend to be attributed rather than provenanced.

Barbier, J.P. 1984(?) Indonesian Primitive Art Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art
Catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian "primitive art", including some Dayak pieces.

Book of essays to accompany an exhibition of Indonesian art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Items from Borneo consist of a few very fine art type pieces, unprovenanced, mostly from the Musée Barbier-Müller in Geneva.

The text mainly concerns the politics of Sarawak and expeditions against renegade headhunters. There are some interesting photographs of people and their material culture.

Barnes, G. 1958 "Punan Cemeteries in the Niah River" S.M.J. 8:639-645
Description and photographs of the arrangements in some Punan cemeteries in Sarawak.

Beccari, O. 1904 Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo London: Archibald Constable & Co Ltd
Descriptive account of a journey to Sarawak, published many years after the event. There are descriptions of visits to the Land and Sea Dayaks and to the Kayans of the Bintulu
region. Some of the fine photographs were taken by the Ranee of Sarawak.

Beech, M.W.H. 1910 "Some Customs of the Sagai of Borneo" *Man* 10:146-147
Very brief note on appearance, mortuary customs and headhunting.

Beeckman, D. 1973 *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo* Folkestone and London: Dawsons of Pall Mall (originally published in 1718)
Captain Beeckman's adventures as a tropical freebooter are entertaining, but he saw very little of the Dayaks while attempting to load his vessel with pepper in Banjarmasin. There is one description of tattooed Ngaju men.

Berckel, J.M. van 1881 "Iets over de Dajaks van Melintam en Njawan" *T.I.T.L.V.* 26:423-433
Basic descriptions of people and villages in the Landak district of West Kalimantan.

Photographic essay on anthropomorphic carving, including specimens in Dutch museums. Emphasizes the tradition from southeastern Kalimantan, but uses the term *hampatong* to describe figure carving from other regions, particularly the Mahakam.

Short note, with photographs, on a rare small cast bronze figure from the Pasir district of East Kalimantan.

Popular style descriptive piece on a little described group of Sarawak.

Photographic essay on mortuary architecture, monuments and practices all over Indonesia, with several examples from Borneo.

General description of interior Dayak life derived from other sources, mostly from Nieuwenhuis. The bulk of the photographs are also from this source, although there are a few other intriguing examples.

Bezemeyer, T.J. 1939 "Pootstokken van Zuid-Borneo" *Cultureel Indie* 1:137-139
Description and photographs of some rice dibbling sticks from a village in southeastern Kalimantan, carved in the form of Javanese *wayang* figures.

Bezemeyer, T.J. 1942 "Dajaksche Schedelkistjes" *Cultureel Indie* 4:223-225
Short photographic essay on some funerary monuments in the Luangan territory along the Barito in southeastern Kalimantan.

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Bezemer, T.J. nd *Indonesische Kunstenjverheid* 's-Gravenhage: Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam
Book of photographs of various arts and crafts in Indonesia, all reprinted from articles published in the journal *Nederlandsch Indie Oud en Nieuw*. Various examples of miscellaneous crafts from Borneo.

Blair, Lawrence, with Lorne 1988 *Ring of Fire* London: Bantam Press
Book from a television series. Two offbeat adventurers spend several years travelling around Indonesia taking wonderful photographs. They go to East Kalimantan looking for lost tribes of nomadic Punans, and after many weeks of jungle trekking, find a village of Punans with their own airstrip. The photographs give an interesting evocation of a group determinedly trying to be traditional against the odds.

A lavish photographic essay of life along the Mahakam river, showing traditional art works and modern lifeways. More attuned to the engagement of societies in the exotic tropics with the modern world than the previous work. There is a picture of a female heavy machinery driver who was inspired to train for her job by seeing pictures of Australian female truck drivers wearing bikinis and boots. She must have seen one of the odder calendars put out by truck part manufacturers. Leads one to speculate on the role of cultural misunderstanding in creating new social orders in these days of modern communications.

Bobin Ab nd *Album Seni Budaya Kalimantan Barat* Proyek Media Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan
A book of photographs of art and material culture from West Kalimantan. The Dayak population of the region is divided, for the purposes of this work, into Iban and Kendayan. Pity that there is not more text to clarify the situation.

Bobin Ab nd *Album Sejarah Seni Budaya Kalimantan Timur* 3 vols, Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kenbudayaan RI, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan
Three volumes of photographs of art and material culture from East Kalimantan. Mysteriously, some items are repeated in more than one volume. Emphasis on Bahau, Kenyah and Modang masks and funerary art from the lower Mahakam.

Tale of a Norwegian adventurer who went part way up the Mahakam and down the Barito. He hardly went jungle trekking at all, he believed in cannibals and people with tails, he had various cultural misunderstandings with his hosts, and once he reached the Barito he seems to have lost interest altogether. However his magnificent colour lithographs of the people of the lower and middle Mahakam are splendid. His ethnographic collections from the journey are in the Museum of Mankind, London.

Bodorogi, T. 1972 *Kunst in Indonesien* Wien und München: Anton Schroll & Co. Illustrated catalogue of some items of art and material culture from Indonesia in the Ethnographic Museum in Budapest, including some items from Borneo.

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Miscellaneous ethnographic notes on the various Dayak groups of West Kalimantan, with some general notes on material culture, particularly houses and cemeteries.

Boyle, F. 1865 Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo London: Hurst and Blackett
One of the early jungle travel adventure stories. I have not discovered why Mr Boyle was in Sarawak at that time with apparently nothing particular to do, but he visited the Land Dayaks, attended an uproarious Sea Dayak feast and took a look at how the Kanowits and immigrant Sea Dayaks were battling it out for territory at Kapit.

Breguet, G. and Martin, J. 1983 Art Textile Traditionnel d’Indonésie Lausanne: Musée des arts decoratifs
Exhibition catalogue of Indonesian textiles in Swiss collections. Several Iban pua cloths illustrated.

Note on obsolete mortuary practices and structures among the Melanau of Sarawak.

Mostly interesting for its insights into the strange life of a White Rajah's wife, and into the lives of the more elegant class of Malay women in Kuching. Nevertheless there are some descriptions of the Ranee's travels into Dayak territory.

Bruce, C. 1924 Twenty Years in Borneo London: Cassell and Company Ltd
Jolly exciting set of yarns about adventures as a government official in Sabah. Some good photographs.

Buck, W.S.B. 1933 "Notes on Oya Milanos" S.M.J. 4:157-174
General ethnographic description of the Melanau of the Oya region of Sarawak, based around the life cycle.

Buddingh, S.A. 1861 Neérlands-Oost-Indie: Reizen Rotterdam, M. Wijt & Zonen, 3 Vols
Description of journeys undertaken in the 1850s around the East Indies inspecting the Protestant church and schools. Brief descriptions of the inhabitants of West and southeastern Kalimantan. Several colour lithographs.

Description of an expedition to the lower Mahakam and Klinjau tributary in East Kalimantan, in the form of several separate contributions by members of the expedition. Some descriptions of the inhabitants and photographs of their villages, carvings and cemeteries.

Buma, M. 1987 Iban Customs and Traditions Kuching: Borneo Publications
A modern perspective on Iban traditions and practices from an Iban author, with
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numerous photographs.

Burns, R. 1849 "The Kayans of the North-West of Borneo" J.I.A.E.A. 3:140-152
Earliest first hand description of the Kayans of Sarawak.

Photographic essay on the cemeteries of a group which have not been renowned for their
mortuary art. Therefore a rare glimpse of an unexplored corner of the material culture of
Borneo.

Cammann, S. 1950-51 "Chinese Carvings in Hornbill Ivory" S.M.J. 5:393-399
Mainly concerned with the export of hornbill ivory, but has one illustration of Dayak
carvings in hornbill beak.

ten Cate, W.C. 1922 "De doodenpalen in de Onderafdeeling Melawi der
Afdeeling Sintang van de Residentie Westerafdeeling van Borneo" T.I.T.L.V. 6:20-222
Descriptive account of the varieties of mortuary poles in use by various groups in the
Melawi district of West Kalimantan, with photographs.

van der Chijs, J.A. 1894 Catalogus der Ethnologische Verzameling van het
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen Batavia:
Albrecht & Ruschke, 's Hage: M. Nijhoff
Catalogue of the ethnographic collection then held by the Batavian Society for Arts and
Sciences. The section on Borneo organized by region, ethnic group and object type. Brief
entries, no illustrations.

Chin, L. 1980 Cultural Heritage of Sarawak Kuching: Sarawak Museum
Material culture from Sarawak, from prehistoric artifacts to colonial buildings. Profusely
illustrated, mainly with material from the collections of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching.

Chin, L. 1988 "Trade Objects: Their Impact on the Cultures of the Indigenous
Peoples of Sarawak, Borneo" Expedition 30(1):59-64
Article on imported objects such as beads and porcelain and their use in indigenous
societies in Sarawak. Illustrated.

Chin, L. and Ingai, J. 1988 "Burial Poles (Klirieng): their construction and
beliefs" Sarawak Gazette CXV (1506):10-12
Brief illustrated article on the construction and ceremonies associated with the erection
of klirieng and similar mortuary poles.

Chin, L. and Mashman, V. 1991 Sarawak Cultural Legacy: a living tradition
Kuching: Society Atelier Sarawak
Volume of lavishly illustrated essays on material culture, art and craft skills of various
peoples of Sarawak. Items illustrated included older traditional works, mainly from the
collection of the Sarawak Museum, and the works of modern artists and craftsmen.
Appendix I

Chin, S.C. 1984 "Kenyah tops and top playing, an integral part of the agricultural cycle" S.M.J. 33:33-54
A discussion of the use of spinning tops in agricultural rituals by the Kenyah.

Conley, W. nd The Kalimantan Kenyah: A Study of Tribal Conversion Nutley, N.J.; Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company
Ethnographic account of the Kenyah of Apo Kayan before and after conversion to Christianity. Descriptions of material culture of ritual and its changing significance.

Cook, O. 1924 Borneo: The Stealer of Hearts London: Hurst & Blackett Ltd
Another set of exciting yarns from a government official in Sabah, with little actual ethnographic detail. A few interesting photographs.

de Crespigny, C.A.C. 1858 "Notes on Borneo" Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society 2:342-350
Brief general description of the Limbang region and of the inhabitants of Maludu Bay in Sabah.

Brief general description of the Muruts and Bisayat of Sabah.

de Crespigny, C.C. 1873 "On the Rivers Mukah and Oya in Borneo" Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society 17:133
Brief description of the Bukitans (he calls them Pakattans) of the interior regions of these rivers.

de Crespigny, C.A.C. 1876 "On the Milanows of Borneo" J.R.A.I. 5:34-37
Very brief description of some ritual practices of the Melanau of Sarawak.

Crocker, W.M. 1876 "A Short Account of the Milanos of Sarawak" Sarawak Gazette June 24, July 17, Aug 15, Sept 9 1876
Somewhat more detailed description of the various groups categorized under the general label of Melanau.

Crocker, W.M. 1881 "Notes on Sarawak and Northern Borneo" Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society 3:193-208
A few brief notes on the Melanau of Sarawak.

Crocker, W.M. 1886 "Exhibition of Ethnological Objects from Borneo" J.R.A.I. 15:424-426
Quaint note on a strange assortment of objects: Hindu antiquities, Melanau head flattening devices, Saribas fire pistons and the parang ilang.

Extravagant, and probably fanciful, early description of the Dayaks of Kutai.
Sources for Material Culture Study

Essay on weaving and ikat dyeing for the production of pua cloths by the Iban of Sarawak. Illustrated with examples of pua and some of the equipment used to produce them.

Denison, N. 1876-77 "Notes on the Land Dayaks of Sarawak Proper" Sarawak Gazette Oct 10, Nov 13, Dec 14 1876, Jan 16 1877
An unfinished serialised article on the Land Dayaks of Sarawak. The last words are "to be continued". Presumably the same work as cited in Roth (1896) as a short monograph entitled Jottings made during a tour amongst the Land Dayaks of Upper Sarawak, Borneo, during the year 1874. Some of the descriptive passages excised and reproduced by Roth must have been in the "to be continued" part.

von Dewall, H. 1855 "Anteekeningen omtrent de Noordoostkust van Borneo" T.I.T.L.V. 4:423-458
A very long descriptive article about the northeast coast of Borneo, with some very brief descriptive segments of the appearance, clothing and weapons of some of the inhabitants. The longest piece of description is a page and a half on the use of the penis pin.

Djamadil, A.A. 1976 Ragam Ragam Hias Jakarta: P.T. Karya Nusantara
A small pamphlet illustrating the main characteristics of the traditional arts and crafts of Indonesian Kalimantan, organized by administrative regions.

Doty, E. and Pohlman, W.J. 1840 "Tour in Borneo, from Sambas through Montrado to Pontianak, and the adjacent settlements of Chinese and Dayaks, during the autumn of 1838" Chinese Repository 8:283-310
General descriptions of people, their houses and some of their arts and crafts in the Sambas area of West Kalimantan, by a couple of missionary scouts.

Douglas, R.S. 1912 "An Expedition to the Bah Country of Central Borneo" S.M.J. 1(2):17-29
Short description of a peacemaking mission to the Kelabit country in Sarawak. Very brief description of the appearance of the people, and a note that they erect large stones to commemorate major drinking sprees: not exactly an in-depth analysis of the "megalithic" culture.

Article on weaving and woven textiles of the Ibanic groups of West Kalimantan, especially the Mualang. Illustrated with the author's photographs and with selections from the Furness-Hiller-Harrison collection in the University of Pennsylvania.

Very general popular description of the Bidayuh of Sarawak.

Article on Melanau healing rituals, with many illustrations of the carved figures employed, and other items in similar style such as fishing charms.

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Ethnographic description of the groups of the Sambas and Landak areas of West Kalimantan known as Kendayan.

Illustrated essay on the technique and design of basketry as practised by the various ethnic groups of Sarawak.

Illustrated essay on the production of earthenware pottery by the Iban of the Baleh region, as demonstrated by one of its last surviving practitioners in the late 1950s.

E.H.G. (Guerritz) 1898 "Sea Dyak Burial Rites" *Sarawak Gazette* Mar 1 1898, pp.53-54
Description of the mortuary practices of the Iban.

Illustrated article on modern interpretations of traditional costume by various ethnic groups in Sarawak.

Illustrated essay on architecture in Sarawak, from traditional and modern indigenous housing types to colonial and modern city architecture in Kuching.

Elam, E.H. 1937 "The Land Dayaks of the Sadong District, Sarawak" *S.M.J.* 4:373-394
General descriptive piece on the Sadong Bidayuh.

Elshout, J.M. 1926 *De Kenja-Dajaks uit het Apo-Kajangebiet* 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff
Ethnographic description of the Apo Kayan Kenyah from early this century. Concentrates on the folk history of the Kenyah and their belief systems, so that material culture descriptions are mainly related to such matters as ceremonies and mortuary ritual. Some interesting photographs of people, cemeteries and masks. An oddly organised book which leaps straight into Kenyah beliefs about the soul and only describes who and where these people are later.

Some general ethnographic notes on the Kenyah, with descriptions of clothes, weapons and houses.
Sources for Material Culture Study

Compendious geographical description of the population of West Kalimantan, with some descriptive notes on the appearance, houses, cemeteries and valued belongings of various ethnic groups.

Evans, I.H.N. 1922 *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo* London: Seeley, Service and Co. Ltd


Evans, I.H.N. 1953 *The Religion of the Tempasak Dusuns of North Borneo* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
These three works of ethnographic description make the Dusun of the Tempasuk area of western Sabah the most comprehensively reported ethnic group in an area of Borneo which has been generally badly neglected. Simple in style, with some photographs of dress and material culture which rapidly became extinct.

