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Clifford Sather, Ph.D., Editor

Department of Anthropology
P.O. Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38D)
00014 University of Helsinki
Finland

Louise Sather, Assistant Editor

Joan N. Bubier, Production Editor

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Please send all inquiries, Fellowship and Membership fees, subscriptions,
changes of address, contributions, etc., to:

Borneo Research Council, Inc.
P. O. Box A
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U.S.A.

www.borneoresearchcouncil.org
e-mail: brc@borneoresearchcouncil.org

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

In a departure from past practice, A.V.M. Horton opens this issue with an extended, collective memorial for a number of persons, both Bruneians and others whose lives in some important way involved Brunei Darussalam and whose deaths occurred during the year 2004. This does not, of course, replace our usual practice of publishing longer memorials for single individuals and next issue will contain at least two of these.

The topics addressed by the Research Notes that follow range from linguistics and history, through politics and anthropology to indigenous art and cultural history. A final Note reports on cross-border relations along one small section of the highly porous border that separates Indonesian and Malaysian Borneo.

The first paper by Professor James Collins draws upon the results of recent research undertaken by scholars and students from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and the Universitas Tanjungpura, Pontianak, to report on some socio-linguistic characteristics of the Iban-related languages and dialects spoken in West Kalimantan and to survey their present distribution. While the number of ethnic Iban in West Kalimantan is quite small, certainly in comparison with Sarawak, where the Iban number over 600,000, groups speaking Iban-related (or Ibanic) languages are numerous and, indeed, comprise, as Professor Collins notes, a significant proportion of the province's population. Again, compared with what we know of Iban, these languages and dialects are poorly documented and very little is known regarding their internal relationships or distinguishing characteristics. Professor Collins's paper is therefore especially welcomed.

In this connection, it might be briefly noted that, in terms of linguistics, West Kalimantan is one of the most poorly studied provinces in Indonesia. While there have been some recent publications by the Pusat Bahasa in Jakarta, the only major intensive study that I am aware of, and which, I would add, was brought to my attention by Dr. Sander Adelaar, is a Ph.D. dissertation by Sumarsono (La Trobe University, Melbourne) on Bekatik, a West Kalimantan Bidayuh, or, in Professor Collins's terms, Bidayuhic language. In addition, Dr. Adelaar himself has just published, as this volume goes to press, the first in-depth study of a West Kalimantan language to appear in print, *Salako or Badamea: Sketch grammar, texts and lexicon of a Kanayatn dialect in West Borneo* (Frankfurter Forschungen zu Südostasien, 2005). In addition to a sketch grammar, the book includes 50 pages of textual data and a 100-page lexicon. Salako is a dialect of Kanayatn (Malay: Kendayan) and is spoken in the far northwestern corner of West Kalimantan, and in closely adjoining areas of western Sarawak where its speakers are generally known as Selako. Professor Collins, too, mentions Salako (or Selako) in his Research Note. As such, Salako is not an Ibanic language, as Professor Collins notes, but belongs to the larger category of West Kalimantan Malayic languages, which Professor Collins in his paper also touches on briefly, and to which Iban and other Ibanic languages are themselves more distantly related.

The second Research Note also concerns West Kalimantan. In this paper, "Captain Burn and Associates," Andrew Smith returns to a subject he first introduced in an earlier paper which appeared in Volume 33 of the *BRB*, "Missionaries, Mariners and Merchants: Overlooked British Travelers in West Borneo in the Early Nineteenth Century." In the present paper, he reconstructs the career and commercial activities for the last ten years of

his life of one of these merchant-mariners, a British “country trader,” Captain Joseph Burn, basing his reconstruction, in part at least, on Burn’s own letters. As Dr. Smith notes, Captain Burn, who resided for part of this period in Pontianak, is of special interest to historians as a source of intelligence for Sir Stamford Raffles’s invasion of Java. Equally important, information from his extended letters to Raffles on conditions in western Borneo was incorporated into John Leyden’s often-cited “Sketch of Borneo,” a major historical source for early nineteenth century Borneo. Until now, little has been written about Captain Burn himself. In addition to tracing Burn’s career, the paper also conveys something of the eventful lives led by independent “country traders,” fraught as these lives were, not only with physical perils, but also with the ever-present dangers of litigation, broken contracts, and financial ruin.

In the third paper that follows, “Turbulent Times in Sarawak,” Vernon Porritt, a regular contributor to the *BRB*, traces the end of expatriate influence and the restructuring of politics in Sarawak along West Malaysian lines that occurred in the years that immediately followed Malaysian independence, 1963 to 1970. In retrospect, the outcome of the events described now seems inevitable, but that was hardly the way it appeared to Sarawakians at the time. The result was a radical shift in the balance of ethnic power that has only widened since and the emergence of a Melanau family dynasty that, in the breadth of its control over state affairs, and certainly in the immensity of its wealth, would come to far exceed anything that the Brookes might ever have imagined.

In the next paper, Antonio Guerreiro responds to an earlier Brief Communication by Herwig Zahorka, published in the *BRB* in 2001, describing a people known as the Basap, or Orang Darat, of the Mangkalihat Peninsula in East Kalimantan. As both authors observe, the Basap are perhaps the least known people living in the province. Zahorka’s original Brief Communication, entitled somewhat ambiguously, perhaps, “The Last Basap Cave Dwellers in the Mangkalihat Karst Mountains, East Kalimantan,” described the regular use of caves as shelters by Basap hunting and collecting parties.

Dr. Guerreiro, in his rejoinder, adds valuable information about the rapidly changing circumstances that have overtaken the Basap since the late 1960s, particularly Indonesian resettlement policies ostensibly aimed, more generally, at “stabilizing” indigenous populations, imposing “order,” and re-housing so-called “isolated” (*terasing*) tribal groups, like the Basap, in fixed, accessible locales. While hunting and the collection of forest products remain important activities, it is clear from Guerreiro’s account that the vast majority of Basap have, for some time now, subsisted primarily by cultivation. This development, it seems, occurred independent of government resettlement efforts. The latter, in fact, appear to have had little long-term impact upon the Basap, and one of the interesting points that the author makes is that, with the fall of the Suharto government, the very label “isolated societies” (*masyarakat terasing*) — and the government programs associated with it, including resettlement — have come to be resented by Dayak groups in East Kalimantan, including the Basap. Instead, these groups prefer to be called “customary law societies” (*masyarakat adat*), a label which acknowledges not only their cultural distinctiveness, but also, significantly, in light of logging and other forms of recent capitalist penetration, their rights to land.

Also of interest is the nature of Basap “society.” Their small numbers, scattered distribution and tendency to intermarry with the members of other ethnic groups appear to

result in their ready assimilation and, as Guerreiro puts it, in a tendency “to adapt their ethnicity to local conditions.” Hence, it is no simple matter, it would seem, to say who is, or isn’t, a “Basap.”

Following Antonio Guerreiro’s paper, Herwig Zahorka offers a brief reply. This is followed by some additional remarks by Guerreiro. Here, I would like to add that we, as readers, are indebted to both authors. Whatever their disagreements, they have raised some interesting questions and, in his final rejoinder, Guerreiro sheds additional light on contemporary social and economic change in what remains a still little known region of East Kalimantan.

In this issue we welcome a new contributor to the *BRB*, Paolo Maiullari, who offers us a fascinating account of the use of *hampatongs*, carved wooden images or sculptures, by the Ngaju Dayaks of Desa Telangkah, on the Katingan River, in Central Kalimantan. In addition to identifying the different types of *hampatongs* that are used locally by the people of Desa Telangkah, the author also describes two particular examples, each representing a once living person, showing how these sculptures convey aspects of each individual’s life history and personal connections with the spirit world. Through the superb photography of his wife, Junita Arnel Maiullari, we are provided with an excellent visual record to accompany the text.

In the next paper, “Mystery of the Twin Masks on Megaliths at Long Pulung in East Kalimantan,” the author, Herwig Zahorka, discusses, and offers a possible interpretation of, a set of sculptured designs that appear on a stone urn and pillar at what is believed to be a prehistoric burial site on the upper Bahau River in the present-day Malinau Regency. Zahorka likens these designs to anthropomorphic masks and compares them with others in Southeast Asia, in particular, with moko drum designs and with design motifs found on the famous Pejeng drum in Bali. On the basis of the similarities he sees, he argues that the Long Pulung stones may have once served as print molds for the production of bronze objects and speculates that the upper Bahau-Kerayan area, in addition to being a former center of megalithic development, may have once also been a metalworking center. In this connection, he stresses the need for an archaeological survey of the region. Finally, in concluding, he draws attention to what he sees as the persistence of similar design motifs in, for example, Dayak tattooing and building ornamentation, and even in the modern Dayak-inspired designs that adorn the Balikpapan airport building.

In the last paper, I Ketut Ardhana, Jayl Langub, and Daniel Chew provide an ethnographic account of cross-border relations between the Lun Bawang of the Kelalan Valley of Sarawak and the Lun Dayeh of the Kerayan District of East Kalimantan. Although divided from one another by an international border, the Lun Bawang and the Lun Dayeh are, in cultural, social, religious and linguistic terms, as well as by their own perceptions, a single people. On the other hand, as the authors show, the presence of the border profoundly, and in increasingly important ways, affects their daily lives and interrelations with one another. Moreover, population movements and cross-border disparities of income and economic opportunity now strongly color these interrelations and have created in some instances conflicts and divergent interests. In addition, the border highlands represents a distinctive and fragile environment, which, the authors note, borderland development increasingly imperils.

Concluding this issue, in an extended review essay, Eva and Roger Kershaw examine the recently published four-volume diaries and the earlier *Stimmen aus dem Regenwald* (*Voices*

from the Rainforest, published in 1992) of Bruno Manser. They also touch more generally in their essay on Manser's life and conservationist legacy. Given the fact that almost five years have passed since Manser's disappearance and probable death, this review is especially timely.

Once again, from Sarawak, our resident man of letters, Otto Steinmayer, sends us, as a Brief Communication, another "Letter from Lundu." In this one, he relates events at his home in Kampung Stunggang during the recent rainy season, including Chinese New Year, two village weddings, and Christmas, ending with a reflection on the Sumatran tsunami.

And once again, I would like to thank all of those who assisted me during the year with article reviews, news items, announcements, comments, suggestions, and editorial help. The list is a long one and includes, among others, Sander Adelaar, George Appell, Dee Baer, Martin Baier, Jim Collins, A. V. M. Horton, Terry King, Jayl Langub, Heidi Munan, Vernon Porritt, Bob Reece, Bernard Sellato, Kenneth Sillander, Andrew Smith, Vinson Sutlive, Phillip Thomas, Reed Wadley, and Bob Winzeler. To all, my thanks. Special gratitude goes to my wife, Louise Klemperer Sather, who now, for a second issue, as our Assistant Editor, carefully read through all of the papers and reviews that appear here. As always, her editorial skills, patience, and close attention to detail have been an invaluable help.

Some Changes in the *Borneo Research Bulletin*

I would like to remind readers that Dr. A. V. M. Horton has taken on the job of Book Review Editor and compiler of our annual Bibliography section. Please contact Dr. Horton about book reviews or with bibliographic information for future *BRBs*. You may do so either by mail or by e-mail:

Dr. A. V. M. Horton
180 Hither Green Lane
Bordesley
Worcestershire B98 9AZ
ENGLAND
E-mail: avmhorton@hotmail.com

Beginning with the last issue, Volume 34, we have initiated a new production process for computer formatting and layout. This process links the technical production of the *BRB* directly to the general publications operations of the Borneo Research Council. Mrs. Joan Bubier, the Council's Administrative Assistant, who oversees the production side of the BRC's publications (i.e., the monograph series, proceedings volumes, etc.) has assumed the task of *BRB* Production Editor. I am deeply grateful to Mrs. Bubier for all the work she did in preparing the present volume for publication and for overseeing its printing, distribution, and mailing.

Our volunteer Production Editor, Dr. Phillip Thomas, continues to assist us and helped in formatting the first three Research Notes in the present volume. He also offered invaluable editing advice. Again, our thanks to Phillip.

Beginning with this volume, a brief biographic note for each of our Research Note authors appears immediately following these Notes from the Editor.