Evans, I.H.N. 1954-5 "Visits to Banggi Island and the Rungus Dusuns" *S.M.J.* 6:218-232
Description of a post-war visit to the Rungus Dusun of Sabah, accompanied by some interesting pre-war photographs of styles of dress which had rapidly disappeared.

Evans, I.H.N. 1954-5 "Bajau Pottery" *S.M.J.* 6:297-300
Description of pottery manufacture by the Bajau in the Kota Belud area of Sabah, with photographs of pottery types.

Evans, I.H.N. 1956-7 "Return to Tambaturon" *S.M.J.* 7:131-152
Description of a return visit to the area where the author had worked pre-war, inspiring him to publish some old photographs of the Dusun people to show how much things had changed.

Catalogue of an exhibition of anthropomorphic carving from around the world in the collection of the Museum of Mankind, London. Includes two examples from Sarawak.

Catalogue of an exhibition held at U.C.L.A., Museum of Cultural History, with associated articles. Items illustrated are an assortment of magnificent art type pieces, largely without provenance. Despite the title, these include baby carriers, *kenyalang* figures, shields and *tuntun* sticks as well as anthropomorphic carvings.

Contribution to a jungle adventure compilation by a group of Oxford undergraduates who visited Sarawak in the 1930s. Descriptions and illustrations of life on the Baram and Tinjar by the young and irrepressibly jolly.
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Francis, E.A. 1842 "Westkust van Borneo in 1832" T.N.I. 4(2):1-34
A general descriptive account of the coastal regions of West Kalimantan includes some very general descriptions of the Dayaks, their dress and their houses.

Glossy pictorial essay on the Sarawak Museum, Kuching.

Freeman, J.D. 1957-8 "Iban Pottery" S.M.J. 8:153-176
Description of the practice, tools and products of earthenware pottery manufacture as it was still being carried out by some Iban on the Baleh river, Sarawak in the 1940s.

This classic ethnographic work does not concern itself greatly with material culture, but there is a significant section on the spatial arrangement and social functioning of the Iban longhouse

Furness, W.H. 1902 The Home Life of Borneo Headhunters Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company
A wealthy young American man graduates from university and goes on a jolly adventure tour to Borneo. He meets Charles Hose and gets taken up the Baram and Tinjar, taking some wonderful photographs and collecting entertaining anecdotes. The ethnographic detail is heavily influenced by Hose. The first hand descriptions are entertaining, especially of Hose's techniques of colonial management. The collections he made, with those of his friends Hiller and Harrison, are in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

Description of Indonesian textiles and clothing in the collection of the Princessehof Museum in Leeuwarden. Items from Borneo illustrated include a barkcloth jacket, a Maloh beaded jacket and a pua cloth.

Two articles which describe the conduct of the mamat ceremonies of the Lepu Tau Kenyah of the Baram, with descriptions of the use of various community monuments such as the belawing pole and the sacred stones.

Long text of a dirge sung at death rituals by the Sebop of the Tinjar, with notes on mortuary ritual and photographs of graves and coffins.

General ethnography of the Bidayuh of the Sadong region of Sarawak after the Second World War. It does not concentrate on material culture, but includes some descriptions.
Sources for Material Culture Study

Text of a long Bidayuh story, with some associated ethnographic notes. Some photographs.

Gill, S. 1967 "Style and the Demonic Image in Dayak Masks" *J.M.B.R.A.S.*
40(1):78-92
Essay on the imagery of Dayak masks, illustrated with examples mainly from Dutch museums. The author confuses Kayan as an ethnic group with the Apo Kayan region, so that Kenyah masks are labelled as Kayan.

Gill, S. 1968 *Selected Aspects of Sarawak Art* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms
Thesis in which the author produces an elementary classification of indigenous Sarawak art according to ethnic category. Contains a number of photographs and sketches, unfortunately reproduced in standard University Microfilms quality.

Notes scattered through the work on items of Borneo art bearing the imagery associated with early Chinese art: figures with very long tongues, ferocious faces, alter ego figures of peculiar animals sitting on the heads of human figures.

Textiles must be the class of ethnographic object which has inspired the greatest number of exhibitions, the most enthusiastic curators and the most lavish publications. Book of an exhibition of Indonesian textiles with many examples from Borneo.

Illustrated booklet of a collection of carved anthropomorphic figures from Borneo in a private gallery. Shows something of the diversity of Bornean figure sculpture, but provenance is often poor. A small forest of carvings in the store of the Museum of Mankind, London, with the label "Goldman" attached suggests that many have since found their way into museum collections.

Gomes, E.H. 1911 *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dayaks of Borneo* London: Seeley and Co. Ltd
Lively account of missionary work among the Iban in Sarawak, consisting of anecdotes larded with ethnographic description, some of it directly from Perham's work. (He wrote the introduction so presumably he didn't mind.) Large number of photographs, apparently from a range of sources. Some are regulation Lambert and Co. reproductions, others less formal.

Grabowsky, F. 1888 "Ueber verschiedener weniger bekannte Opfergebrauche bei den Oloh Ngadju in Borneo" *I.A.E.* 1:130-134
Article on some lesser known ritual practices of the Ngaju, illustrated with prints of domestic shrines and other ritual objects.
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Grabowsky, F. 1889 "Der Tod, das Begrabnis, das Tiwah oder Todtenfest" I.A.E. 2:177-204
Summary of mortuary practice among the Ngaju, copiously illustrated with prints of sandong, hampatong etc. Some of the illustrations have been redrawn from Müller's (1839-44) work.

Green, E. 1912 Borneo: the Land of River and Palm Westminster: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
Account of missionary work in Sarawak, with some ethnographic snippets, mainly drawn from other published sources. Some interesting photographs.

Greub, S. 1988 Expressions of Belief New York: Rizzoli
Lavish illustrated publication of masterpieces of world ethnographica from the collection of the Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam. A few pieces from Borneo illustrated.

Gronovius 1849 "Bijdrage tot de kennis der binnenlandsche rijken van het westelijk gedeelte van Borneo" T.N.I. 10:338-356
General description of the sub-coastal region of West Kalimantan, including some very general description of the appearance, dress, weapons and houses of the Dayaks of the Landak district.

Very general description of the houses, weapons, crafts and certain life cycle and agricultural rituals of the Kenyahs of the Apo Kayan region.

Haddon, A.C. 1901 Headhunters, Black, White and Brown London: Methuen and Co.
More of a travelogue than an ethnography, it includes descriptions of a visit to the Baram region of Sarawak. There are descriptions of longhouses and people, but the most vivid account is of one of Charles Hose's peacemaking meetings. Some sketches and photographs.

Haddon, A.C. 1905 "Studies in Bornean Decorative Art: 1. Patterns derived from the Roots of the Fig-Tree" Man 5:67-69
A brief foray into iconographic analysis of certain patterns in Iban art. This article suggests that Iban man's art utilises plant designs while women's art uses animal motifs: an assertion difficult to sustain.

Haddon, A.C. 1964 "Some Baram (Sarawak) Coffin Burials, before 1900" S.M.J. 11:553-555
Derived many years later from some handwritten notes of the author, a miscellany of observations on mortuary procedures. In some cases the transcription seems dubious.

Haddon, A.C. and Start, L.E. 1936 Iban or Sea Dayak Fabrics and their Patterns Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
An analysis of the construction and design of Iban textiles, based on the collection of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Illustrated with photographs and line drawings of motifs. Has become the standard work on the subject.
Sources for Material Culture Study

Haddon, E.B. 1905 "The Dog-Motive in Bornean Art" J.A.I. 35:113-125
An examination of the many forms in which the motif known to the Kayan as aso can appear in Borneo art. The author firmly asserts that the motif represents a dog.

Halewijn, M.H. 1832 "Iets over de Daijakkers (Beajous) van Banjermassing" V.B.G.K.W. 13:279-292
A very general description of the appearance and customs of the Ngaju of the lower Barito, with some emphasis on headhunting, ritual murder and tiwah feasts.

Hamer, C. den 1883 "Begrafenisplechtigheden bij de Dajaks in Koetei" Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen 21:65-68
A very brief description of mortuary practices among the Dayaks of the Kutai region, on the lower Mahakam.

den Hamer, C. 1885 "Iets over het Tatoueeren of Toetang bij de Biadjoe-stammen in de Z/O Afd. van Borneo" T.I.T.L.V. 30:451-458
A description of Ngaju tattoo designs, unfortunately without illustrations.

Hardeland, A. 1859 Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch Amsterdam: Frederik Muller
Although this is essentially a Ngaju-German dictionary, the individual entries are extensive and descriptive: a dictionary for ethnographers rather than travellers.

While basically an archaeological report of burial caves in eastern Sabah, it includes descriptions of the mortuary arrangements of the Orang Sungei people, a remnant non-Islamic group of the region.

Some notes on changes to the culture, including material culture, of the Kelabits of Sarawak in the period after the Second World War.

Harrisson, T. 1949 "Notes on Some Nomadic Punans" S.M.J. 5:130-146
Notes based on an interview with some Magoh Punans from the Tutoh river in Sarawak concerning their lifeways.

A compilation of the scanty information available about the Sru, an ethnic minority of the Second Division of Sarawak, in relation to a series of carved stone figures found in their territory and now in the Sarawak Museum. The connection between the ethnic group and the archaeological relics is tenuous.

Harrisson, T. 1950-51 "Stone Hooks and Cyclons from West Borneo" S.M.J. 5:534-540
Description of various prehistoric stone artifacts valued as charms by Berawan, Sebop
and Kenyah groups on the Tinjar river in Sarawak.

Harrisson, T. 1950-51 "Humans and Hornbills in Borneo" *S.M.J.* 5:400-413
A compilation of information on the way in which various groups in Borneo have used products from the hornbill in their material culture.

Harrisson, T. 1950-51 "Kelabit, Land Dayak and related glass beads in Sarawak" *S.M.J.* 5:201-220
A discussion of the different types of antique glass beads valued by different ethnic groups in Sarawak, with reference to some bead jewellery in the Sarawak Museum.

Harrisson, T. 1950-51 "Fishing in the Far Uplands of Borneo" *S.M.J.* 5:274-287
A discussion of fishing technology on the Kelabit plateau.

A description of distinctive hairpins as worn by members of various Murut groups in northern interior Sarawak, illustrated with examples from the collections of the Sarawak Museum.

A general summary of the characteristics of pottery still being produced by various ethnic groups in Borneo in the 20th century.

Harrisson, T. 1958 "Megaliths of Central and West Borneo" *S.M.J.* 8:394-401
A survey of the stone monuments of the northern central plateaus, with photographs.

Harrisson, T. 1958 "A Living Megalithic in Upland Borneo" *S.M.J.* 8:694-702
Description of the process and ceremonial of stone monument building by the Kelabit of Sarawak, with illustrated examples of their work.

Harrisson, T. 1959 "More 'Megaliths' from Inner Borneo" *S.M.J.* 9:14-20
Additional information on stone monuments from the northern central plateaus, with photographs.

Very summarised description of the life and culture of the Kelabits and Muruts of Sarawak.

A combination of ethnography and modern history, as the author describes the lifeways of the Kelabit people of northern central Borneo, then documents the intrusion of events of the later part of the Second World War on their remote locality.

Series of brief descriptions of the lifeways and culture of the major ethnic groups in Sarawak.
Sources for Material Culture Study

Harrisson, T. 1962 "Borneo Death" *B.T.L.V.* 118:1-41
A long and rather confusing article in which the great diversity of modes of disposal of the dead, both prehistoric and modern, in Borneo are documented, with particular reference to the diverse and complex practices of the Kelabit.

Description and history of two pieces of ethnographica from the Rejang, acquired by the Sarawak Museum.

Harrisson, T. 1964 "Imun Ajo': a Bronze Figure from interior Borneo" *Artibus Asiae* 27:157-171
Description of an enigmatic object: a small bronze figurine which had been kept as an heirloom by Kayans of the upper Rejang.

Some miscellaneous bits of ethnographic information obtained by interview with some Maloh visiting Sarawak from West Kalimantan.

Harrisson, T. 1966 "Maloh Coffin Designs" *S.M.J.* 14:146-150
Information on the designs of Maloh coffins and of the boards used for offering trays, with reference to a model Maloh coffin and *kulambu* hut in the collection of the Sarawak Museum.

Notes on the use of boards depicting pictographs, used to assist ritual functionaries in the conduct of *mamat* ceremonies among the Kenyah.

Some ethnographic notes on a Murut group of Sabah, including references to secondary funerals and stone monument building.

Description of the construction and use of a unique form of watercraft utilised by the Kedayan of Brunei for sea fishing.

Some additional notes on Kedayan rafts and their degree of survival in use.

Some information on the formerly broader geographical extent of stone monument building in Borneo.
An illustrated summary article on the extent, variety and function of stone monuments in central Borneo.

Description of stone urns used for secondary burial in the region of the Kelabit plateau, with photographs.

A series of accounts by a group of Oxford undergraduates who went exploring in Sarawak. One was later to become curator of the Sarawak Museum. Lighthearted and somewhat juvenile accounts with some information about life on the Baram and Tinjar rivers.

Harrisson, T. and Manis, F. 1950 "Hairpins from Borneo Hill Peoples" S.M.J. 5:242-255
Descriptions and illustrations of hairpins worn by men of various Murut groups in Sarawak and Sabah.

Description based on an interview with informants on mortuary customs among Kelabit groups living in northern East Kalimantan. The account apparently has no real connection with the piece of material culture described, a board carved with spiral designs, now in the Sarawak Museum.

Hein, A.R. 1890 Die Bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo Wien: Alfred Holder
An analysis of Dayak art in which the author has identified aspects of style and motif in common with the art of ancient China. Illustrated with many line drawings of designs and motifs, but few complete objects. There is no attempt to differentiate the art of different Dayak groups. A significant proportion of the examples were drawn from the Bacz collection, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

Helbig, K. 1957 Urwaldnis Borneo Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus
Descriptive account of the author’s travels across the interior of the southern part of Kalimantan in 1936, with some photographs.

Helbig, K. 1982 Eine Durchquerung der Insel Borneo (Kalimantan) Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2 Vols
Detailed daily diary, complete with footnotes, annotations and references to scholarly works, of the same journey, with a large series of photographs. Although a travelogue rather than an ethnography, the descriptions are detailed and cover some groups, such as the Maloh of West Kalimantan, which have been previously only scantily described.

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Heppell, M. 1990 "Masks of Borneo" in Heppell and Maxwell, pp.65-70
Brief description of the use of masks by some Borneo groups, with photographs of masks, some of types rarely recorded, from an exhibition.

Overview of the range of Iban woodcarving, a skill which the author feels is undervalued, with fine colour photographs of a range of examples.

Heppell, M. and Limbang Anak Melaka 1988 "Iban Tuntun" Arts of Asia
18(2):64-69
Description of the use and design of Iban tuntun, or pig trap measuring sticks, copiously illustrated with photographs.

Heppell, M. and Maxwell, R. 1990 Borneo and Beyond: Tribal Arts of Indonesia, East Malaysia and Madagascar Singapore: Bareo Gallery
Illustrated publication to accompany an exhibition of objects from the outer islands of Indonesia. Many examples from Borneo, including some examples of carving and masks outside the usual exhibition repertoire.

Hersey, I. 1980 "Indonesian Primitive Art" Arts of Asia 10(4):71-87
Description of an exhibition, with some photographs. Very generalised account, concentrating on collectors' art pieces without detailed provenance.