Borneo Dissertation Website

Readers are reminded that Professor Robert L. Winzeler and his colleagues at the University of Nevada, Reno, have created a Borneo dissertation website (see "Notes from the Editor," *BRB*, vol. 33). I would urge you all to consult the dissertation list and add to it any dissertation that you may know of that is not listed, including, of course, your own. The website address is the following: <<http://www2.library.unr.edu.dataworks/Borneo.edu>>.

The website is maintained by Professor Winzeler and is hosted by the University of Nevada, Reno, Library's DataWorks. Those of you with comments and suggestions are invited to write directly to Professor Winzeler at <winzeler@unr.edu>.

When the initial announcement of the site was made by your Editor in Volume 33, the site was then still in a pilot form, and, as of February 2003, it listed some 230 dissertation titles. Over the last year, Bob and his colleagues have added a large number of new entries, so that the current total number of dissertations listed has doubled to more than 460. The site, at the moment, Bob believes, is pretty much up-to-date and complete so far as the US, Canada, and the UK are concerned. But serious underreporting remains for Japan, Europe, Malaysia, and Indonesia, and anyone who can provide information on these areas is especially encouraged to contact Professor Winzeler at the e-mail address given above.

As a final Brief Communication in the present volume, Robert Winzeler and Duncan Aldrich provide a useful update concerning the Borneo dissertation website, its history and objectives, what it contains, and how to use it. They also offer some statistical information regarding the current status of dissertation writing on Borneo.

Member Support

Here we wish to thank the following individuals for their contribution over the last year to the BRC Endowment and General Funds.

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Once again, our thanks to all these individuals for their support.

About the Authors in this Issue

Daniel Chew, Ph.D., was Senior Research Fellow at the Sarawak Development Institute (SDI), Kuching, and is now an independent researcher based in Adelaide, Australia.

Professor James T. Collins, Ph.D., has served as a principal research fellow at the Institute of the Malay World and Civilization, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, since 1995. Among his most recent publications are "Language use and language change in Manjau, Kalimantan Barat: Exploring the Tola' Dayak language and society" (With Sujarni Alloy) *BKJ* 160: 227-284, 2004, and "A book and a chapter in the history of Malay: Brouwerius' *Genesis* (1697) and Ambonese Malay," *Archipel* 67: 77-128, 2004.

Antonio J. Guerreiro, Ph.D., a social and cultural anthropologist, is currently a senior research associate of IRSEA-CNRS, Marseille, and a member of the team of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, "Objets, Cultures, Sociétés."

Eva Maria Kershaw, a native German speaker, is a graduate of London University in German and Khmer. Her principal specialty, the Dusun (Bisaya) language and religion of Brunei, developed during 1985-1993, while she was resident in the Sultanate in the company of Roger Kershaw. Her main publications comprise a bilingual collection, *Dusun Folktales* (University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1994); and *A Study of Brunei Dusun Religion* (Borneo Research Council, 2000).

Roger Kershaw is a graduate of Oxford University in Modern History, later Ph.D. in Political Science at London University (SOAS). He has lectured on Southeast Asian Studies at the Universities of Hull and Kent. Owing to the decline of the subject in the UK, he joined the Brunei Education Service between 1984-1994. Among a variety of published work, the broadest in scope is *Monarchy in South-East Asia* (London, Routledge, 2001).

I Ketut Ardhana, Ph.D., a historian, is Head of the Division of Southeast Asian Studies at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (PSDR-LIPI), Jakarta.

Jayl Langub is a retired Sarawak civil servant, the former Secretary of the Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak, and, at present, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), Kota Samarahan, Sarawak.

Paolo Maiullari was born in Como, Italy, but now lives in Switzerland. His wife, Junita, is a great granddaughter of Cilik Riwtut, the first governor of Central Kalimantan, and a niece of Kusni Sulang, the professor, writer and Ngaju Dayak poet. Now part of a Ngaju family, he and his wife have set up the Borneo Indonesian Art Gallery in Switzerland, specializing in Ngaju Dayak art and culture (www.borneogallery.ch).

Dr. Vernon L. Porritt is currently Visiting Research Associate at Murdoch University, Western Australia. Before embarking on an academic career, Dr. Porritt was a government servant in Sarawak during the closing years of British rule and the first years of

independence, serving as General Manager of the Sarawak Electricity Corporation (previously, Company) from 1956 to 1969. He has written five books on Sarawak and a number of papers, journal articles, and memorials, his most recent book being *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Sarawak 1940-1990*, Monash University Press, 2004.

F. Andrew Smith is Professor Emeritus at the University of Adelaide, South Australia. Originally trained as a plant biologist, his research interests since the mid-1990s have centered primarily on the history and ecology of Borneo, especially West Kalimantan. He is a member of the Borneo Research Council and a frequent contributor to the *BRB*.

Herwig Zahorka, MSc, is a German forestry scientist who has worked for his government in Thailand, Malaysia, Pakistan, Ethiopia, and most extensively in Indonesia (Kalimantan and Sumatra). He has written three books on Indonesia and more than one hundred articles, mostly on ethnography, history, archaeology, ethnobotany, and ecology (focused primarily on Kalimantan and Siberut). This is his third contribution to the *BRB*. Since his retirement he has lived in Indonesia.

HAMPATONGS IN THE DAILY LIFE OF THE NGAJU DAYAKS

Paolo Maiullari

Photographs: Junita Arnel Maiullari

Directors, Borneo Indonesian Art Gallery

Switzerland

contact@borneogallery.ch

Introduction

The word *Dayak* means “dwellers of the hinterland.” It generally refers to the indigenous (non-Malay, non-Chinese) peoples of Indonesian Borneo who live along the banks of the Barito, Kahayan, Katingan, Kapuas, Mentaya, and other rivers and tributaries as well as in the surrounding uplands.

The Dayaks of south-central Kalimantan practice a form of religion known today as *kaharingan* and are divided into a number of different groups. Their daily lives, and the accomplishment of their tasks, which largely unfold within relatively isolated communities, favor the development of distinctive characteristics that are peculiar to the various regions and villages in which they live. Thus, to describe their customs one needs to penetrate into a context marked by particular details, one in which Hindu, Islamic and Christian influences have also, at different times, played a part, contributing to the development of distinctive cultures.

Because of these great cultural variations, we chose to concentrate our attention on a particular subject, and to circumscribe it geographically, so as to delve deeper into the details in a specific environment while steering clear of risky generalizations.

We are speaking of the *hampatong*, i.e., of sculptures that have a commemorative and protective function, which we have studied among the Ngaju Dayak of Desa Telangkah, on the Katingan River in Central Kalimantan, where the *kaharingan* religion is particularly strong (see Photos 1, 14, 15).

As we communicated with the Dayak people, we were confronted with a different structure of speech and pattern of communication. Information was not given systematically; interaction did not follow any specific methodology, but rather developed by something akin to patterns of association. The Dayaks saw us, with all of our questions, as difficult to deal with and at times, impossible to understand; but in the end, the circle of words passing from mouth to mouth warmed up, as would a writer's hand, and came to describe customs, sketched memories, and thus created a typical environment filled with voices and sounds that allowed us to get to know a part of their lives.

This research was self-financed and was made possible thanks to the help of Arnel and Linawatie, who not only contributed a considerable wealth of information but were always at our side to handle the essential task of interpreting between the Ngaju and Indonesian languages.



Photo 1: Hampatong

The *Hampatongs* in the Daily Life of the Ngaju Dayaks

Hampatongs are Dayak sculptures representing souls of the departed, or spirits. Depending on their purpose — commemorative or protective — they distinguish themselves by their shape or by their location within the village in which they are placed. Depending on the context, such sculptures are accompanied by additional elements that interact with them in order to achieve their functions.

At the entrance to a village there may be *hampatong patahu*, small statues whose facial features are as elusive as the entities they represent. These are territorial spirits which have since time immemorial been present in the area where the village is located; their function is to protect the community from evils that may beset it, such as illnesses, deaths, or enemy aggression.

They are invariably arranged in odd numbers — seven, five or three — at the foot of a miniature shelter which lends them their name — *balai patahu* (Photo 2). The literal meaning of *balai* is “house which belongs to the village community,” or “gathering place, and hence, by extension, “home.” In this particular context, it stands for “home of the *patahu* spirits.” Inside the shelter, or at its base, depending on the shelter’s size — peculiar rocks known as *patahu* are arranged which harbor the homonymous territorial spirits, sought by the village community for its own protection. Here, the village shaman — the *pisort* — is called upon to identify the place in which to locate the first *patahu* for the home of the spirits by meditative contact with the spirit of the eagle, *Antang*. Once the first rock has been found and placed in the *balai*, the other rocks that are added will receive their properties from the first one. After that, the role of the *patahu* consists of bringing to the *hampatong* other territorial spirits which are then, once inside these figures, asked to deploy the protective function for which they are intended.

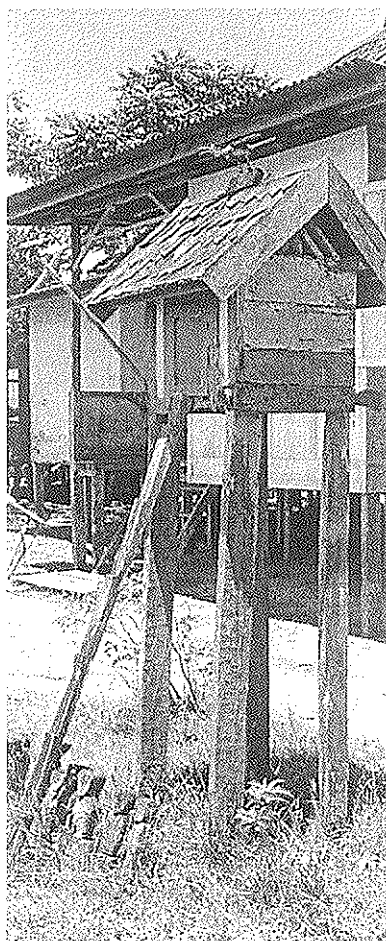


Photo 2: *bala; patahu*, miniature shelter

The number of *hampatong* varies depending on the number of *patahu* rocks; these follow the ancestral line of the villages (Photo 3). Seven small statues denote the mother-village where the first *patahu* rock is selected by the *pisort*. New villages, on the other hand, i.e., those founded by a family that has moved elsewhere, will use as their first *patahu* rock, a *patahu* rock from their original village. The first descendant village features a spirit home with five rocks and as many *hampatong*; the second descendant village has a spirit home with three rocks and as many small statues. If the community takes leave from this village, it will be necessary to go back to the mother-village and take a rock from its *balai patahu*, so that the community may then build a new village with — again — five rocks and as many *hampatong*. Customarily, in times past a family was permitted to leave only when in the *balai patahu* a sort of reproduction of the *patahu* rocks had occurred, adding one to those already existing. The new *patahu* rock was then intended for the new village. Nowadays, and more recently, a *patahu* rock is taken from the *balai patahu* and subsequently replaced with a new one. This practice shows that the *balai patahu*'s importance is given not only by its protective function but also by its role as an identity symbol denoting the root of an ancestral line.