Hersey, I. 1982 "Art of the Archaic Indonesians" Arts of Asia 12(1):140-143
Article similar to previous.

Hersey, I. 1991 Indonesian Primitive Art Singapore: Oxford University Press
Glossy art book with beautiful photographs of items in private collections and in the Metropolitan Museum Collection, New York. There are a number of items from Borneo, but attributions can be negligible or dubious.

Ethnographic account of the relationships between nomadic groups and agriculturists in Borneo, with some emphasis on trade in material goods.

Hornaday, W.T. 1926 Two Years in the Jungle New York: Charles Scribner's Sons
Jungle adventure, partly set in Sarawak, by a collector of biological specimens. From his account most of the stuffed specimens of orang utan in the major museums of the world were shot and skinned by him. There are some brief passages of description of the inhabitants.

Basically a geographical description of a journey, with a few items of detail about the inhabitants of the region.
Appendix I

Summarised ethnographic description of the natives of the Baram district, Sarawak, rather than Borneo as a whole.

Hose, C. 1926 *Natural Man: A Record from Borneo* London: Macmillan and Co Ltd
A shortened version of *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, containing most of the basic descriptive material and some different photographs.

Hose, C. 1927 *Fifty Years of Romance and Research, or a Jungle-Wallah at Large* London: Hutchinson & Co Ltd
A more popular style of work by Hose about his adventures in Borneo and elsewhere, recounted in a personal way. Contains a few different photographs to the other works, and gives some insight into the author and the way he carried out his duties in Sarawak.

A peculiar miscellany of information about animal myths, omens and taboos as well as the depiction of animals in art and the use of animal products.

A standard reference work of ethnographic description, with a large number of fine photographs. Extremely valuable if taken as a description of the Baram region of Sarawak in the late 19th century, but the authors tended to extrapolate from this geographical area to the island as a whole. A fascinating work of description but perhaps suspect as a work of analysis.

Hose, C. and Shelford, R. 1906 "Materials for a Study of Tatu in Borneo"
*J.R.A.I.* 36:60-91
A densely written and profusely illustrated article on the use of tattoo by various ethnic groups in Borneo, drawing on the writings of previous authors as well as the personal experience of the authors. Focused mainly on Sarawak and Sabah, with extensive quotes from Nieuwenhuis for the Bahau. His interpretations are better read in the original.

Brief description of the Bidayuh of the Sarawak river region.

Howell, W. 1909 "Berantu" in (1963) *The Sea Dyaks and Other Races of Sarawak: Contributions to the Sarawak Gazette between 1888 and 1930* Kuching: Borneo Literature Board, pp.60-62
Description of Iban feast for the dead.

Howell, W. 1909 "Dyak Burial Customs" in (1963) *The Sea Dyaks and Other Races of Sarawak: Contributions to the Sarawak Gazette between 1888 and 1930* Kuching: Borneo Literature Board, pp.52-55
Description of Iban mortuary customs.
Sources for Material Culture Study

Brief technical description of Iban cotton preparation and spinning.

Extensive description of the mortuary ceremonials of the Ma'anyan-Siong of southeastern Kalimantan. The secondary cremation ceremonies and communal ossuaries of this group are a unique feature of their society.

Hudson, A.B. 1972 Padju Epat: The Ma'anyan of Indonesian Borneo Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc
General ethnography of the Ma'anyan-Siong people.

Description of a harvest ceremony among the Orang Belait, a group of the Brunei region which has been negligibly investigated or described.

Ethnographic description of the Ngaju of the Pulaupetak region of southeastern Kalimantan by a missionary who was working with them.

Very general illustrated article on musical instruments from Indonesia, with a couple of examples from Borneo.

Beautifully illustrated article on Malay woodcarving. The influence on the art of sub-coastal Dayak groups is apparent.

Ivanoff, P. 1955 Chez les Coupeurs de Têtes de Bornéo Paris: Arthaud
Jungle travel story of an expedition up the Mahakam, with visits to the Long Glat and the Penihing. A set of magnificent photographs, unfortunately poorly captioned, gives some comparison with the observations of earlier travellers.

J.H. 1908 "Vanishing Borneana" Sarawak Gazette July 16 1908, pp.177-178
One of those strange articles which tended to appear in the Sarawak Gazette, starting with a discussion of rapid changes in customs and fashion among various Dayak groups in Sarawak, and finishing, interestingly, with a rant about ecological destruction.

Jamuh, G. 1950 "Jerunei" S.M.J. 5:62-68
Description of the use of mortuary poles for the secondary deposition of the remains of the dead by the Melanau of Sarawak, with descriptions and illustrations (two sketches and one photograph) of some surviving examples.
Appendix I

Description of the mortuary rites carried out, using a wooden doll to substitute for the corpse, for a person drowned at sea, with a photograph of the ritual paraphernalia.

Illustrated essay on the process of manufacture of Kelabit earthenware cooking pots. The practice is no longer in regular use, although capable potters were found to demonstrate the skill.

Jasper, J.E. and Mas Pirmagadie 1912 De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indie 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 4 vols
Detailed technical exposition of various craft skills from all over Indonesia. Volume 1 on basketry has various examples from Borneo.

Illustrated essay on carving by the Orang Ulu people of Sarawak, using old examples from the collection of the Sarawak Museum and modern developments of the tradition. Items from bamboo containers and hornbill beak earrings to mortuary structures are illustrated.

Jongejans, J. 1922 Uit Dajakland Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff
Account of the travels of a Dutch colonial official in East Kalimantan, from the Mahakam northwards. Some interesting material on some of the lesser known ethnic groups of the northernmost part of East Kalimantan. Illustrated with an extensive series of photographs.

Short note, with a splendid colour lithograph, of some Malay masks from West Kalimantan in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

The official catalogue of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden as at 1909. The more interesting collections were in place by this time. Borneo occupies two full volumes. Unfortunately, it is not very extensively illustrated but does appear to be a faithful reproduction of original provenance for objects.

Kahlenberg, M.H. 1979 Rites of Passage: Textiles of the Indonesian Archipelago from the collection of Mary Hunt Kahlenberg San Diego: Mingei International Museum of World Folk Art
Catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian textiles from a private collection, with several illustrations of items from Borneo.

Kater, C. 1867 "De Dajaks van Sidin" T.I.T.L.V. 16:183-188
Some brief ethnographic notes on the Sidin Dayaks, a Bidayuh group of West Kalimantan.
Sources for Material Culture Study

*Expedition* 30(1):65-72  
Description of the history and contents of a collection of ethnographic material from  
various parts of Borneo, made by three young American men in the late 19th century,  
now location in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Keppel, H. 1847 *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido for the Suppression of  
Piracy* London: Chapman and Hall, 2 Vols  
The greater part of this work consists of selections from the diaries of James Brooke,  
documenting the early days of Sarawak under a White Rajah, and the impressions of the  
man himself of the natives and their lives.

Keppel, H. 1853 *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. Ship Maeander*  
London: Richard Bentley  
A continuation of the first hand account of the early days of Sarawak under the White  
Rajahs, including accounts by James Brooke and by Captain Keppel.

von Kessel, O. 1850 "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent het stroomgebied der  
rivier Kapoeas (Wester-afdeeling van Borneo)" *Indisch Archief* 1(2):165-204  
Notes on the various ethnic groups of the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan, as known  
at the time. As well as providing a basic classification scheme, there is a miscellany of  
information on the more visible aspects of culture.

King, V.T. 1985 *The Maloh of West Kalimantan* Dordrecht, Holland and  
Cinnaminson, U.S.A.: Foris Publications  
Modern ethnographic study of a group which has received little coverage in the past.

King, V.T. 1985 "Symbols of Social Differentiation: A Comparative  
Investigation of Signs, the Signified and Symbolic Meanings in Borneo" *Anthropos* 80:125-152  
An analysis of the various motifs and artistic forms used to signify social differentiation  
and stratification in various of the ethnic groups of Borneo.

King, V.T. 1991 "Silverware and Sarawak Culture" in Chin, L. and Mashman, V.  
(ed.), pp.165-176  
The role of silversmithing and silver objects in various cultures of Sarawak: an essay with  
colour photographs.

King, V.T. 1991 "Brassware and Sarawak Cultures" in Chin, L. and Mashman, V.  
(ed.), pp.155-164  
Illustrated essay on the role of brass artifacts in the cultures of various ethnic groups in  
Sarawak.

Klausen, A.M. 1957 *Basket-work Ornamentation among the Dayaks* Oslo:  
Forenede Trykkerier, Studies Honouring the Centennial of Universitets  
Etnografiske Museum, Oslo 1857-1957  
A study of decorative basketry utilising material from the collection made by Lumholz  
early this century from eastern and southern Kalimantan, and now housed in the
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Ethnographic Museum in Oslo. Illustrated with photographs and sketches.

General description, including a brief ethnographic section, of the Kutai region of East Kalimantan.

Kooijman, S. 1957-8 "Some Ritual Clothing from Borneo in Dutch Museums" S.M.J. 8:357-362
Descriptions and photographs of decorative barkcloth clothing in some museum collections.

Kooijman, S. 1963 Ornamented Bark-Cloth in Indonesia Leiden: E.J. Brill, Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde No.16
General compilation of material on barkcloth clothing in Indonesia, with some examples from Borneo.

The author travelled up the Mahakam, taking photographs and noting various aspects of Dayak life. Unfortunately he does not appear to have distinguished one group of Dayaks from another. His collections ended up in the Field Museum, Chicago.

A collection of very miscellaneous notes about the peoples and cultures of West Kalimantan. Very confusingly presented, sometimes distinguishing between the activities and products of different groups of Dayaks and sometimes very generalised.

Kükenthal, W. 1896 Forschungsreise in dem Molukken und in Borneo Frankfurt A.M.: Moritz Diesterweg
The Borneo section of this traveller's adventure story is based on a visit to the Baram. The descriptions are fairly superficial but there are some splendid photographs and colour lithographs of items of material culture.

Lawrence, A.E. and Hewitt, J. 1908 "Some Aspects of Spirit Worship amongst the Milano of Sarawak" J.R.A.I. 38:388-408
Article with some information on mortuary practice and other ritual behaviour among the Melanau of Sarawak.

Leach, E.R. 1950 "A Kajaman Tomb Post from the Belaga Area of Sarawak" Man 50:133-136
A description of the Kajaman klieng/salong now in the grounds of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, before it was removed from the jungle and transferred, with some commentary on funerary art and architectural decoration along the Rejang.

Leger, D. 1979 "A Propos d'une Cuirasse en Peau de Pangolin Conservée au Musée de l'Homme de Paris" Archipel 17:35-41
Note on a pangolin skin war cape from Borneo in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris,
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collected by a French botanist in the late 17th century.

van Lijnden, N.T. 1851 "Aanteekeningen over de landen van het stroomgebeid der Kapoeas" Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie 2:537-636
Some general ethnographic description of the known inhabitants of the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan in the early 19th century.

Lim Poh Chiang 1989 Among the Dayaks Singapore: Graham Brash
A book of splendid photographs, mostly in photojournalistic style, taken by a Sarawak Chinese photographer of his various Dayak countrymen in the 1950s and 1960s. They have been published much later as they document rapidly changing lifeways.

A collection of old photographs from Sarawak. Although their sources are unacknowledged, many have appeared in other publications, including such well known works as Hose and McDougall (1912).

A large tome in a series on various craft skills in the Indonesian archipelago. Contains various examples of basketry technique from Borneo.

Article illustrated with black and white sketches of designs on engraved bamboo containers from various regions and ethnic groups of Borneo.

A discussion on the use of the blowpipe in Indonesia, with some references to its use in Borneo.

de Lorm, A.J. 1941 Indie in Belgie Leiden: E.J. Brill
Catalogue of material from Indonesia in Belgian museums. A few examples from Borneo listed, and one mask illustrated.

Low, H. 1848 Sarawak: Its Inhabitants and Productions London: Richard Bentley
Description of Sarawak and its people in the 1840s from the perspective of a British official in the region. Copious descriptive passages of the appearance of things and the people of the various ethnic groups as they were perceived at the time.

Lumholz, C. 1920 Through Central Borneo New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 Vols
One of the better travel description books, by a Norwegian explorer who was prevented from carrying out his original intention of exploring New Guinea by the First World War. The most interesting descriptions are from the Mahakam region and from the uppermost reaches of the southern rivers. Ethnographic material collected on these expeditions is reportedly in the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo.
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Macdonald, M. 1968 *Borneo People* Singapore: Donald Moore Press Ltd, (originally published in 1956, London: Jonathan Cape) Very personal account by a former Governor-General of British Territories in Malaya of his visits to and encounters with the peoples of Sarawak. His most vivid accounts are of the Iban, and post-war changes to their lifeways.

Maceda, J. 1961-2 "Field-Recording Sea Dayak Music" *S.M.J.* 10:486-500 An account of the music and the traditional instruments still in use by the Iban of Sarawak. The author found that many instruments from the Sarawak Museum collection were no longer to be found in use in the field.

Majlis, B.K. 1984 *Indonesische Textilien: Wege zu Göttern und Ahnen* Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum and Deutsches Textilmuseum Krefeld Fully illustrated catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian textiles. Many examples from Borneo are illustrated, including barkcloth, embroidered garments, shell decorated garments and beadwork as well as native woven textiles.

Maks, H.G. 1857 "Reis langs de Kahajan in de Zuid- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo" *T.I.T.L.V.* 6:6-36 Typical account by a Dutch official of his travels through his territory in southeastern Kalimantan, with a few brief descriptions of the inhabitants and their villages.


Mallinckrodt, J. 1925 "Ethnografische Mededeelingen over de Dajaks in de Afdeeling Koealakapuas" *B.T.L.V.* 81:165-310 While this is headed as a description of the Dayaks of the Kuala Kapuas region of southeastern Kalimantan, it contains a considerable amount of comparative description of other regions to as far west as the Kotawaringin. The descriptions from different regions are interspersed and without a good map it can be a little difficult to follow.

Mallinckrodt, J. 1927 "De Stamindeeling van de Maanjan-Sioeng-Dajaks, der Zuider-en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo" *B.T.L.V.* 83:552-592 A description of the Ma'anyan-Siong Dayaks of the Barito region, particularly in relation to their mortuary practices.


Mannnamead 1907 "The Sumpitan (or blow-pipe) and its Upas or Lajas (Darts)" *Sarawak Gazette* June 5 1907, pp.138-139 A note on the use of the blowpipe in Borneo.

Marryat, F.S. 1848 *Borneo and the Indian Archipelago* London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans The author was a midshipman on one of the British vessels involved in the affairs of Sarawak in its early days. He was an artist and originally intended to publish a book of
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illustrations, but was persuaded to add a text. This adds an interesting perspective to the affairs of the day, but from the point of view of ethnographica, the illustrations are the book's most informative feature.

Martin, R.B. 1891 "Exhibition of a Fire Syringe from Borneo" J.R.A.I. 20:331
For some reason Europeans were fascinated by the Saribas fire syringe, a device which generated heat by rapid compression of air. It was almost as interesting as headhunting.

An examination of the secondary death rites of the Benuaq Dayaks of East Kalimantan and the adaptation of their rituals to modern social conditions.

Article illustrated with colour photographs of the various forms of musical instrument now in use by various ethnic groups in Sarawak.

Maxandrea 1924 De Dajaks in de Binnenlanden van Ned. Borneo Missie der P.P. Capucijnen
Description by a Capucin missionary of the Dayaks in the vicinity of their mission stations on the Embaloh in West Kalimantan and the Mahakam in East Kalimantan. Illustrated with numerous photographs. Concentrates on the Maloh and Iban in West Kalimantan and the Bahau in East Kalimantan.