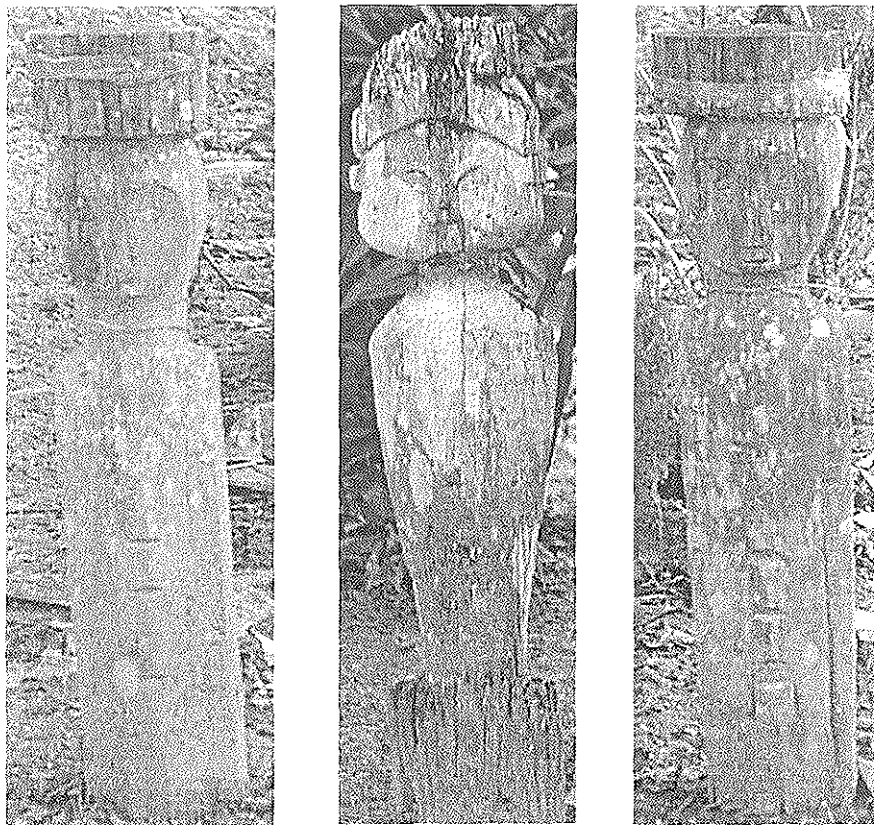


Photo 3: *Hampatong patahu* at the base of the *balai*

In the daily life of the Dayak Ngaju, the protection extended by the *balai patahu* is manifested in two ways. The first is through signs that warn of some impending danger, such as, for example, the din of the *patahu* rocks slamming against each other within the *balai patahu*, or a knocking on the door of the village chief's abode. The second is by providing help in critical situations. In the latter case, in addition to placing offerings of flowers and incense in the "home of the spirits," sacrifices are offered there, first to propitiate and then to give thanks for the granting of requests.

The *balai patahu*, combining home and *hampatong*, shows very clearly the role this structure plays for the community, since it symbolically represents a village protected by soldiers.

At some distance from the village dwellings, and set apart from them, the *balai tajahan* stands as a courthouse. Inside the *tajahan*, a rock harbors the territorial spirit entrusted with organizing a trial, while at its base the *hampatong tajahan* represents executive power. This form of justice is used only when the village chief chooses it. At his own expense, he calls on the *pisort* to bring a matter before the *balai tajahan* when he finds it impossible to work out a solution to a dispute among his followers.



Photo 4. *Hampatong tajahan* from the National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia

In the presence of the community, the two parties to the dispute, and the village chief, the *pisort* first turns to the spirit-entity *Tajahan* to request its permission to proceed with the matter and asks it to organize the trial by calling up the spirits that are to bear witness to the oaths proffered by the parties as well as the executioner-spirits that are to be entrusted with the execution of the sentence. He then turns to *Antang*, asking him to consult the creator, *Ranying Hatalla*, in order that he may discover and report the truth in the matter.

Once the preparatory phase has been completed, the two litigating parties receive from the *pisort* a rattan thread for each of them to hold at opposite ends, while the thread itself runs over the *hampatong tajahan's* head. The *pisort* then asks the defendant whether he is indeed guilty; if the defendant enters a triple denial, the *pisort* will cut the thread in the place where it rests on the head of the *hampatong* harboring the executioner-spirits, thus initiating the trial and symbolically inflicting the penalty.

Once *Ranying Hatalla* has been consulted, *Antang* will carry the verdict to the witness-spirits, who will order the executioner-spirits to proceed. Within the following three days, the party which has been determined guilty will suffer the outcome of the penalty, which can range from a long illness to death, depending on how the punishment was negotiated.

Very often fear of the possible consequences will resolve the matter with an admission of guilt just before the thread is cut. For the same reason, this form of justice is avoided whenever possible and is therefore seldom resorted to. The place where the *balai tajahan* stands is feared because of the constant presence of evil spirits.

In the immediate vicinity of the village, near mausoleums known as *pambak* and *sandung*, where the bones of the departed are kept, as well as in front of some dwellings, there are commemorative *hampatongs*.

A *pambak* is a mausoleum in which the bones are arranged so as to reproduce the shape of the deceased's body. The mausoleum is built as a *rumah* ('house') if it is raised above the ground like a dwelling, or as a *sekurup* if the walls are sunk into the ground and the sarcophagus rests on the earth. They are intended for one or several families in the village or for certain persons (Photos 5 and 6).

A *sandung* generally stands on one stilt (but sometimes on four) known as a *sali*. This type of mausoleum, smaller than a *pambak*, is intended almost solely for the village. Another difference between a *sandung* and a *pambak* is in the arrangement of the bones, which, in the former case, are bundled together, wrapped in a red cloth, and placed inside a small sarcophagus.

Both of these types of mausoleums — *pambak* and *sandung* — are only for departed ones who have received a *tiwah*, a long and complex burial feast in which animals are sacrificed (or slaves in the past) so that the victims' souls might serve the soul of the departed during its journey to the afterworld. In front of these mausoleums, the *hampatongs* are reminders of the departed in various aspects of their existence, aided also by two objects which by their shapes will bear witness to the deceased through the ages and serve as reminders of what the deceased did during his or her lifetime. The two objects flanking the *hampatong* are the *sapundu* and the *sengkaran*.