Something much more than a fully illustrated catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian textiles held at the Australian National Gallery in Canberra. The focus is on the influence of contact, trade and colonialism on the traditional textiles of the region. There are many examples from Borneo, including Dusun and Benuaq weaving, Punan and Ot Danum mats, Maloh beadwork garments, as well as many examples of Iban textile crafts.

Brief and fairly general article on tattoo designs from Borneo, as the art is carried out at the present day, particularly in Sarawak.

A discussion, illustrated with examples, on the nature of perceived ancient Chinese influences on the indigenous art of Borneo.

Mershon. E. 1922 With the Wild Men of Borneo Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association
Adventures of a missionary's wife in Sabah, battling wild men, snakes and Chinese thieves. Some interesting photographs.

A journey down the Tinjar in Sarawak, illustrating the changing styles of mortuary edifice
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built by the Berawan during the course of their gradual migration down the river this century. Illustrated with numerous photographs.

Description of the secondary death rituals of the Berawan of Sarawak, as observed among the last group practising these rites, formerly much more widespread among ethnic groups in Sarawak.

von Miklucho-Maclay N. 1876 "Ueber die kunstliche Perforatio Penis bei den Dajaks auf Borneo" *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Verhandlungen* 8:22-26
A note on the practice of insertion of the *palang*, or penis bar, by men of some groups in Borneo. These items of ethnographical minutiae have proved to be of even more interest to European visitors than the Saribas fire syringe.

Miles, D.J. 1964 "The Funeral Rites of the Ngadju Dayaks of Central Borneo" *Australian Natural History* 14:331-333
Description of the rituals enacted immediately after death by the Ngaju, including the use of masks.

A discussion of the conduct of secondary mortuary ceremonial by the Ngaju of southeastern Kalimantan in a modern economic context. Illustrated with some photographs of modern variants of the secondary bone depository.

Mjöberg, E. 1927 *Borneo: Het Land der Koppensnellers* Zeist: J.T. Swartenburg
The author was a curator of the Sarawak Museum, so it is surprising how little ethnographic detail there is in this account of some of his travels around Borneo. The work is prodigiously illustrated with items of material culture, many of them artifacts from the collection of the Sarawak Museum.

Illustrated catalogue of a large collection of masks from the Iban, Kayan and Kenyah of Sarawak, acquired for the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur.

Molengraaff, G.A.F. 1895 "Tocht naar de boven Kapuas op het eiland Borneo" *T.N.A.G.* ser.2 12:113-133
Summary description of a journey to the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan, with some descriptions of the houses and funerary monuments of the Ulu Air, or Ot Danum, people of the region.

Molengraaff, G.A.F. 1900 *Borneo-Expeditie: Geologische Verkennningstochten in Centraal-Borneo* Leiden: E.J. Brill, with separate atlas
Descriptive account of journeys in the interior of West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan. Unfortunately the author was a geologist, so that descriptions of people and places are tucked among descriptions of sediments and cliff faces, but there are some excellent photographs. A series of glass plate negatives from one of the expeditions, to
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the Sibau river in 1893, is in the Bernisches Historisches Museum. Items of material culture collected on the expeditions are in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Moore, E. 1963-4 "Sarawak Malay Pottery" S.M.J. 11:533
Brief note on a couple of examples of antique earthenware pottery produced by Malays in Sarawak.

Detailed description of the conduct of a modern Iban funeral.

Description of the Melanau of Sarawak, concentrating on their modern economic conditions and lifeways, but with some references to former traditional behaviour and material culture.

Description of the manufacture of handmade earthenware pottery by the Muruts of the Trusan region, Sarawak.

Morrison, H. 1957 Sarawak London: Macgibbon and Kee
Splendid photographic portrait of the various ethnic groups of Sarawak, produced in photojournalistic style showing people going about their regular round of activities. For a researcher on material culture, the pictures are visually complex.

Morrison, H. 1962 Life in a Longhouse Kuching: Borneo Literature Board
Photographic study of the daily lives of the Iban of the Rejang region. An intricate visual image of Iban life in the immediate post-war period.

Morrison, H. 1972 "Tribal Crafts of Borneo" Arts of Asia 2(1):60-66
Photographic essay on a range of craft works produced by various ethnic groups of Sarawak.

Morrison, H. 1982 "Craftsmen in a Harsh Environment" Arts of Asia 12(2):87-95
Photographic essay on the craft production of the Penan of Sarawak.

Müller, B.J. and Muff, D. 1976 Borneo: Tagebuch einer Expedition in die "restricted area of Belaga" privately published
Illustrated travelogue of a visit to the upper Rejang, with a particular emphasis on Punan groups.

Müller, S. 1839-44 "Reis in den Zuidelijk Gedeelte van Borneo" in Temminck, C.J. (ed.) Verhandelingen over de Natuurlijk Geschiedenis overzeesche bezittingen Leyden: Afdeeling Land en Volkenkunde, pp.321-446
Detailed description, in large format, of some early exploratory journeys in the Barito region of southeastern Kalimantan, illustrated with an elaborate series of engravings and lithographs. The collected ethnographica from these journeys is in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, being perhaps the earliest coherent and documented collection
from Borneo.

Müller, S. 1857 *Reizen en Onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel* Amsterdam: Frederik Muller
A reprint of the text of Müller's earlier work in a more portable format, without most of the illustrations.

An account of the various forms of traditional craftwork still being carried out by different ethnic groups in Sarawak, illustrated with photographs.

Description of the different varieties of antique beads preserved by different ethnic groups in Sarawak, illustrated with colour photographs.

Munan-Oettli, A. 1983 "Bead Cap 64/88 in the Sarawak Museum Collections" *S.M.J. 32*:89-96
Detailed account of an antique Kelabit bead cap in the collection of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching.

Munan-Oettli, A. 1987 "Blue Beads to Trade with the Natives" *Arts of Asia* 17(2):88-95
Illustrated article on the use of antique beads by various ethnic groups in Sarawak.

Mundy, R. 1848 *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, down to the occupation of Labuan, from the journals of James Brooke, Esq.* London: John Murray, 2 vols
The second series of extracts from the diaries of James Brooke, including his observations on the various peoples in and surrounding his domains.

Munsterberger, W. 1939 "Die Ornamente an Dayak-Tanzschilden und ihre Beziehung zu Religion und Mythologie" *Cultureél Indie* 1:337-343
Article on the significance of the painted designs on shields, illustrated with various examples from museum collections, but lacking any context of ethnic specificity for the art works or their associated mythology.

General ethnographic account of the Punan Bah of the Rejang region, including the use of their special form of mortuary structure, the klirieng. The author is the first of several to comment on the position of these people in the ethnic dynamics of the region.

Newington, P.C.B. 1914 "'Ulid Puoad' and 'Pasang Salang': Customs observed at Death among the Bisayas of Sarawak" *S.M.J.* 2(1):188-190
Description by a Sarawak Officer on some mortuary customs of the Bisaya, a group which has received minimal ethnographic attention.

An article by the same author written many years after his years in Sarawak, commenting on some customs of the Melanau and the extinct Tabuns.
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An article which is largely about ethnic classification, but illustrates the significance of the klirieng to ethnic identity among the Punan Bah.

Article, illustrated with photographs, on the klirieng poles of the middle Rejang and their significance to their owners.

Nieuwenhuis, A.W. 1900 In Centraal Borneo Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2 vols
One of the most quoted, and least read, ethnographic epics from Borneo. The two volumes are in the form of a detailed travelogue, interrupted at intervals for discussion of various matters of ethnographic interest, making it very hard to read at speed, but full of detailed minutiae. The original Dutch version is concerned in detail with the Kayans of the Mendalam of West Kalimantan and the various Bahau groups of the Mahakam. The photographs by Demmeni are special. The large collections of ethnographica made on these expeditions are in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Nieuwenhuis, A.W. 1904 Quer Durch Borneo Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2 vols
The slightly later German version of this work contains some additional material on the Kenyahs of the Apo Kayan region. The reproduction of the photographs is of higher quality. There are some differences in the photographs included in the two versions of the work, with the German version containing fewer photographs of objects ex situ, and more photographs from the field, including some from the Apo Kayan region.

Nüsseleim, A.H.F.J. 1905 "Beschrijving van het Landschap Pasir" B.T.L.V. 58:532-574
Typical official Dutch regional description, with some information about the Dayaks of the Pasir region of southeastern Kalimantan, who were rapidly being influenced by Islam.

Nyuak, L. and Dunn, E. 1906 "Religious Rites and Customs of the Iban or Sea Dyaks of Sarawak" Anthropos 1:11-24, 165-185, 403-425
Description of Iban customs and beliefs by an indigenous informant: perhaps one of the earliest.

General ethnographic description of these people by the government official in charge of the region.

Palmieri, M. and Ferentinos, F. 1979 "The Iban Textiles of Sarawak" in Joseph Fischer (ed) Threads of Tradition: Textiles of Indonesia and Sarawak Berkeley: University of California, pp.73-79
Basic description of textile manufacturing techniques and items woven by the Iban of Sarawak. Photographs of 3 pua cloths.
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Pauwels, P.C. 1935 "Poenan's in de Onderafdeeling Boeloengan" Koloniaal Tijdschrift 24:342-353
Brief description of the lifeways of Punans in the Kayan river region.

Perelaer, M.T.H. 1870 Ethnographische Beschrijving der Dajaks Zalt-Bommel: Joh, Noman & Zoon
Ethnographic description of the Ngaju of the Kuala Kapuas region. The book contains four very fine lithographs which were copied from early photographs.

Pfeffer, P. 1963 Bivouacs à Bornéo Paris: Flammarion Editeur
Description of an expedition to the upper Bahau region of East Kalimantan. The author's interests were mainly zoological, but there are a number of interesting photographs, particularly those of the houses and funerary monuments of the Lepu Ke Kenyah.

Pfeiffer, I. 1856 A Lady's Second Journey Round the World New York: Harper and Brothers
This intrepid lady traveller visited so many places that her descriptions of each of them are brief, but she found the appearance of the wild Dayaks of the Sarawak/West Kalimantan border noteworthy. It is not recorded how the Dayaks responded to a barefooted European lady sloshing through the swamps with her petticoats tucked into her bloomers.

Piazzini, G. 1959 The Children of Lilith London: Hodder and Stoughton
This writer was a member of the same expedition as Pfeffer, but his descriptions of the people are somewhat more extensive. Also illustrated with photographs.

Pijnappel, J. 1860 "Beschrijving van het Westelijke Gedeelte van de Zuid- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo (De Afdeeling Sampit en de Zuidkust)" B.T.L.V. ns.3:243-346
Generalised description of the region and people of the western section of southeastern Kalimantan.

von Plessen, V. 1936 "The Dyaks of Central Borneo" Geographical Magazine 4:17-34
The author does not indicate in so many words just which Dayaks he is describing, but it was evidently the Kenyah of the Kayan river in East Kalimantan. Some good photographs.

von Plessen, V. 1944 Bei den Kopfjägern von Borneo Berlin, Wien, Leipzig: Karl H. Bischoff
Any popular travel book about visiting the Dayaks has to have headhunters in the title, but see previous comment about photographs.

Pleyte, C.M. 1891 "Sumpitan and Bow in Indonesia" I.A.E. 4:265-281
Examples from Borneo are included in these notes on the use of the blowpipe in Indonesia.

Some general descriptive notes on the Muruts of the Trusan region, Sarawak.
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Some differences in the material culture and presentation of the Muruts of the Trusan and the Kelabits of the upper Baram regions are elucidated in summary form.

van Prehn Weise, R.C. 1861 "Aanteekeningen omtrent de Westerafdeeling van Borneo" T.I.T.L.V. 10:104-144
Some very general notes on the peoples of West Kalimantan.

Article on masks from Borneo, illustrated with photographs from items in the collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Revel-Macdonald, N. 1978 "La danse des hudoq (Kalimantan Timur)" Objets et Mondes 18(1-2):31-44
Description of masks and masked dances as performed by Modang, Kenyah and Kayan groups of East Kalimantan, illustrated with numerous photographs.

Very generalized article on Dayak art, illustrated with various photographs which have mostly appeared in earlier publications. The guest house built for Nieuwenhuis by the Kenyah of Long Nawang is identified as a "Kayan longhouse, the elaborate ornamentation probably shows the high status of the owner." A photograph from Hose and McDougall (1912) of the wall of a Long Ulai house in the Baram region is identified as from "Unknown village. Klemantan group. East Central Borneo." The caption editing may, of course, be no fault of the author's.

General description of the people and their lifeways for a popular publication.

The version of Brooke Low's ethnographic notes, as edited by Roth before he chopped them up and inserted them into his larger monograph. This is much easier to follow than the later version. Most of the material concerns the Iban, but there are extracts from his Rejang diaries on the upriver people.

Roth, H.L. 1896 The Natives of Sarawak and North Borneo London: Truslove and Hanson, 2 vols
A compendious compilation of all the known published ethnographic material from Sarawak and Sabah, interspersed with notes from Brooke Low's manuscripts. Some of the material is now quite difficult to obtain in any other form, but if it can be consulted in its original form it is a much better idea. All the material is carved up into disconnected segments and reassembled under headings. Some interesting photographs of people and illustrations of museum material.
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Rutten, L. 1916 "Reisherinneringen uit Zuid-Oost Boelengan (Oost-Borneo)" *T.N.A.G.* ser.2 33:136-253
Standard Dutch official travelogue on the Bulungan or lower Kayan region of East Kalimantan, with brief descriptions of the inhabitants.

Rutten, L. 1917 "Herinneringen uit Noord Koetei, bewesten de Sangkoelrang baai" *T.N.A.G.* ser.2 34:711-738
Travelogue of some of the coastal regions of East Kalimantan, with minimal ethnographic description.

Rutter, O. 1929 *The Pagans of North Borneo* London: Hutchinson and Co.)
Compilation of previously published material on the ethnography of Sabah, with photographs and illustrations.

S. (St John) 1851 "The River Barram. Extracts from a Journal kept during a visit to that river in the H.C. steamer 'Pluto'" *J.I.A.E.A.* 5(2):677-690
The first description by a European of the Baram river and its inhabitants, later incorporated into his *Life in the Forests of the Far East*.

Easy reading, rambling account of a British official's adventures in Brunei and Sarawak in the early years of Brooke rule. Filled with long descriptive passages. Sparse illustrations: a couple of interesting colour lithographs.

Detailed account of the conduct of this important post-mortuary ceremony by the Saribas Iban.

Sandin, B. 1963-4 "'Garong' Baskets *S.M.J.* 11:323-326
Brief article on the use and design of baskets used to hold rice wine for ceremonies by the Iban.

Sandin, B. 1980 *Iban Adat and Augury* Penang: Universiti Sains Malaysia
Although not essentially concerned with material culture, there are some descriptions of such things as the various types of poles erected at different grades of ceremonies.

Descriptive catalogue of a collection of material from West Kalimantan accessioned into the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. Illustrated with beautiful colour lithographs and photographs.

Schadee, M.C. 1910 "Het familienleven en familienrecht der Dajaks van Landak en Tajan" *B.T.L.V.* 63:390-485
General ethnographic description of some Dayak communities of the Kendayan group in West Kalimantan.

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Classic study on the religion and mortuary beliefs of the Ngaju, illustrated with some photographs.

English translation of the previous work.

Descriptive catalogue of a collection of shields and weapons from Borneo accessioned into the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, illustrated with colour lithographs.

Schmeltz, J.D.E. 1892 "Beitrage zur Ethnographie von Borneo. II." *I.A.E.* 5:232-238
Descriptive catalogue of a collection of swords and daggers, and one drum, from Borneo into the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, illustrated with colour lithographs.

Schneeberger, W.F. 1979 *Contributions to the Ethnology of Central Northeast Borneo* Bern: The University of Bern, Institute of Ethnology
Ethnographic account of some journeys into little known areas of interior northern East Kalimantan in the 1930s, illustrated with numerous photographs. The author's ethnographic collections from this area and other parts of Borneo are in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel and the Bernisches Historisches Museum. His photographic collection is in the Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Munich.

Schöffel, A. nd *Arts Primitifs de l'Asie du Sud-Est* Meudeon: Alain et Françoise Chaffin
Fully illustrated descriptive catalogue of an extensive private collection of Indonesian art, including many examples from Borneo. Many items seem to be attributed rather than provenanced.

Schrieke, B. 1940 *Bataks, Dayaks en Toradja's* Arnhem: van Loghum Slaterus
Book to accompany an exhibition. Only a couple of items from Borneo illustrated.

Schwaner, C.A.L.M. 1853-54 *Borneo: Beschrijving van het Stroomgebiet van den Barito en reizen langs eenige voornamie rivieren van het zuid-oostelijk gedeelte van het eiland* Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 2 vols
Detailed travelogue of some early journeys along the various rivers in southeastern Kalimantan, with copious descriptions. Illustrated with colour lithographs.

Schwartz, H.J.E.F. 1922 *Gids voor de Bezoeker van de Ethnographische Verzameling, Zaal C, Borneo en Celebes* Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
A case by case description of the contents of the collection, but with negligible information about origins of the objects.
A comprehensive picture essay from all over Borneo, concentrating very much on material culture and craft products. Includes photographs taken in Borneo and objects from museums and private collections. All pictures are properly identified.

Shariffudin, P.M. 1970 "Melanau Spirit Figures" *Brunei Museum Journal* 2(1):104-113
Short article on some examples of Melanau figure carving, illustrated with photographs.

Article on some rapidly disappearing forms of material culture in the Brunei region.

Sheares, C. 1987 "The Southeast Asian Gallery" *Arts of Asia* 17(3):70-78
Pictorial article on the Southeast Asian Gallery in the National Museum in Singapore. Indicates that material from Borneo is there.

Shelford, R. 1901 "A Provisional Classification of the Swords of the Dayak Tribes" *J.R.A.I.* 31:219-228
Descriptive article, with photographic illustrations, of the various forms of chopping sword used by different ethnic groups in Sarawak, and the changes occurring to them.

Complete descriptive catalogue of the musical instruments then in the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, with some photographs. Notable for the variety of instruments collected from Iban groups.

Complete descriptive catalogue of the jewellery and personal ornaments in the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, with photographs. It is a pity this series did not continue.

Sierevelt, A.M. 1929 "Prehistorie en oud-inheemsche monumenten"
*Oudheidkundig Verslag (Rapporten van den Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie)* Batavia: Albrecht, pp.162-164
Short note, with photographs, on stone monuments in the Apo Kayan area.

Siti Roesiah 1939 *Lalampahan ke Poela Kalimantan (Gids bij de verzameling nijverheidsartikelen uit Borneo tentoongesteld op de Pasar Gambir 1939)* Batavia: Balai Pustaka
Article, illustrated with photographs, on an arts and crafts exhibition of objects and craftspeople from Borneo.

Article on various methods of making fire in Borneo with, of course, an explanation of the functioning of the Saribas fire piston.
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A description of various forms of animal traps in Borneo.

A popular article on Sarawak, copiously illustrated with photographs, mainly of people in traditional dress.

A general article of the ethnographic museum in Rotterdam, illustrating a couple of pieces from Borneo from their collection.

A general article on the museum, with a couple of illustrations of items from Borneo.

Solc, V. nd Swords and Daggers of Indonesia London: Spring Books (translated by Till Gottheimer)
Illustrated catalogue of swords and daggers from Indonesia which have found their way into collections in Czechoslovakia. Several examples from Borneo illustrated.

Popular style description of the lifeways of these groups.

Spaan, A.H. 1901 "Een Landreis van Berouw naar Samarinda" T.N.A.G. ser.2 18:7-33, 199-224
Typical official Dutch travelogue, with descriptive passages, of East Kalimantan.

Spaan, A.H. 1902 "Reis van Berouw naar Boeloengan" T.N.A.G. ser.2 19:515-534, 959-976
Another descriptive travelogue of the northern part of East Kalimantan.

Spaan, A.H. 1903 "In het Birang-Stroomgebied" T.N.A.G. ser.2 20:654-676
More of the same, with some descriptions of the Bassaps of northern East Kalimantan.

Basic description of textile techniques with some plates, mainly of Iban pua.

Very general ethnographic description of these diverse people.

Stöhr, W. 1959 "Das Totenritual der Dajak" Ethnologica New Series, No.1
A compilation from various written sources of material on mortuary ritual and commemoration among the various ethnic groups of Borneo.
Appendix I

Stöhr, W. 1960 "Eine Skulptur der Dajak von Zentral-Borneo" Ethnologica ns 2:89-93
Discussion of the iconography of Dayak mortuary carving, with particular reference to one piece, of a person apparently riding a mythical animal, in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne.

Stöhr, W. nd Art of the Archaic Indonesians Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
Illustrated book to accompany an exhibition of traditional Indonesian art. Numerous objects from Borneo illustrated.

Stolk, J.J. 1907 "Usporing van den zwervende stam der Penjaboeng-Poenan's op de waterscheiding der Barito met de Mahakam en Kapoeas" T.N.A.G. ser.2 24:1-27
General ethnographic description of the Penyahbong, a little described nomadic group of central Borneo.

Article, illustrated with photographs, of the work of a Kayan beadworker and her products.

General descriptive article on various forms of anthropomorphic carving in Borneo, for a book to accompany an exhibition of figure sculpture from Indonesia.

Tate, D.J.M. (ed.) 1988 Rajah Brooke's Borneo Hong Kong: John Nicolson Ltd
Articles and illustrations about early Sarawak reprinted from the Illustrated London News and other early publications.

Taylor, P.M. and Aragon, L.V. 1991 Beyond the Java Sea: Art of Indonesia's Outer Islands Washington D.C. and New York: The National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institute with Harry N. Abrams Inc. Illustrated catalogue and accompaniment to an exhibition of ethnographic material from the outer islands of Indonesia, taken from a number of museums including the National Museum in Jakarta. Numerous objects from Borneo represented.

The Javanese author accompanied the Dutch official van Walchren on a journey to the Apo Kayan region of Kalimantan. His descriptions are more easily readable, and document a different kind of cultural encounter, than those of the official account. Some photographs.

Thomas, S. 1968 "Women's Tattoos of the Upper Rejang" S.M.J. 16:209-234
Description, with illustrations, of the tattoo patterns of women from various ethnic groups of the upper Rejang, showing how the patterns have been modified over the years
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while still displaying certain ethnic specificities.

Thomas, S. 1971 "Burial Customs of the Kejamans" S.M.J. 19:313-316
A description of modern adaptations of the traditional mortuary customs of the Kajaman people of the Rejang.

Tillema, H.F. 1930-31 "Filmen en fotografieeren in de tropische rimboe" N.I.O.N. 15:97-128
Description of a photographic expedition, and some of its products, in Kalimantan.

Pictorial essay, illustrated with photographs and with sketches, of tattoo patterns employed by various ethnic groups in Borneo.

Pictorial essay, illustrated with photographs, on mortuary ritual and its architecture in southeastern Kalimantan.

Tillema, H.F. 1938 Apo Kajan: Een Filmreis naar en door Centraal-Borneo Amsterdam: Van Munster
Massive photojournalistic essay about travels in the Apo Kayan area of Kalimantan. The author evidently had a particular interest in the art and craft skills of the Kenyah of the region, which are featured extensively. Techniques are shown as well as their products.

An English version of the previous work, with some variation in the photographs published. The quality of reproduction is improved and some images which were originally printed very small are reproduced in larger format.

A miscellany of notes from the coastal regions of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah.

Treffers, F. 1928 "Een Eigenaardige Adat bij de Maanjan Dajaks in de Oost Doesson Landen" Koloniaal Tijdschrift 17:337-342
A description of the secondary cremation ceremonies of the Ma'anyan of southeastern Kalimantan.

Some descriptive notes on two Ibanic groups of West Kalimantan.

Tromp, S.W. 1888 "Mededelingen omtrent Mandaus" I.A.E. 1:22-26
Some notes on the mandau or parang ilang, with lithographic illustrations.
Appendix I

Tromp, S.W. 1889 "Een Reis naar de Bovenlanden van Koetei" T.I.T.L.V. 32:273-304
Official Dutch travelogue of a journey up the Mahakam.

Tromp, S.W. 1889 "Medeelingen omtrent geestenhuisjes in West-Borneo" I.A.E. 2:163
A short illustrated note on certain ritual structures in West Kalimantan.

Tromp, S.W. 1890 "De Kleeding eener Dajaksche Vrouw" I.A.E. 3:1-7
Description of the dress of a high ranking Bahau woman of the Mahakam, with coloured lithograph illustration.

Uchibori, M. 1984 "The Enshrinement of the Dead among the Iban" S.M.J. 33:15-32
Description of the practice of disposal of some honoured dead above ground among certain Iban groups, with several photographs of mortuary depositories.

Ullmann 1869 "Het 'Tiwa' der Dajaks" T.I.T.L.V. 17:70-78
Description of the secondary death feast of the Ngaju, as witnessed by a Dutch military observer.

Some notes on jungle Punans in Kapit district, on the Rejang.

Urquehart, I.A.N. 1959 "Nomadic Punans and Pennans" in Harrisson, T. (ed.), pp.73-83
Description of Punan life in popular style.

Veth, P.J. 1854 Borneo's Westerafdeeling Zaltbommel: Joh. Noman en Zoon, 2 vols
A massive and somewhat eclectic collection of historical, geographic and ethnographic material about West Kalimantan, based on previously published material.

Description of an exhibition of Indonesian textiles, with three illustrations of ikat cloths from the Mahakam region.

General illustrated article on native weapons in Indonesia, with some examples from Borneo.

Vossen, P. 1936 "Naar en in Apau-Kajan" Koloniaal Missie Tijdschrift (Onze Missie Oost West Indie) 19:229-234, 262-278, 294-307
General descriptive article of the Apo Kayan region and the upper Mahakam, and their inhabitants.

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Vredenbregt, J. 1981 Hampatong: The Material Culture of the Dayak of Kalimantan Jakarta: PT Gramedia A pamphlet publication illustrating numerous examples of anthropomorphic carving, but with negligible information as to provenance of the items illustrated.


te Wechel, P. 1915 "Erinnerungen aus den Öst- und West-Dusunländern (Borneo)" I.A.E. 22:93-129 Comparison of mortuary ritual as carried out by various groups of the Barito district, with numerous photographs of funerary monuments.


Whittier, H. 1973 Social Organization and Symbols of Social Differentiation Ann Arbor: University Microfilms A study of the iconography of social differentiation among the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan, with special reference to the role of the baby carrier. One of the few detailed studies of a particular item of material culture and its social role from Borneo.

Whittier, H.L. and P.R. 1988 "Baby Carriers: a Link between Social and Spiritual Values among the Kenyah Dayak of Borneo" Expedition 30(1):51-58 Illustrated article on the role of the baby carrier among the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan. The article is illustrated with photographs taken by the author, as well as with pictures of baby carriers from the Furness-Hiller-Harrison collection in Philadelphia. It is not explained why the older examples do not fit his iconographic scheme, but this is probably an editorial anomaly rather than a fault of the author's.
Appendix I

Description and photographs of the stone carvings of the Apo Kayan area.

Official Dutch travelogue which traverses some lesser known territory in West Kalimantan, with the usual miscellaneous bits of description.

The author was the White Rajah's brother-in-law and spent some time in an official capacity in Sarawak, but seems to have rarely left Kuching. There is one interesting description of a visit to the Punan Bah of the Rejang.

Generalised description by a member of the Rheinisch Mission of the Ngaju people, with some photographs.

Wong, K.F. 1960 Pagan Innocence London: Jonathan Cape
A collection of photographs of the daily lives of members of various Dayak groups in Sarawak. Of interest and value, despite an over-representation of pictures of wet Iban women wearing waterproof makeup.

Wong, K.F. 1979 Borneo Scene Kuching: Anna Photo Company
A later collection of photographs, documenting some of the rapid changes to the lives of some peoples of Sarawak in the intervening period.

One of the few ethnographic descriptions of a Murut group of Sabah.

Lavish collaborative photographic essay on the traditional aspects of Iban life in Sarawak.

Yahya Talla 1979 The Kelabit of the Kelabit Highlands, Sarawak edited by Clifford Sather, Pulau Pinang: Social Anthropology Section, School of Comparative Social Studies, Universiti Sains Malaysia (Provisional research report no.9)
Ethnographic description of traditional aspects of life among the Kelabit of Sarawak from the perspective of an indigenous informant, documenting many aspects of life that had changed or were in the process of rapidly changing.

Yap Yoon Keong 1963 "The Punan Corpse that smells of Durian" S.M.J. 11:94-98
Description of a funeral and the mortuary practices of the Punan Bah of Sarawak.

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Summary of traditional customs and practices of the Dusun, or Kadazan, and Murut groups of Sabah, illustrated with sketches.
APPENDIX II: A SKETCH OF ETHNIC TERMINOLOGY IN BORNEO

The following is not intended to be a taxonomy of ethnic groups in Borneo, but simply a glossary of some of the more common ethnic terms used and abused since colonial contact. Many are exonyms, some of which have become adopted over time by the people concerned as autonyms. There are numerous other ethnic terms which have been used to identify sub-groups of certain categories, or small related groups which wished to be separately identified. A complete catalogue of named ethnic identities and their changing usages would have something of the size and complexity of an encyclopaedia. The central Borneo groups have been listed in most detail.

The material contained in this section has been largely mentioned and referenced in the text of the thesis. This is simply a quick thumbnail sketch summary.

SOUTHEASTERN COMPLEX

Ngaju group: the term Ngaju has been applied to peoples occupying the lower Barito, the Kapuas, Pulaupetak, Kahayan, Katingan and Mentaya or Sampit river complexes. The Kotawaringin and Pembuang river regions have been included in the ethnic complex at large, although the inhabitants are linguistically more closely related to the Malays.

Beaju: term applied in early colonial times to the Ngaju of the lower Barito, Kapuas and Pulaupetak.

Kahayan: applied as an ethnic identifier to the Ngaju of the Kahayan river, although there is a language difference between the Ngaju of the upper and lower river, that of the lower river being more closely related to the so-called Beaju.

Katingan: term for the Ngaju of the Katingan river and those who migrated from that river to regions further west, also covering a slight language difference between inhabitants of the upper and lower river.

Ot Danum group: culturally related to the Ngaju and occupying the upper waters of the rivers where the Ngaju live, as well as the Melawi and Mandai tributaries of the Kapuas in West Kalimantan.

Duhoi: group of the upper Katingan region.
Ethnic Terminology

*Murung*: group of the uppermost regions of the Barito, has spread into tributaries of the middle Mahakam.

*Siang*: separately identified group of the upper Barito

*Ulu Air*: term sometimes used for the Ot Danum groups of the Melawi and Mandai rivers in West Kalimantan

**Barito and Mahakam groups**: an assortment of groups of the middle Barito, its tributaries and tributaries of the middle and lower Mahakam.