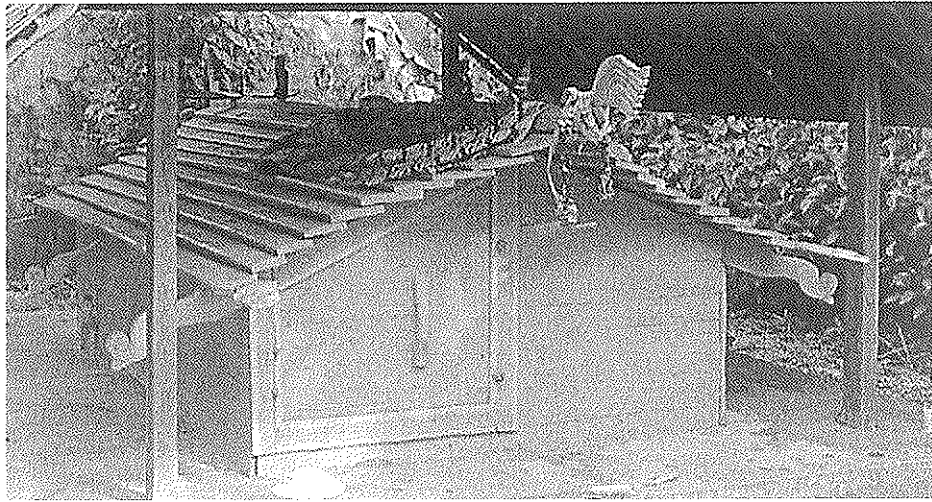


Photo 5: *Pambak sekurup* or mausoleum in which bones are placed

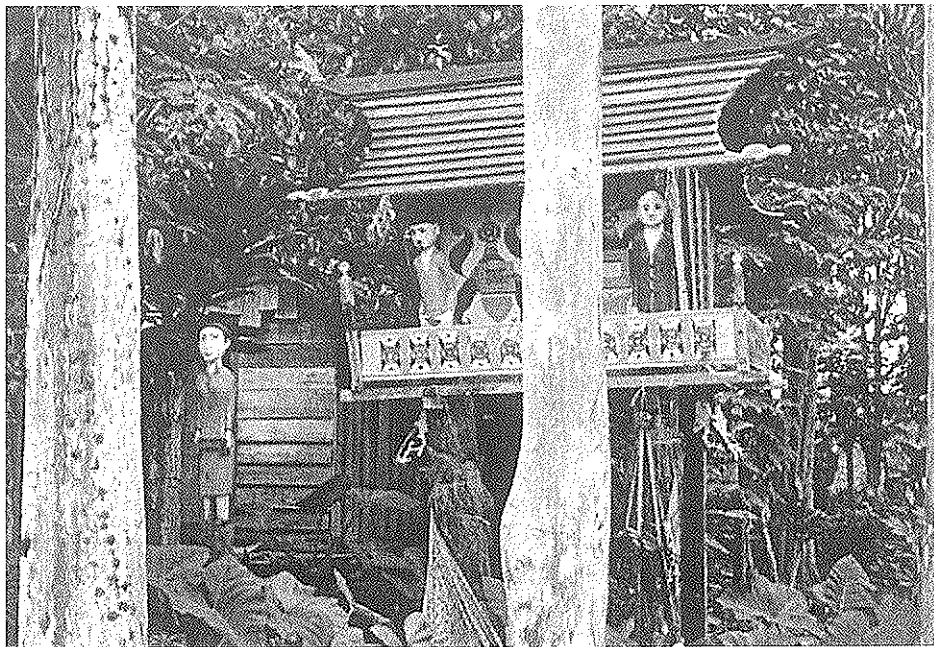


Photo 6: *Sandung* or raised mausoleum

Sapundu is the post to which animals are tied when sacrificed. It is always present in a *tiwah* and in the vicinity of the mausoleum and is no more than four meters high, just like a *hampatong*. It comes in three shapes: the first — for one or several deceased persons simultaneously — is in the simple shape of a post with perhaps a small sculpted image on top; the second — for people of noble ancestry — is a much more complex form of totem on the flanks of which a story is told; and the third kind is directly associated with a representation of the deceased, since it lends to him the appearance of a *hampatong* and thus turns the latter into a commemorative figure (Photos 7, 8 and 9).

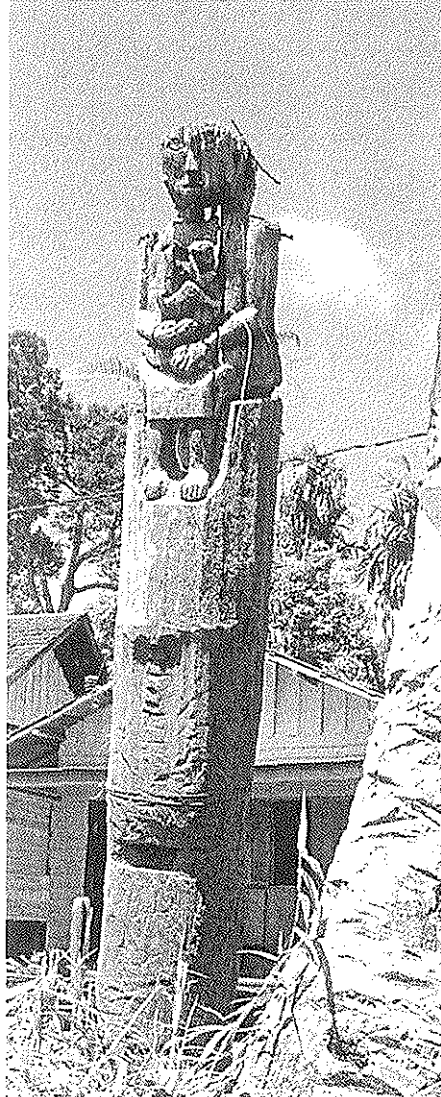
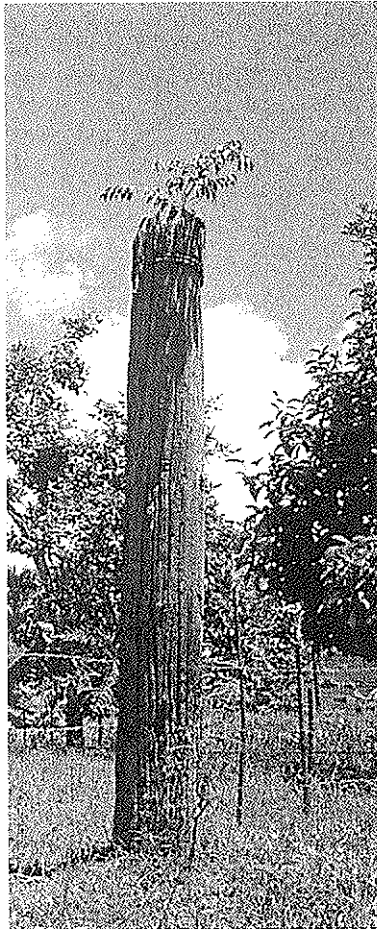
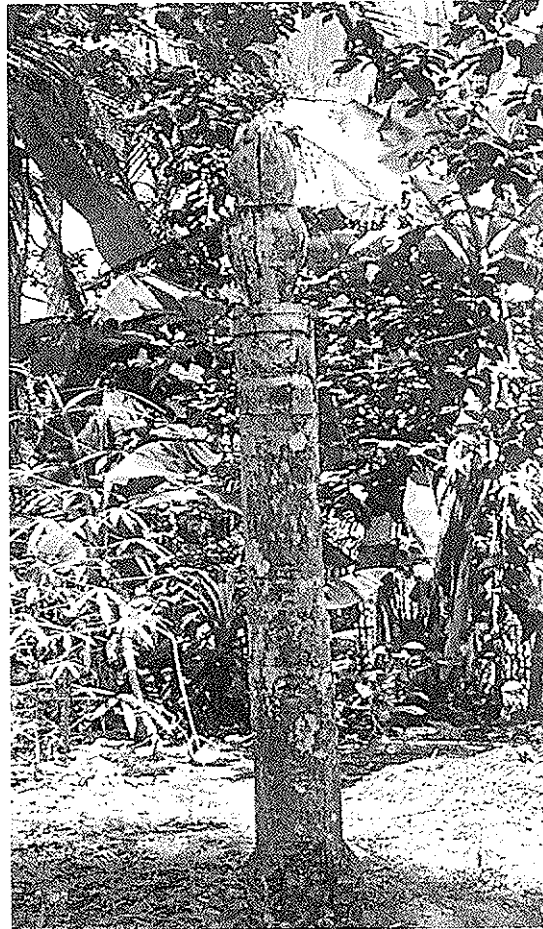


Photo 7: *Sapundu*, post to which animals are tied for sacrifice

Photo 8: *Sapundu*Photo 9: *Sapundu*

The *sengkaran* pertains to an optional ritual of the *tiwah*. It is a much taller post — reaching at least five meters — at the upper end of which one or more jars surrounded by spears are arranged (Photo 10, 11, 12 and 13) It symbolizes a ladder which during the funeral feast acts as yet another aid in the soul's ascent from earth to paradise, to further honor the deceased. At the foot of the *sengkaran* the remains of the sacrifice made to the *sapundu* are interred, whereas at the upper end there is one jar for each buried body.



used by the souls of the dead to ascend to paradise



Photo 11: *Sengkaran*



Photo 12: *Sengkaran*

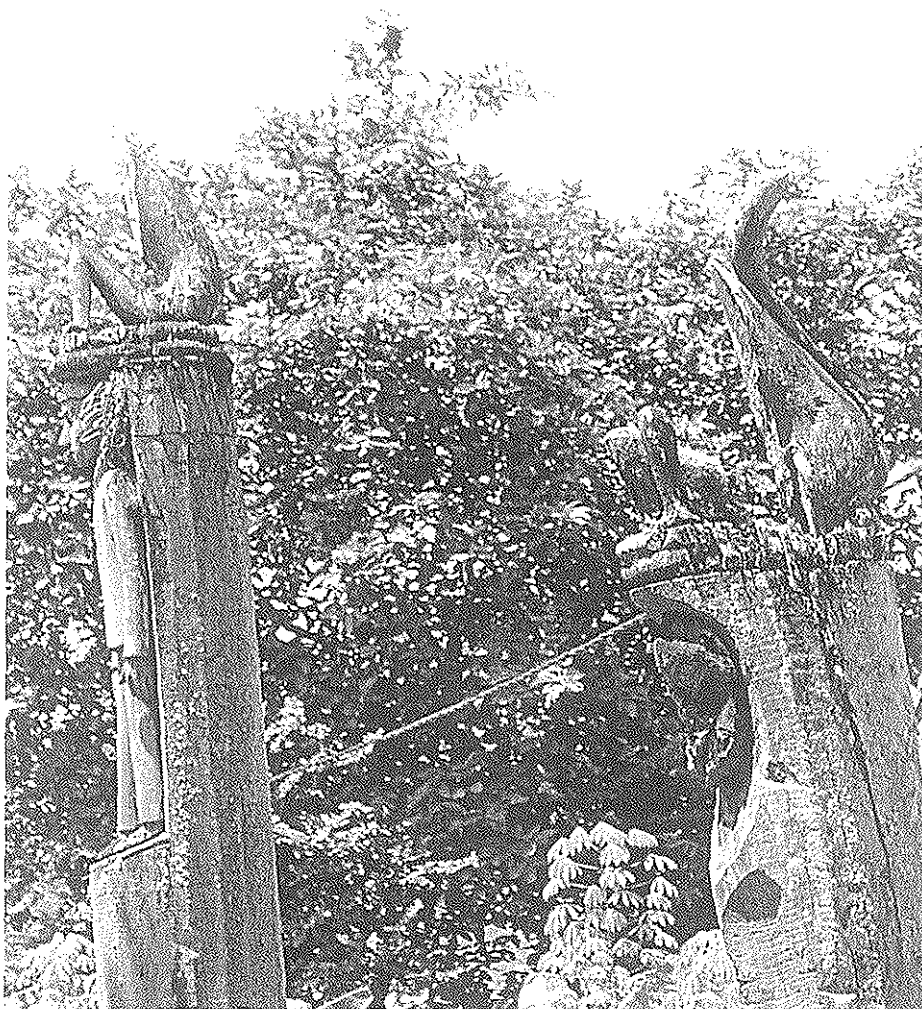


Photo 13: *Sengkaran* posts

In addition to the one near the mausoleum, a *hampatong* to commemorate a deceased person may be set up by the family in front of its own dwelling, and there may in fact be yet another alongside the first one. These trappings, which are possible only if the family is wealthy, are actually rather seldom seen.

Themes present in *hampatong* encompass the soul's metaphysical dimensions as well as more tangible aspects of economics. Celebrating a *tiwah* involves a considerable economic expense, varying with its content, procedures, and duration. The size of a *hampatong*, the type of sculpture, the number of sacrifices and the making of the other objects with which it is associated depend on the role played by the deceased during his lifetime and by the family's financial resources, rather than only on the family's wishes.

If — despite the fact that the deceased may ritually be entitled not only to paradise but to a *hampatong* as well — his or her family uses up all of its wealth for the *tiwah*, there may not be enough left for a commemorative figure. Because to the followers of the *kaharingan* religion a *tiwah* represents both liberation to paradise and an obligation, it is in any event important that a funeral feast be held for everyone.

A funeral feast frees the soul from the burden of wandering through this world and allows it to enter paradise. Although it carries a price tag not easily within the means of every family, a funeral feast is a good thing for all, since everyone benefits from it: the deceased because he or she has reached the place of eternal well-being; the family because its pride is served, since it has been able to show respect for its own dead, while at the same time displaying its status and wealth within the village community.