*Bakompai*: originally a term applied to Dayaks of the middle Barito who had adopted Islam. It seems to have become an expanding category for relatively recently Islamised groups in the whole southeastern region.

*Bentian*: a group of the lower Mahakam, closely related to the Benuaq and living in the middle of their territory, related to the Luangan group.

*Benuaq*: a group of the lower Mahakam related to the Luangan, many absorbed into Kutai Malay identity.

*Bukit*: an isolated group in a hilly region northeast of Banjarmasin, surrounded by Islamic communities.

*Dusun*: general term for a series of related small groups living along the middle Barito. Some writers have described them as related to the Luangan group, others as part of it.

*Luangan*: a term used for a particular group living on tributaries to the east of the Barito, but also for a larger complex incorporating various related groups. Mixed in some areas with Ma’anyan groups.

*Ma’anyan*: a series of small groups living to the east of the Barito, of which the Ma’anyan-Siong have received the most ethnographic interest.

*Pasir*: the Dayaks of the Pasir region, in the sub-coastal district to the east of the Barito basin, have been subject to immigration by Bugis and Kutai and Banjar Malays. Most are Islamic, but were formerly probably related to the Luangan group.

*Taboyan*: living on the Teweh and other tributaries of the Barito, part of the larger Luangan group. Many have become Bakompai.

*Tunjung*: living on the tributaries of the middle Mahakam, related to the Luangan.

**Western group**: a number of groups in the western part of Central Kalimantan and the Melawi and upper Kapuas in West Kalimantan speak Malayic dialects but have shared cultural features with the southeastern groups.
Appendix II

Kebahan: most populous group of the Melawi region. Many became Malay. A large number of small related groups of the region claim separate identity.

Limbai: group of the Melawi region.

Melahui: formerly powerful local group of the Melawi region, their language related to Ot Danum and Malay.

Mentebah: group of an upper Kapuas tributary.

Suruk: group of an upper Kapuas tributary.

Tamoan: group from Lake Sambulo in the SAMPIT region, early this century described as a depleted group mixed with immigrant Katingans.

Tebidah: formerly powerful group of the Sintang region, at the junction of the Kapuas and the Melawi.

Terioan or Balok: group of the upper Pembuang.

CENTRAL BORNEO COMPLEX

Kayan group: the difference between the peoples calling themselves Kayan and those calling themselves Bahau, especially those of the Busang sub-group, is evidently one based on the geography of relatively recent migrations. The term Kayan has, with a few exceptions, been applied to groups which migrated to Sarawak from the Apo Kayan region via the tributaries of the upper Rejang.

Mahakam Kayan or Long Blu’u Kayan: the earliest Bahau immigrants to the Mahakam, who absorbed people, language and cultural traits from the earlier inhabitants of the Mahakam, the Pin, groups related to the Ot Danum.

Melarang: group of the lower Kayan river, East Kalimantan

Uma Agat: a group of the upper Balui in the 1880s, not mentioned in recent accounts.

Uma Aging: an important group of the Balui region, and the main Kayan group of the Mendalam in West Kalimantan. The latter had originated in the Rejang region and spent many years on the Sibau river in West Kalimantan.

Uma Apan: a group of the upper Balui

Uma Apun: a group of upper Balui asserted by Brooke Low not to be Kayan but an aboriginal group of Rejang. In 1986 consisted of only one family living with the Uma Juman Kayan and claiming to be Kayan.

Uma Baho: group of the upper Balui in the 1880s, not listed in Rousseau (1990) although he indicates Uma Balo’ Kasing as a group living below Belaga.
Ethnic Terminology

_Uma Balui_: a major Kayan group of the Balui

_Uma Bawang_: a major group of the Balui, with a branch in the middle Baram.

_Uma Belor_: a group of the upper Balui, also represented on the Mendalam in the 1920s.

_Uma Belubo_ or _Uma Belubin_: a group of the middle Baram which became absorbed by the Long Kiput.

_Uma Belun_: group of the middle Baram in the 1930s.

_Uma Daro_: group of the upper Balui

_Uma Hiban_: group of the lower Kayan river in the early 20th century

_Uma Juman_: group of the upper Balui

_Uma Kahe_: listed by Brooke Low as a non-Kayan aboriginal group of the Balui, later considered to be Kayan, living in a mixed village with Kenyah, Lahanan and Uma Lekan Kayan.

_Uma Kelejo_: a group of the upper Balui in the 1880s, not listed in recent accounts.

_Uma Laham_: a group of the upper Balui, with traditions of non-Kayan origin, gradually absorbed by the Uma Bawang.

_Uma Laran_: group of the lower Kayan river early this century.

Presumably is the same as Melarang.

_Uma Lekan_: surviving Kayan group of the Apo Kayan after the incursions of the Kenyah, later moved further down the Kayan river after attacks by the Uma Kulit Kenyah in 1912, although some still live in the Apo Kayan. Groups also reported from the Klinjau tributary of the Mahakam, the Mendalam, and recently in the upper Balui.

_Uma Lesong_: a group of upper Balui, in the 1880s the most remote living Kayan group.

_Uma Levurieng_: group of the upper Rejang, the first Kayan group to dominate the river.

_Uma Lowang_: minor group of the Mendalam in the 1920s.

_Uma Nyavieng_: group of the upper Balui.

_Uma Pagong_: group with representatives in the Mendalam and in the upper Mahakam, living closely with the Uma Suling, considered to be emigrants from the Rejang.

_Uma Paku_: group of the middle Baram.

_Uma Pliau_: group of the middle Baram.

_Uma Poh_: group of the middle Baram region.
Appendix II

*Uma Semuka*: group of the middle Baram.

*Uma Suling*: group with some representatives on the Mendalam, but the main body on the upper Mahakam where they were styled a Bahau group, with origins in the Rejang region.

*Uma Ukap*: group of the upper Balui

**Bahau group**: series of groups of diverse origins, mainly claiming to have migrated to the Mahakam region from the Apo Kayan, speaking dialects of Kayan.

*Aoheng or Penihing*: from the uppermost reaches of the Mahakam, a conglomerate formed from Kayan speaking immigrants, nomadic groups and autochthonous populations, but considering themselves to be an ethnic group.

*Bahau-bate*: series of groups of the middle Mahakam whose languages have fused to form a common dialect distinct from Busang, the *lingua franca* of the region.

*Bang Kelau*: modern Busang group of the Mahakam, not mentioned in early accounts.

*Bongan*: a partly nomadic group of the upper Mahakam, related to the Penihing.

*Busang*: a conglomerate of groups speaking Busang, the dominant Kayan dialect of the region.

*Hoang Anah*: Bahau-bate group of the Mahakam mainstream.

*Hoang Dali*: Bahau-bate group of the Mahakam mainstream.

*Hoang Hurei*: modern Bahau-bate group of the Mahakam, not mentioned in early accounts.

*Hoang Latah*: modern Bahau-bate group of the Mahakam, not mentioned in early accounts.

*Hoang Sirau*: Bahau-bate group of the Mahakam mainstream, formerly not claiming an origin in the Apo Kayan region, but later did.

*Hoang Telibah or Uma Telibah*: Bahau-bate group of the middle Mahakam region.

*Jinawang or Jinawai*: group of the middle Mahakam not claiming an origin in the Apo Kayan. Had died out by early this century.

*Long Bila*: group of the Tawang tributary of the Belayan. Not listed in recent accounts.

*Long Boh*: group of the middle Mahakam which did not claim an origin in the Apo Kayan. At the turn of the century survived only as a few doors in the
houses of other ethnic groups. Not listed in recent accounts.

Long Glat: formerly dominant group of the Mahakam, Busang but with historical and linguistic relations to the Segai-Modang group, living in mixed villages with partially absorbed smaller groups.

Long Hubung: modern Bahau-bate group of the Mahakam, not mentioned in early accounts, but Long Howong was listed as the name of a village of the Long Wai.

Mahakam: group of the middle Mahakam not claiming an origin in the Apo Kayan region. Survived only as a few doors in the houses of other ethnic groups around the turn of the century.

Mahakam Kayan: see under Kayan.

Pari: term used by early Dutch writers for the Bahau group in general.

Saputan: formerly nomadic group related to the Aoheng.

Tring or Bahau Tering or Hoang Tering: Bahau-bate group of the middle Mahakam, claiming origins in the Baram region. Relationship to the extinct Trengs of the Baram is purely for speculation.

Uma Asa or Long Asa: Busang group of the middle Mahakam.

Uma Laham: Bahau-bate group of the middle Mahakam.

Uma Lokui or Uma Lekue: Busang group of the middle Mahakam, living in close association with the Long Glat.

Uma Luhat: Busang group of the middle Mahakam, living in close association with the Long Glat. May be a Kayanized autochthonous group.

Uma Lutan: group of the middle Mahakam tributaries, not mentioned in recent accounts.

Uma Mehak or Mamehak: Busang group of the middle Mahakam. May be a Kayanized autochthonous group.

Uma Palo, Uma Pala or Bato Pala: on the assumption that these are all the same group, a Busang minority group living in close association with the Long Glat and Uma Suling. May be a Kayanized autochthonous group.

Uma Sam: modern Busang group of the Mahakam, not mentioned in early accounts.

Uma Suling: see under Kayan.

Uma Temah or Bahau Temaa: group of the middle Mahakam region. May be a Kayanized autochthonous group.

Uma Tepai: Busang group living in close association with the Long Glat and Uma Suling. May be a Kayanized autochthonous group.

Uma Tuan: Busang group of the middle Mahakam, living largely in
mixed villages.

*Uma Wak*: Busang group living in close association with the Long Glat.

**Segai-Modang group**: groups speaking languages related to Kayan, with a history of migration from the Apo Kayan region, living on the tributaries and major rivers to the north of the Mahakam.

*Kelai*: Segai group of the southern side of the Berau river.

*Long Bleh*: Modang group of the Belayan tributary of the Mahakam.

*Long Wahau*: Modang group of the Telen tributary of the Mahakam.

*Long Wai*: Modang group with representatives on the Mahakam mainstream and on the Klinjau tributary.

*Segai, Gaai or Uma Gaai*: group of the lower Bulungan and Berau rivers.

**Kenyah group**: a diverse conglomerate of peoples with a complex history of recent migrations, splittings and assimilations, with some diversity of language. A core group of the Apo Kayan region has produced numerous communities which have migrated downriver into Sarawak and East Kalimantan, interacting with various pre-existing inhabitants.

*Badang* or *Modang*: a dispersed and migratory group with a reputation for occupying peripheral regions. Formerly had a close relationship with the Lepu Tau of the Apo Kayan. In the 1880s were living in the upper Balui tributaries. Some moved to the Belaga, some to the upper Baram and some returned to the Apo Kayan. Others moved to the Pujungan. Relatively recently a group moved from the Apo Kayan region to the upper Balui tributaries.

*Batu Blah*: an original group of the Baram region living in the Tutoh tributary, consider themselves to be Berawan, referred to as Lepu Pu’un Kenyah.

*Berawan*: term used for original groups of the Tinjar, in the 19th century living in close association with various Sebop communities. Those of the lower Tinjar have supposedly absorbed some Meting, a group now extinct. Considered to be Lepu Pu’un Kenyah.

*Lelak*: group of the Tinjar related to the Berawan, now extinct as an entity.

*Lepu Abong*: moved from the Iwan region to the upper Baram, where they were already present in the 1880s.

*Lepu Aga*: moved from the Apo Kayan region to the Balui tributaries, and then to the upper Baram.
Ethnic Terminology

*Lepu Anan*: were forced to leave the Baram region for the Belepe tributary of the upper Balui, where they lived in the 1880s. Moved down to the Belaga and from there to the upper Tinjar.

*Lepu Buau*: general term for the various groups which migrated into the Baram region from the 1880s onward, either from the Apo Kayan region or the upper Balui region.

*Lepu Ga*: immigrant group to the Baram, present there in the 1880s.

*Lepu Jingan*: in the upper Balui tributaries in the 1880s. Split up with one group migrating to the Tinjar via the Belaga, the other to the Baram. Later only represented on the Baram.

*Lepu Ke*: a group of the upper Bahau which evidently absorbed an indigenous group of the region, the Nyibun. Some later moved to Baram.

*Lepu La'ang*: an immigrant group to Baram, already present in the 1880s.

*Lepu Linau*: group of the Balui tributaries of the 1880s, immigrant from the Baram region, later moved to the Belaga. Not mentioned in later accounts.

*Lepu Lotong*: formerly of the Iwan, living in the Baram in the 1880s, became extinct as an entity.

*Lepu Maut*: group of the upper Bahau which originally drove the Muriks from the region. Moved down to the Pujungan and lower Kayan rivers.

*Lepu Nyamok*: immigrant group to the Baram.

*Lepu Payah*: term used for a branch of the Badang living in the upper Baram in the 1890s.

*Lepu Pu'un*: term used for the original inhabitants of Baram, used in two different senses, either only for the non-Kenyah speaking groups, or sometimes including early Kenyah immigrants from the Balui region.

*Lepu Sawa*: formerly occupied the Iwan, were living in the Balui tributaries in the 1880s with the Lepu Linau. Moved to Belaga and then to the middle Baram.

*Lepu Sun*: an Apo Kayan group originally from Pujungan, not mentioned in recent accounts.

*Lepu Tau*: dominant group of the Apo Kayan, originally from the Iwan river. Some were living in the upper Balui tributaries and the Belaga in the 1880s, from which they left for the Baram. One group moved to the Boh tributary of the Mahakam.

*Lepu Tepu*: Apo Kayan group originally from the upper Iwan. A group formerly lived in Baram but returned to the Iwan before colonial control of the Baram.
Lepu Tepu An: early immigrant group to Baram, closely associated with the Long Belukun.

Lepu Umbo: general term for early immigrant groups to the Baram from the Rejang region, before the major migrations of the late 19th century.

Likun: immigrant group to upper Baram.

Lirong: group living in the upper Balui tributaries in the 1880s, migrated to the Tinjar.

Long Akar: early immigrant group of Baram, not mentioned in recent accounts.

Long Alap: early immigrant group of Baram, not mentioned in recent accounts.

Long Bangun: early immigrant group to the Belaga river, claimed a relationship with the Lepu Jingan.

Long Belukun: early immigrant group to Baram, formed from the splitting of the Long Bura who lived in Balui.


Long Kiput: an original group of the Baram region, in the Tutoh tributary, related to the Berawan but supposedly absorbed some Meting as well as Kenyah and Kayan. Considered to be Lepu Pu'un Kenyah.

Long Meloyan: early immigrant group to Baram, not mentioned in recent accounts

Long Muri: early immigrant group to Baram, not mentioned in recent accounts.

Long Pata: original group of the Baram region, in the Tutoh tributary, considered to be Berawan but absorbed some branches of the Treng, a now extinct group of Baram, now considered as Lepu Pu’un Kenyah.

Long Pelutan: early immigrant group to Baram, not mentioned in recent accounts.

Long Pokun: Sebop sub-group, immigrant to the Tinjar.

Long Sibatu: early immigrant group to Baram.

Long Suku: Sebop sub-group which moved from upper to lower Tinjar.

Long Taballau: Sebop sub-group, immigrant to the Tinjar.

Long Tap: given as a Lepu Umbo group of Baram in the 1970s, not listed in early accounts.

Long Tikun: early immigrant group to Baram, formed by the splitting of the Long Bura of Balui.
Ethnic Terminology

Long Ulai: early immigrant group to Baram, formed by the splitting of the Long Bura of Balui, associated with the Long Sibat.