The *balai patahu* and the *balai tajahan*, on the other hand, depend less on economic considerations since their cost is borne by the entire village.

The *hampatong*, in its representation of the dead and of spirits, is a sculpture whose form follows well-defined practical rules while leaving a great deal of margin in terms of design. Whether large or small, detailed or sketchy, unique, dual or ambiguous, it is a complex product which turns out differently depending on the artistic and cultural context in which it is designed, the place where it is set up, the use made of it and the actual financial means of whoever commissions it to be made (Photos 14, 15 and 16).

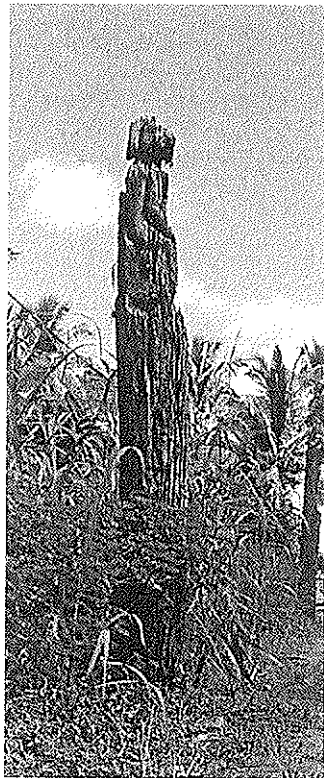


Photo 14: *Hampatong* for the dead



Photo 15: *Hampatong* for the dead



Photo 16: *Hampaton* representing Ibu Suyah Nadjir, Junita's grandmother

Some Specific Examples:

The Man and the Animal: Bapak Nadjir (about 1920–1979)

Bapak Nadjir was the village chief of Telangkah. In the family cemetery there is a *pambak sekurup* which harbors him and his wife, Ibu Suyah, i.e., Arneld's parents and Junita's grandparents (Photo 17).



Photo 17: *Hompatong* of Bapak Nadjir and his wife Ibu Suyah

The *hampatong* shows Bapak Nadjir as he liked to dress: with a hat, shirt, a pair of trousers and shoes, which at the same time contextually denote an intellectual person. The fact that he attended the Dutch school in Kasungan — a privilege open to only a very few people — made it possible for him to delve deeper into some areas of knowledge. Accordingly, his style is meant to set him apart from the common people.

Below, to the right, there is a carving of a crocodile which embraces him and looks at him in admiration, in memory and honor of his friendship with Jata, the crocodile spirit and ruler of the waters, which came into being at a certain point in his life (Photo 18).



Photo 18: Detail of the crocodile at the base of Bapak Nadjir's *hampatong*

This happened when, at the end of a day of fishing, Bapak Nadjir found a baby crocodile in his nets and decided to take it home. The next night a woman appeared to him in a dream, told him that she had lost her baby, and asked him whether he might have seen it in the surroundings. When he awoke, Bapak Nadjir understood that the woman in the dream was the baby crocodile's mother, and he decided to release it back into the water. After reaching the river's edge with Arneld, who was then a youngster, he put the animal into the water: and just when the animal took off swimming it lashed out with its tail, injuring his arm. Arneld saw this as symbolizing lack of respect; but in the eyes of the father — and indeed of the entire village community — it was the token of a friendship that grew out of a great sense of recognition, since it was sealed with a blood covenant.

From then on, Bapak Nadjir forbade his family to disturb, injure, or kill crocodiles, since, from that time onward, crocodiles would protect them (Photos 17 and 18).

Man in the Evil Spirit: Bahutai

Bahutai is a character familiar to the Dayak of the Kasungan area in Central Kalimantan. The name also applies to a territorial spirit that takes the form of a big dog with wolf-like features and to people who can change their appearance and turn into wolf-dogs.

The natural predisposition of some to make contact with *Bahutai* is translated into a ritual in which the recitation of a mantra in conjunction with offerings and the burning of incense make the metamorphosis possible. The ritual is performed in order to acquire the strength and qualities of the wolf-dog at a time when the person needs to face an enemy.

The *hampatong Bahutai* (Photo 19) is the recollective posthumous representation of a person meant to evoke a facet of the individual's character, tied to a particular capacity of his, an attribute of strength but also of meanness, because in order to take on the appearance that is clearly visible in the *hampatong* — i.e., that of a person with a human body and the head of a wolf-dog — it is necessary to resort to black magic (Photo 19).



Photo 19: *Hampatong bahutai*



Photo 20: Paolo Muiullari, the author

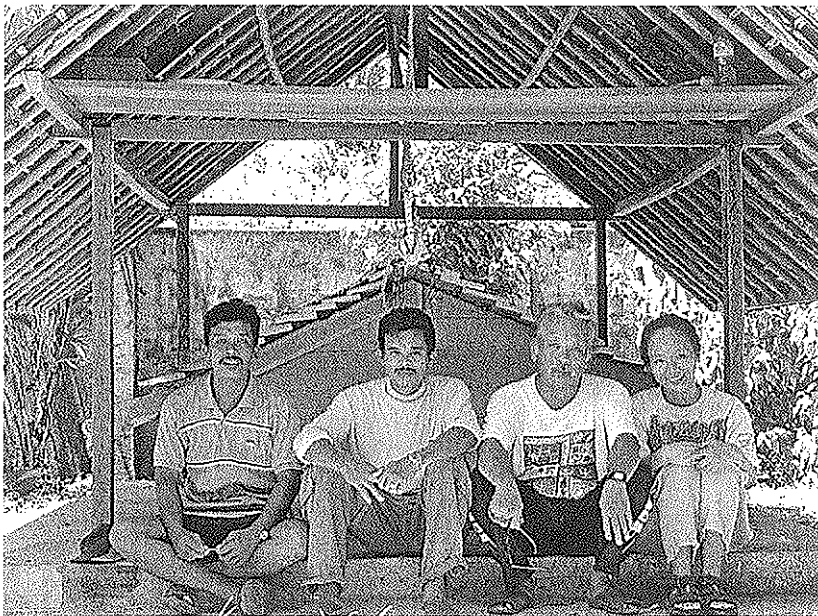


Photo 21: Arnel Nadjir and his family