Long Utan: early immigrant group of Baram which became extinct as an entity.

Long Wat: original group of the Baram region, considered to have some affinity with the Sebop. Lived for some time in close association with Kayan.

Melang: group formerly of the Iwan which moved to the Tinjar, living with the Sebop and Berawan, not mentioned in recent accounts.

Murik or Ngorik: group formerly living in the Bahau, probably of Murut-Kelabit origins, driven out by Kenyah invasions to the Baram where they were closely associated with Kayan and Kenyah groups. Now considered to be Kenyah

Pua: a supposedly autochthonous group of the Pujungan, absorbed into Kenyah identity.

Sebop: series of sub-groups of the Tinjar river. Some were living there in close association with the Berawan in the mid 19th century, others migrated down from the upper Balui region in the late 19th century via the Belaga. They had some tradition of formerly living in Baram with the Long Kiput and Batu Blah and were considered by some to be an aboriginal group of the region, despite the recent immigration of some branches and their Kenyah language and culture.

Uma Akeh: immigrant group to Baram, related to the Lepu Anan but formerly associated with the Long Tikan, heavily intermarried with Kayans.

Uma Alim: group of the Pujungan. Part of the group moved to the lower Kayan river.

Uma Baka: group which moved into the Apo Kayan from the Pujungan. Some moved to the upper Balui in the late 19th century.

Uma Bakung: group of the Apo Kayan. Some later moved to the Pujungan, some to the lower Kayan river and some to the Boh tributary of the Mahakam.

Uma Bem: a group which moved to the Apo Kayan from the Pujungan. One section moved to the Boh tributary of the Mahakam, one to the Belayan. Survives only in the Belayan.

Uma Jalan: group of the Apo Kayan, originally from the Pujungan.

Uma Kelap: living in the Balui tributaries in the 1880s as immigrants
from the Apo Kayan. Some remained in Balui.

_Uma Kulit_: a group formerly of the Apo Kayan which claimed to have come originally from the Rejang region. One group moved to the Bahau region and then to the lower Kayan river, one moved into the upper Balui in the 1940s. None remained in the Apo Kayan.

_Uma Lasan_: a group of the Pujungan. Some moved to the Apo Kayan and some to the lower Kayan river.

_Uma Long_: group of Pujungan.

_Uma Pawa_: group living in the upper Balui tributaries in the 1880s. Most left for the Belaga and then to Baram. Were heavily intermarried with the Kayan and formerly considered to be part Kayan.

_Uma Time_: group formerly dominant in the Apo Kayan before the ascendency of the Lepu Tau, since scattered. Some stayed in the Apo Kayan and were absorbed by the Uma Tukung, some moved to the Belayan, some moved to the upper Balui but most of these later returned to the Apo Kayan. Not included in recent lists from the Apo Kayan.

_Uma Tukung_: Apo Kayan group which absorbed some of the Uma Time. Some moved to the Boh tributary of Mahakam and some to the Belayan.

_Kajang groups_: a term referring to a loose association of groups of the middle and upper Rejang which were living in the region before the arrival of the Kayans. The term has varying specificity of use.

_Bah Mali_: an autochthonous group of the Belaga river, now virtually extinct.

_Kajaman_: original occupants of the region around Belaga.

_Lahanan_: group of the upper Balui, living in close association with Kayans but maintaining a named identity.

_Punan Bah_: autochthonous group of Rejang and Tatau region, considered to be related to Melanau.

_Sekapan_: original occupants of region above Belaga.

_Seeping_: group originally from the Seeping tributary of the Balui, migrating into the Belaga during the 19th century. Some moved across to the Tinjar.

_Nomadic groups_: living in the far interior of Sarawak, West Kalimantan and East Kalimantan, these groups are often classified together because of their similar subsistence, despite linguistic diversity and a probable variety of origins.

_Bassap_: groups of East Kalimantan in regions north of the Mahakam.
Ethnic Terminology

*Berau or Merau*: remnants of the Murik, driven away from the upper Bahau by Kenyah invasions, living in remote forest areas of the northeastern regions.

*Buket or Ukit*: in West Kalimantan, far interior East Kalimantan and interior Sarawak, formerly from the upper Kapuas and Baleh regions, partially absorbed into agricultural groups such as the Aoheng.

*Bukitan*: in the upper Kapuas region of West Kalimantan and interior Sarawak, where they migrated from the Baleh region to the upper Rejang and Bintulu regions. Many absorbed by Iban.

*Hovongan*: branch of the Penyahbong.

*Kereho*: branch of the Penyahbong.

*Lisum*: originally related to the Ukit, some moved to Balui and some to the Apo Kayan area. Suffered severe depredations by the Iban.

*Olo Ot*: term used by inhabitants of southeastern Kalimantan for nomads living in the mountains to the north of the southern flowing rivers. Includes groups such as the Penyahbong.

*Penan*: generally refers to nomads in Sarawak speaking dialects of Kenyah, but there is some confusion in the way the terms Penan and Punan are used by other groups.

*Penyahbong*: group of the mountainous regions in the vicinity of the upper Mahakam, composed of groups calling themselves Kereho and Hovongan but known outside the region as Olo Ot. Were becoming sedentary and adopting agriculture early this century.

*Punan*: has been used as a highly non-specific term for nomadic peoples of Sarawak, West Kalimantan and East Kalimantan. It is sometimes used to differentiate groups of nomads from other named nomadic groups such as Bassaps or Buket. There are many specific named sub-groups.

LOWLAND GROUPS AND MINORITIES OF SARAWAK

*Antu Jalan* or *Atu Julan*: reported name for a formerly dominant group of the Belaga region of the Rejang, extinct by the 1880s.

*Bakan*: former group of Pelagus region of Rejang, extinct in 1880s.

*Balingian*: inhabitants of river of same name, subsumed into Melanau identity.

*Banyok*: group of lower Rejang, supposedly formerly related to Ukit,
absorbed into Melanau identity after merging with Siduan and Segalang.

**Belait**: group of the Belait river in Brunei, mixed with Meting, an extinct group of Tinjar.

**Bisaya**: group of Brunei and the lower Limbang.

**Bliun**: group of the Sariki region of the lower Rejang, totally absorbed by Malay and Melanau identity.

**Dalis**: formerly of the lower Baram, migrated to the coast and adopted Islam in pre-colonial times.

**Daro**: former name for a Melanau group of the Rejang delta.

**Kadayan**: term evidently used for two unrelated groups of the Baram region, an Islamic coastal group living mainly in Brunei and a lower Baram group. The latter usage seems to have disappeared.

**Kanowit**: group of middle Rejang, considered to be upriver Melanau.

**Lepu Wun**: group formerly living above Pelagus rapids on the Rejang, extinct in the 1880s.

**Lugat**: related to the Ukit, living in the 1880s on the Rejang and on a tributary of the Tatau, depleted by the late 19th century and many absorbed by Iban.

**Matu**: former name for a Melanau group of the Rejang delta.

**Melanau**: term for series of linguistically related coastal groups of Sarawak, partly Islamic, absorbed a number of lowland minorities.

**Meting**: a formerly powerful group of the Tinjar region, extinct as an entity after absorption into Belait, Miri and Berawan identity.

**Miri**: group of the lower Baram region which adopted Islam in the pre-colonial period.

**Narom**: group living near Marudi on the lower Baram which has adopted Islam.

**Orang Bukit**: term used in the late 19th century for certain communities of the lower Baram.

**Palo**: former name for a Melanau group of the Rejang delta.

**Rejang**: former name for a Melanau group of the Rejang delta.

**Segalang**: group formerly related to the Ukit, absorbed into Melanau identity after merging with Siduan and Banyok.

**Segan**: old name for Melanau of the Bintulu region.

**Seru**: group related to the Ukit formerly living in the Krian region, became extinct as a group after invasion of Saribas Iban into the region, many members becoming Malay.
Ethnic Terminology

_Sian:_ formerly nomadic group related to the Ukit, settled in the Belaga region of the Rejang.

_Sibu:_ former name for Melanau of Sibu region, lower Rejang.

_Siduan:_ group formerly related to the Ukit, absorbed into Melanau identity after merging with Segalang and Banyok.

_Siting:_ extinct group of the Muka region.

_Tanjong:_ group of middle Rejang, related to Melanau but now allied with the Kajang groups. Some were living on the Tutoh tributary of Baram in the mid 19th century with the Long Kiput.

_Tatau:_ group of the river of that name, now absorbed into Melanau identity.

_Tilian:_ group of the river of that name, now absorbed into Melanau identity.

_Treng:_ formerly powerful group of the Baram region, now extinct, partly mixed with the Long Pata Berawan. The Tabuns of the Limbang, now extinct as an entity, were formerly considered to be a relic of this group.

_Tutong:_ term used for Bisayas who immigrated to the Baram region in the early 19th century.

MURUT-KELABIT COMPLEX

Ethnic terminology is particularly muddled for these groups of the northern central regions on the Sarawak-Sabah-East Kalimantan border. Terms used are either particularly localised, or confusing and diffuse.

_Adang:_ term used in the 19th century for peoples of the upper Limbang, Sarawak.

_Berau_ or _Merau:_ see under Nomadic Groups.

_Kelabit:_ the peoples occupying the plateau region at the head of the Baram and the upper Baram region. The term was reportedly a mistranscription by a Sarawak officer of the name of the home village of some visitors to Baram, but has become a significant ethnic identifier.

_Lun Bawang:_ the term used by inhabitants of the Trusan, Limbang and Lawas rivers of Sarawak to designate themselves, it has become significant to Sarawak groups differentiating themselves from the Kelabit.

_Lun Daye:_ term used for a group of the upper Padas river in Sabah, and also for groups of the upper Kerayan in East Kalimantan.
*Murik* or *Ngorrk*: see under Kenyah

*Murut*: a term formerly used for all peoples of the Murut-Kelabit and Murut-Tagal ethnolinguistic groups in Sarawak, Sabah and East Kalimantan. There have been arguments in the literature as to which group it should properly apply to, but it was not used by either to designate themselves.

*Nyibun* or *Libun*: a group formerly occupying the upper Bahau river in East Kalimantan, totally absorbed by the Lepu Ke Kenyah.

*Pa Liit*: a group formed by the splitting of the Trengs of Baram, eventually absorbed by the Long Pata Berawan.

*Pua*: see under Kenyah.

*Putuk*: term for groups of the Kerayan and Mentarang rivers of East Kalimantan, essentially the same as Lun Daye.

*Saban*: branch of the dispersed Murik on the upper Bahau, reportedly the same as the Berau.

*Tabun*: branch of the dispersed Treng formerly living on the Limbang, now extinct as an entity, partly absorbed by Adang.

*Ubau*: term for groups of the Malinau and Mentarang rivers of East Kalimantan: unclear how the term relates to Lun Daye and Putuk.

**IBANIC-MALAYIC COMPLEX**

Assortment of peoples of Sarawak and the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan speaking languages related to Malay, influenced to varying degrees by Malay society.

*Iban group*: essentially based in Sarawak, although some branches migrated back into West Kalimantan, with a tradition of expansiveness and independence of authority.

*Balau* or *Lingga*: group of the Lingga tributary of the Batang Lupar, non-expansive group.

*Batang Lupar*: term used in Sarawak to designate peoples of the lower and middle Batang Lupar, with various named sub-groups. These seem to have migrated from their home areas only under government sponsored plans. The term was used by the Dutch to designate Ulu Ai and other groups which immigrated to West Kalimantan from Sarawak during the 19th century.

*Iban*: term adopted by migrating branches of the group in the late 19th century, and eventually adopted as the official identifier of the whole ethnic
Ethnic Terminology

group in Sarawak.

*Lemanak*: group originating in the Lemanak tributary of the Batang Lupar, many migrated via the Kanowit tributary to the Rejang.

*Milikin*: a small group of the upper Sadong river, reputedly a mixture of Sibuyau or Undup Sea Dayaks and Land Dayaks.

*Saribas*: group occupying the river of that name, which expanded northwards to the Krian and lower Rejang as well as joining government sponsored migrations to more remote areas.

*Sea Dayak*: the term formerly applied to the ethnic group as a whole, now practically abandoned.

*Sibuyau*: dispersed group living in various locations around the First Division, considered to have abandoned many of their original customs, have been described as "para-Malay".

*Skrang*: group deriving from the river of that name, expanded via the Kanowit tributary to the Rejang and beyond.

*Ulu Ai*: people of the uppermost reaches of the Batang Lupar who expanded via the Katibas tributary into the Rejang and Baleh. The term was sometimes used in a general sense for interior Iban.

*Undup*: group of the Undup tributary of the Batang Lupar, not generally expansive although some migrated into West Kalimantan.

**Ibanic and Malayic group**: in West Kalimantan there is a gradation between groups closely resembling the Iban of Sarawak and those strongly influenced by Malays. There are many small local identifiers for clusters of communities in some regions.

*Benuis*: Malayic group of the Selimbau area, in the region of the Kapuas lakes.

*Bugau*: Ibanic group of the border regions with Sarawak, to the north of the Kapuas. Some moved to the Batang Lupar in the 1890s.

*Desa*: Ibanic speaking group to the south of the Kapuas.

*Jongkong*: Malayic group of the Selimbau area, in the region of the Kapuas lakes.

*Kantu*: Ibanic group formerly living close to the Sarawak border, forced to move closer to the Kapuas mainstream by Iban attacks from Sarawak, considered to be allied to the Undups.

*Ketungau*: Ibanic group of a northern tributary of the Kapuas.

*Mayan*: Malayic group of the Selimbau area, in the region of the Kapuas
lakes.

*Mentebah*: see under Southeastern Complex, western group.  
*Mualang*: Ibanic group of the north of the Kapuas.  
*Rambai*: a branch of the Kantu'.  
*Seberuang*: Ibanic group of the north of the Kapuas, considered to be Malayised.  
*Silit*: Malayised or Malayic group of the Silat tributary of the Kapuas.  
*Suhaid*: Ibanic group of the Kapuas, considered to be Malayised.  
*Suruk*: see under Southeastern Complex, western group.  
*Ulu Sungei*: Malayic group of the Bunut region of the upper Kapuas.

**LAND DAYAK COMPLEX**

Series of groups, mostly with very small scale identification, in the southwestern part of Sarawak and the western part of West Kalimantan. Includes various Malayic or Malayised groups.

*Bidayuh group*: the groups formerly known as Land Dayak in Sarawak and their ethnolinguistic relations in the western regions of West Kalimantan. In both areas there were numerous small local identifiers and communities often did not claim larger scale affiliations. In Sarawak the lists of so-called tribes not only delimit tiny units, the names and relationships between them have changed over time as communities have split, moved or affiliated. The list therefore only includes groups which have more than an ephemeral reference in the literature.

*Bidayuh*: a term originally applied only to certain groups of the Sadong river, but more recently the preferred name for all former Land Dayak groups of Sarawak.

*Bukar*: group of the Samarahan branch of the Sadong river in Sarawak.  
*Jagui*: group of the upper Sarawak river and across the border into the Sambas region of West Kalimantan, with some representatives in the Lundu region. Originally described as a village of the Sau tribe, it seems to have become a more general term for the peoples of the upper Sarawak river.  
*Jangkang*: a group of the Sekayam tributary of the Kapuas in West Kalimantan.  
*Land Dayak*: term originally applied to all related groups of Sarawak and extended to similar groups in West Kalimantan, now no longer in use in Sarawak.
Ethnic Terminology

**Ribun**: a group of the Sekayam tributary of the Kapuas in West Kalimantan.

**Sadong**: collective term for the groups of the Sadong river in Sarawak, seen as having certain cultural and linguistic features in common, distinguishing them from the Jagui or people of the Sarawak river.

**Sampro**: group of the Sarawak river which claimed in the early 19th century to be the original tribe from which all others in Sarawak had derived.

**Sau**: series of related groups of the western branch of the Sarawak river, referred to as a tribe in the early literature.

**Serambau**: series of related villages on Serambau mountain, near Bau on the western branch of the Sarawak river.

**Sidin**: group of the Sambas area of West Kalimantan.

**Sikong**: group of the Sekayam tributary of the Kapuas in West Kalimantan, their territory reportedly formerly regarded as a homeland by Bidayuh groups of Sarawak.

**Songkong**: group of the Kapuas region of West Kalimantan.

**Kendayan group**: collective term for Malayic speaking groups of the Sambas and Landak regions of West Kalimantan. As with the Bidayuh, there are numerous very small local identifiers rather than ethnic terminologies and it has been claimed that some of these groups recognised no ethnic affiliations.

**Lara**: a group which migrated from Sambas into the Lundu area of Sarawak in the early 19th century, where they were absorbed into Bidayuh identity.

**Menyuki**: a group of the Landak region, West Kalimantan.

**Selako**: a group of the Sambas region, some of whose members migrated into the Lundu region of Sarawak in the early 19th century, where they were absorbed into Bidayuh identity.

**MALOH COMPLEX**: an ethnic minority group scattered around certain northern tributaries of the Kapuas, occupying an ethnolinguistic position distinct from the Ibanic and central Borneo groups while sharing certain features with both. A few migrated into Sarawak with Iban groups.

**Embaloh**: group occupying the Embaloh and neighbouring rivers to the north of the Kapuas.

**Kalis**: group of the river of the same name, considered to have been
influenced by the Ot Danum.

*Leboyan*: group of the river of the same name, closely related to the Embaloh.

*Palin*: group of the river of the same name, closely related to the Embaloh.

*Taman*: group which claimed to be the original inhabitants of the upper Kapuas, on the main river near Putus Sibau, many having become Malay.

**SABAH COMPLEX**

**Murut-Tagal group**: series of ethnolinguistically related groups occupying the far interior of Sabah, the most northerly parts of the interior of East Kalimantan, with a small representation in the border region of northern Sarawak.

*Abai*: communities in the tributaries of the Sembakong and Mentarang rivers of northern East Kalimantan.

*Baukan*: a group of western Sabah.

*Keningau or Nabai*: lowland group of western Sabah.

*Kolor*: group of the region near the Sarawak border.

*Kwijao*: considered to be a group of mixed Murut and Dusun origin, in western Sabah.

*Murut*: see under Murut-Kelabit.

*Peluan*: group of western Sabah.

*Rundum*: group from north of the central part of the border region between Sabah and East Kalimantan.

*Sedalir*: group in the tributaries of the Sembakong river, East Kalimantan, related to the Tinggalan.

*Tagal*: term used for immigrants from Sabah living in the Lawas region of northern Sarawak.

*Tengara*: group living south of the Kinabatangan river in eastern Sabah.

*Timogun or Tenom*: lowland group of western Sabah.

*Tinggalan*: peoples of the Sembakong river area of northern East Kalimantan.

**Lowland groups:**

*Bajau*: fishing communities which formerly lived entirely on boats. Some
Ethnic Terminology

communities came ashore as farmers in western Sabah.

*Dusun*: term for a whole series of ethnolinguistically related groups of the lowland areas of Sabah, with many named sub-groups.

*Idahan*: term used at one time to designate the same series of peoples as Dusun, now used specifically for Islamised peoples living in lowland areas to the north of Darvel Bay in eastern Sabah. In early colonial times these were referred to by a series of smaller group identifiers.

*Ilanun*: coastal people immigrant from Mindanao in the southern Philippines.

*Kadazan*: a Dusun group of the western coastal plain. The term is currently being broadened to include all those peoples formerly referred to as Dusun.

*Kwijao*: see under Murut-Tagal.

*Lotud*: the only coastal Dusun group, living to the north of Kota Kinabalu.

*Orang Sungei*: term used for relic non-Islamic communities in Idahan territory on the Kinabatangan river.

*Rungus Dusun*: group of the Kudat peninsula in the most northerly part of Sabah, considered to be the most traditional of the Dusun groups.

*Suluk*: coastal peoples immigrant from the Sulu Islands.

*Sundyak*: term used in some early writings from Sabah, apparently meaning the same as Dusun.

*Tambunua*: group of the eastern lowlands, linguistically related to the Idahan.

*Tidong*: Islamic communities of the eastern coastal region extending into northern East Kalimantan.
APPENDIX III: GLOSSARY

*adat*: the body of custom determining the laws, dispute regulations, religious practice and social life of a community

*arak*: a distilled spirit made from fermented rice wine

*aso*: a motif in the art of central Borneo groups, derived from the Kayan word for dog, although in other ethnic groups the motif may have other iconographic attributions

*ayah*: secondary mortuary ceremonial of the peoples of the Kotawaringin region of southeastern Kalimantan

*balian*: female religious functionary among the Ngaju and related groups, although some writers have used the term loosely to refer to male shamans or religious functionaries

*barong*: wide beamed boat used by the Melanau for sea fishing, capable of being beached in surf

*basir*: male religious functionary among the Ngaju and related groups

*bayu*: form of chopping sword which superficially resembles a *parang ilang*, but has a blade of symmetrical cross-section sharpened along both sides, formerly in use by Iban

*bedang*: an Iban woman's skirt

*bejalai*: the practice among young Iban men of undertaking extended journeys, sometimes of several years, away from their home village in order to trade or work

*belawing*: a tall pole erected by the Kenyah as part of headhunting ceremonial, generally covered in shredded leaves and sometimes adorned with carved figures

*besi*: iron

*besi mantikei*: term used for local native smelted iron in southeastern Kalimantan

*bilian*: a form of very long lasting hardwood timber

*bilum*: carved figures produced by the Melanau to be sent out to sea in model boats as part of a procedure for curing illness

*blikan*: musical instrument resembling a guitar, hollowed from the front and equipped with a sounding board, used by Maloh and Iban

*borak*: rice wine

*buno*: a form of lance with curled barbs, used by the Ngaju in ritual contexts

*busoi*: a musical instrument consisting of a pottery jar surmounted by a wooden disc on which rests a bow, used by Tanjong and Siduan of the lower
Glossary

Rejang
damar: a form of resin, used for sealing and for burning in torches
daro: secondary mortuary ceremonial of the Ot Danum for southeastern Kalimantan
dohong: a form of double edged sword or dagger used by the Ngaju in ritual contexts
duku: curved chopping sword used by Malays and Ibans, also called parang pedang

engkerurai: Iban term for the kledi, a musical instrument made from a series of bamboo tubes cut with vibrating reeds set into a gourd

engkraton: a form of horizontally strung harp formerly used by the Iban

engkrimu: male ornament of rings wound with small brass cylinders, for wearing below the knee, as worn by Iban

enserunai: a one or two stringed fiddle with the sounding chamber made from a coconut shell, a segment of bamboo or a wooden cylinder, formerly used by the Iban, also called serunai

garuda: a mythical bird-like creature, symbol of the upper world among the Ngaju
gawai: Iban term for a ritual or festivity
gawai antu: post-mortuary feast for the spirits of the departed, held by some branches of the Iban
gawai burung: Iban festivity concerned with headhunting ritual
gawai kenyalang: Iban festival in honour of the god of war, in which kenyalang figures are placed on top of poles

gayung: form of chopping sword used by Murut-Tagal groups, which looks like a parang ilang but has a blade of symmetrical cross-section

grunjong: sets of earrings worn all around the shell of the ear, formerly worn by Iban men

hampatong: anthropomorphic carvings erected in honour of the dead by various peoples of southeastern Kalimantan, the term sometimes used loosely to indicate anthropomorphic carving from Borneo in general

hampatong halimaung: carved feline figures erected near mortuary structures in some parts of southeastern Kalimantan

ikat: a method of decorating textiles which involves tie-dyeing the warp or weft threads before weaving - among Dayak groups practising this craft only the warp threads are dyed

irau: Kelabit term for their secondary mortuary ceremonial
jerunai: Melanau term for carved poles used to contain corpses or secondarily deposited remains of the dead

jimpul: form of chopping sword with a parang ilang handle and a grooved curved blade widening to the tip, formerly used by Iban

kampilan: large heavy bladed sword with a straight blade widening to the tip, formerly used by the Ilanun

kariring: form of mortuary structure for secondarily deposited bones, consisting of a long chamber on two posts, in use by Luangan and Dusun groups of southeastern Kalimantan

kenawieng: form of ear ornament consisting of numerous pendants on chains, formerly worn by Iban men

kenyalang: elaborately carved figure of a hornbill, as produced by the Iban

kepala: Malay term for head, sometimes used for the headman of a village

keramen: pole erected by some Kenyah groups in the course of headhunting ceremonial, topped with a carved hornbill

kledi or keluri: musical instrument consisting of a series of bamboo pipes carved with reeds and set into a gourd

klerieng or klirieng: term used in the Rejang region for carved mortuary poles used to contain jars of secondarily deposited remains of the dead

kris: the distinctive straight or wavy bladed dagger of the Malays

kris sulok: a form of the kris in which the blade is extended to form a sword, particular to the Brunei Malays, also called sundang

langgai tinggang: a form of chopping sword formerly used by the Iban, a hybrid between their original niabor and the parang ilang

langgu langging: ear ornament in the form of a long elaborate pendant, formerly worn by Iban men

langgu tingga: ear ornament in the form of a series of flat brass rings joined at the top, formerly worn by Iban men

leju: carved wooden animal, supposedly representing a tiger, placed in or by the coffins of important men by some central Borneo groups, also called rimau

lemba: a leaf fibre from a form of coarse grass, used for native weaving in many areas

lijeng: term used in the Baram and Tinjar region for carved mortuary poles used to contains the secondarily deposited remains of the dead

lotong: musical instrument made from a length of bamboo, with strings made by excising narrow strips of the outer skin and tuning them with wedges
Glossary

lukut : Kayan term for a bead, and also for the tattoo design worn on the wrist by some men

malat : Kayan term for the parang ilang, or chopping sword with asymmetrical blade

manang : an Iban healer or shaman

mandau : term used in southeastern Kalimantan for the parang ilang, or chopping sword with asymmetrical blade

mardahika : term used in West Kalimantan to describe Dayak groups which were free from any tributary status to a local Malay ruler

naga : a form of mythical water snake, associated with the lower world in the mythology of the Ngaju

niabor : the traditional curved chopping sword of the Iban

nulang : term used by the Berawan of the Tinjar river for the ceremony of secondary redeposition of the bones of the dead

padi : rice in unhusked form

pakayun : curved chopping sword with two pronged handle formerly used by Murut-Kelabit groups, also called parapat

palang : a bar of metal or other material inserted through a channel made through the head of the penis, a practice of certain central Borneo groups

panca sila : the five basic principles of the Indonesian state

pandat : chopping sword with angled blade, no separate handle, and metal cross bar used by Bidayuh groups as a fighting sword

pangah : circular building on tall posts used as a meeting hall, sleeping place for unmarried men and storage place for skulls in Bidayuh villages, referred to in many English publications as the headhouse

pangolin : scaly anteater

papan tulis : long boards with a series of ideographic symbols, used to assist in memorising the order of events at ceremonies by the Iban

pantar : tall poles topped with skulls, carved hornbills or other decorations, formerly erected by various groups of southeastern Kalimantan in the course of headhunting ceremonial, also called tora

parang : general term for a chopping sword or knife

parang ilang : specialised form of chopping sword with a blade of asymmetrical cross-section, concave on one face and convex on the other, requiring it to be made in right and left handed versions

parang pedang : chopping sword or knife with curved blade, also called duku,
used by Iban and Malays

parapat: curved chopping sword with two pronged handle formerly used by Murut-Kelabit groups, also called pakayun

penghulu: used in Sarawak for a government appointed local Dayak leader

penyipu: a short bulbous whistle made of clay, resembling an ocarina, formerly used by the Iban

pilih: a decorative weaving technique which involves delineating designs with supplementary floating weft threads

pua: ceremonial cloth or blanket woven by the Iban, with complex designs in ikat or songkit technique

rehab: bowed stringed instrument used in parts of southeastern Kalimantan, imported from Java

rimau: carved animal figure, supposedly representing a tiger, placed in or by the coffins of important men by some central Borneo groups, also called leju

ruding: Jew’s harp, or simple musical instrument with a tongue and vibrating string, played with the mouth

salong: mortuary structure constructed like a house on posts, erected by various central Borneo groups

sandong: mortuary structure like a house on posts erected by various groups of southeastern Kalimantan

sandong raung: structure used for the preliminary deposition of coffins prior to secondary ceremonial, or for the permanent deposition of coffins, by Ngaju and related groups

sandong tulang: small sandong used for the secondary deposition of cremated or cleaned bones by the Ngaju and related groups

sanggaran: ceremonial pole adorned usually with an antique jar, a series of spears and topped with a carved hornbill, erected by Ngaju and Ot Danum groups in the course of mortuary ceremonial

sape: plucked stringed instrument of unique design, hollowed from behind with no sounding board, used by central Borneo groups

sapundu: pole, usually carved with a face or anthropomorphic figure, used for tying sacrificial buffalo at secondary mortuary feasts in southeastern Kalimantan

sendatong: plucked stringed instrument built on a solid central rib, with sounding chamber hollowed form in front and equipped with a sound board, used by Dusuns in Sabah

serah: term used in West Kalimantan to describe Dayak groups which were
tributary to a local Malay ruler

serubayi: reed instrument made from bamboo pipes played directly by mouth, formerly used by the Bidayuh

serunai: one or two stringed fiddle formerly used by the Iban, also called
ensuranai

sigittuad: one stringed fiddle formerly used by the Bidayuh

sirih: a component of betel, the chewing of which as a social habit spread from the coastal areas of Borneo to the interior during the last century

sisir: silver tiara worn by Malay brides and by Iban women on dress occasions

suling: bamboo flute

songket: brocade weaving technique used by Malays

songkit: supplementary weft weaving technique in which the decorative weft thread is wrapped around individual warp threads, used by the Iban

sumpitan: blowpipe made from a hollowed length of wood, used with poisoned darts

sundang: form of kris in which the straight or wavy blade is extended into a sword, particular to the Brunei Malays, also called kris sulok

sungkup: mortuary structure erected over the graves of the dead by some Saribas Iban at gawai antu ceremonies

tambak: communal container for the secondarily cremated remains of the dead among the Ma'anyan-Siong of southeastern Kalimantan

tapang: the only variety of tree inhabited by bees in Borneo

tedak danau: meaning lake design, an obsolete form of women's tattoo pattern used by some central Borneo groups, consisting of large areas of solid blue colouring

terindak: a distinctive form of hat made by the Melanau, consisting of radiating strips of coloured leaf material.

tiwah: the secondary mortuary ceremonial of the Ngaju

tilang kamarau: a form of chopping sword formerly made by the Iban, a hybrid between the niabor and the parang ilang

tora: tall poles formerly erected as part of headhunting ceremonial by groups in southeastern Kalimantan, also called pantar

tuba: extract of derris root used for stunning fish, especially to provide for large festive occasions

tuntun: sticks used for measuring the height of the trip wire in pig traps, carved with small crouched anthropomorphic figures, made by the Iban

ulu: upriver regions